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A BYZANTINE BOOK ON
DREAM INTERPRETATION

*The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and
Its Arabic Sources*

BY

MARIA MAVROUDI



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Illustration on the cover: The group of dream interpreters mentioned in the *Oneirocriticon* as depicted in the only illustrated copy of the work, MS 3632 of the Bologna University Library, fol. 443v.
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	VII
List of Abbreviations	IX
Author's Note	XI
Chapter One. The Author of the <i>Oneirocriticon</i> and His Sources	1
Earlier Scholarship	5
The Author of the <i>Oneirocriticon</i>	32
The Author's Sources	41
The Author's Patron	59
Chapter Two. The Language of the <i>Oneirocriticon</i>	63
Chapter Three. The Manuscript Tradition, Translations, Editions	91
Greek Manuscripts	92
Translations	111
Editions	119
Chapter Four. Comparing Artemidoros and Arabic Dream Interpretation with the <i>Oneirocriticon</i>	128
The Arabic Translation of Artemidoros	135
The Arrangement of Chapters	142
Principles of Dream Interpretation	149
Chapter Five. Dream Interpretations Common to the <i>Oneirocriticon</i> , Artemidoros and the Arabic Dreambooks	168
Chapter Six. Syriac and Christian Arabic Dream Interpretations	237
Chapter Seven. The Christian and Islamic Aspects of the <i>Oneirocriticon</i>	256
Chapter Eight. Reflections of the Old and the New Testament in the Interpretations of the <i>Oneirocriticon</i>	353

Chapter Nine. Thirteen Anecdotes Quoted in the <i>Oneirocriticon</i>	375
Chapter Ten. The <i>Oneirocriticon</i> and Byzantine Intellectual Activity in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries	392
Appendix 1: The Variants of <i>Paris. Suppl. gr. 690</i> in Arabic Sources....	431
Appendix 2: Interpretations from the <i>Liber Thesauri Occulti</i> that do not occur in the <i>Oneirocriticon</i> or Artemidoros	445
Appendix 3: Christian Passages from al-Dīnawarī	451
Appendix 4: Words in the <i>Oneirocriticon</i> Unattested in Other Greek Texts	466
Bibliography	473
Sources	473
Secondary Literature.....	479
General Index	507

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This book is a revised version of the doctoral dissertation that I submitted to the Committee on Byzantine Studies at Harvard University in March of 1998. Some of its conclusions can also be found, though in a briefer form, in the dissertation of John Lamoreaux, entitled "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East" submitted to the Program of Religion at Duke University in 1999. As Dr. Lamoreaux makes no reference to my dissertation, I am assuming that we both reached similar conclusions independently, after examining much of the same material, and that our agreement corroborates the arguments presented here. Dr. Lamoreaux's dissertation is on a different topic and consequently examines our common subjects only in passing; conversely, I treat only briefly problems that he deals with in greater detail.

The dissertation that became this book owes a great deal to the guidance of my academic adviser, Ihor Ševčenko, and my other readers, Wolfhart Heinrichs, Angeliki Laiou, and Ioli Kalavrezou. I am indebted to Toufic Fahd for his generosity in sharing with me some of his unpublished work and for his warm hospitality, and to Eleni Bassoukou-Kondyli for helping me choose the dissertation topic. My thanks are also due to M. J. Kister, who provided me with a photo reproduction of Ibn Qutayba's Ankara manuscript; to Erich Trapp for supplying me with the unpublished entries of his dictionary in progress regarding words that occur in the *Oneirocriticon*; to Paul Magdalino for sending me his then unpublished article "The Road to Baghdad in the Thought World of Ninth Century Byzantium"; and to Margaret Ševčenko for being an intelligent copy-editor.

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I dedicate this work to my parents as a small token of appreciation for what I owe them.

M.M.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AHDLMA</i>	<i>Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age</i>
<i>ByzF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CCAG</i>	<i>Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum</i>
<i>CFHB</i>	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
<i>CMAG</i>	<i>Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>DSB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Scientific Biography</i>
<i>Du Cange</i>	<i>Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis</i> (Lyon, 1688)
<i>EEBS</i>	<i>Epetēris Hetaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn</i>
<i>EI²</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> . New Edition
<i>GAL I-II</i>	<i>Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i> , vols. 1-2
<i>GAL S I-III</i>	<i>Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i> , Supplements, vols. 1-3
<i>GAS</i>	<i>Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums</i>
<i>IOS</i>	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>Kriaras</i>	<i>Lexiko tēs Mesaionikēs Hellēnikēs dēmōdous grammateias</i> , 1100-1669
<i>Lampe</i>	<i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i>
<i>Liddell-Scott</i>	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i>
<i>ODB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
<i>Sophocles</i>	<i>A Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods</i>
<i>Suda Lexicon</i>	A. Adler, ed. <i>Suidae Lexicon</i> , 5 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928-38)
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>

TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
Trapp	<i>Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Old Testament passages in Greek are quoted according to the critical text in A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979). The New Testament passages in Greek are quoted according to the critical text in E. Nestle, K. Aland et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979). For the translation of passages from both, *The Holy Bible: King James Version* (New York: Ivy Books, 1991) has been used. The Qur'ān is quoted according to the text and numbering of verses in M. Pickthall, *The Glorious Koran* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976) unless otherwise noted, and the translations are either from Pickthall, or from A. J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), depending on which was judged more understandable in the context of the Arabic dreambook where the verse was quoted.

Arabic terms that are italicized are defined at first usage. Some of them can even be found in English dictionaries.

CHAPTER ONE

THE AUTHOR OF THE *ONEIROCRITICON* AND HIS SOURCES

In addition to the numerous references to dreams and dream interpretation that are dispersed throughout Byzantine literature, two groups of texts exclusively dedicated to dreams and oneiromancy survive from the Byzantine centuries. The first group comprises theoretical treatises on the nature of sleep and dreams, the lengthiest of which are the Christian approach to dreams by the bishop of Ptolemais Synesios with its fourteenth-century commentary by Nikephoros Gregoras and the two commentaries on Aristotle's views on dreams, one by Themistios and the other by Michael of Ephesos. Shorter works are John Italos's explanation of the ivory and horn gates of dreams mentioned in the *Odyssey*, Michael Psellos's brief treatise on dreams, and the emperor Manuel Paleologos's epistle on dreams addressed to Andreas Asan.¹ All these texts are philosophical in nature and do not concern us here.

The second group consists of texts that view dreams as a means for predicting the future. These can be subdivided into two categories. The first category comprises manuals that combine astrology with dream interpretation by determining the significance of a dream according to the phases of the moon and the position of the stars; they are brief (one or two printed pages each) and anonymous.² The second category comprises texts that provide a "key to dreams," consisting of a catalogue of objects or activities that occur in dreams and an interpretation of what they mean for the dreamer's future.³ They are longer than the astrological dreambooks. The name of an author usually appears

¹ For references to editions of Synesios, Gregoras, Themistios, and Manuel Paleologos, see G. Guidorizzi, "I prontuari oniromantici bizantini," *Istituto Lombardo di Lettere. Rendiconti* 111 (1977), p. 136. For references to editions of the works by Italos, Psellos, and Michael of Ephesos, as well as a discussion of their contents, see T. Ricklin, *Der Traum der Philosophie im 12. Jahrhundert. Traumtheorien zwischen Constantinus Africanus und Aristoteles* (Leiden, Boston, Cologne, 1998), pp. 270-307.

² Guidorizzi, "I prontuari oniromantici bizantini," p. 139, mentions six such texts, including two unpublished ones. For additional ones, see below, n. 31.

³ There is no technical term in English for this kind of dreambook. The French term is "clef des songes." For the most recent survey of Byzantine dreambooks in this category (a total of nine items), and the identification of hitherto unknown manuscripts that afford the opportunity for further textual emendations to already published texts, see Th. Dettorakēs, "Ta byzantina oneirokritika: dyo nea cheirographa," *Palimpseston* 16 (1996), pp. 65-74.

in the title, though it is almost always a false attribution. The subject of this study, the so-called *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, is a work of this kind.

The oldest and most extensive work on the interpretation of dreams that survives in the Greek language is the *Oneirocritica* in five books written by Artemidoros in the second century A.D., during the age of the Antonines.⁴ His work belongs to a much earlier tradition of Greek dream interpretation. According to its preface, the material was collected through research and experience, and from older works on dream interpretation, whose authors are frequently quoted by name. The representatives of this older tradition lived as much as seven hundred years before Artemidoros's time.⁵ The five books of the *Oneirocritica* cover three hundred and twenty-four Teubner pages.⁶

Next in chronological order come the eight surviving Byzantine dreambooks.⁷ They are brief and schematic. Seven of them do not take up more than twenty pages of the volumes in which they appear. Only the so-called *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, two hundred and forty-one Teubner pages long, is comparable to the work of Artemidoros in length, breadth, and detailed treatment of dream symbols.⁸

The evidence found in or about the *Oneirocriticon* does not allow us to date it with great accuracy. Only a *terminus post* and a *terminus ante quem* that are removed from each other by approximately two centuries can be established. The work includes a chapter on icons,⁹ which indicates that it was composed

⁴ On Artemidoros and his age, see e.g., Artemidoros, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, introduction, trans. and commentary by Robert J. White (Park Ridge, N. J., 1975), pp. 1 ff. Also Artemidoros, *Traumbuch*, introduction, trans. and commentary by F.S. Krauss and M. Kaiser (Basel and Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 1 ff.

⁵ On Greek dream interpretation before Artemidoros, see D. del Corno, *Graecorum de re oneirocritica scriptorum reliquiae* (Milan, 1969).

⁶ Most recent critical edition, *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon Libri V*, ed. R. Pack (Leipzig, 1963), hereafter cited as Pack.

⁷ Six of them have been studied, dated, and translated in S. M. Oberhelman, "The Oneirocritic Literature of the Late Roman and Byzantine Eras of Greece: Manuscript Studies, Translations and Commentaries to the Dream Books of Greece during the First Millennium A.D., with Greek and English Catalogues of the Dream Symbols and with a Discussion of Greek Oneiromancy from Homer to Manuel the Palaeologian," Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1981. A seventh, which survives in *Marc. gr.* 608 but is still unpublished, is mentioned in Guidorizzi, "I prontuari oniromantici bizantini," p. 138. See also the more recent German translation of the shorter Byzantine dream books by K. Brackertz, *Die Volks-Traumbücher des byzantinischen Mittelalters* (Munich, 1993).

⁸ Critical edition *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexel (Leipzig, 1925), hereafter cited as Drexel when identifying quotations in notes and text.

⁹ Chapter 150, Drexel 105, 12 ff.

after the end of iconoclasm and the restitution of icons in 843.¹⁰

Three manuscripts from the eleventh century indicate that the *Oneirocriticon* enjoyed a fairly wide circulation before the century's end, providing the *terminus ante quem*. The first of the three is *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690, which contains an abridged version of the *Oneirocriticon* and constitutes the oldest surviving manuscript of the work. G. Rochefort dated the manuscript between 1075 and 1085 on the basis of paleography.¹¹ The second is *Laurent. Plut.* 87, 8 (11th century), the oldest surviving manuscript of Artemidoros. An eleventh-century hand copied two passages from the *Oneirocriticon* on the margins of this manuscript as commentary to passages from Artemidoros with similar contents.¹² On the basis of these two manuscripts S. Oberhelman established ca. 1075 as the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the work.¹³ Supporting it also is a third manuscript from the eleventh century, *Patmiacus* 6,¹⁴ which is the oldest surviving manuscript of the anthology known as the *Florilegium Baroccianum*.¹⁵ A lengthy passage of the *Oneirocriticon*¹⁶ is excerpted in "λόγος ΜΔ' Περὶ ἐνυπνίων" (chapter 24, On Dreams) among quotations from the Old and the New Testament, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, St. John of the Ladder, St. Ephraim, Achilles Tatius and a letter of Euryviades to Kimon, both Athenians of the fifth century B.C.¹⁷ The composition of the *Florilegium Baroccianum* has also been placed in the

¹⁰ Earlier studies on the *Oneirocriticon* consider the beginning of the reign of Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813) as a *terminus post quem*. The caliph is mentioned in the *Oneirocriticon* seven times (Drexel 15, 19; 16, 2; 23, 25; 29, 18; 57, 13; 99, 7; 111, 25).

¹¹ G. Rochefort, "Une anthologie grecque du XIe siècle: Le *Parisinus Suppl. gr.* 690," *Scriptorium* 4 (1950), pp. 3-17.

¹² Pack designated this hand as L¹. The passages comment on Artemidoros's theory of dream interpretation and can be found on fols. 7r (Drexel 240, 21-241, 17) and 8r (Drexel 240, 9-12), corresponding to Pack 16, 10 and 18, 17; cf. Pack, pp. vi-vii; also S. Oberhelman, "Two Marginal Notes from Achmet in the Cod. *Laurent. Plut.* 87, 8," *BZ* 74 (1981), pp. 326-27, who presents this information as his own discovery without reference to Pack.

¹³ S. Oberhelman, *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet: A Medieval Greek and Arabic Treatise on the Interpretation of Dreams* (Lubbock, Tex., 1991), p. 13.

¹⁴ A. Kominēs, *Patmiakē Bibliothēkē, ētoi katalogos tōn cheiographōn kōdikōn tēs Hieras Monēs Hagiou Ioannon tou Theologou Patmou*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1988), pp. 8-12.

¹⁵ M. Richard, *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1962), s.v. "Florilèges spirituels," col. 494 3°. Richard does not explain the reasons for such a date.

¹⁶ Drexel 1, 16-2, 22.

¹⁷ E. Sargologos, *Une traité de vie spirituelle et morale du XIe siècle: le florilège sacro-profane du manuscrit 6 de Patmos* (Asprovalta and Thessaloniki, 1990), p. 838. The excerpt is identified by D. Christidēs, "To apospasma tou Sirim sto *Florilegium Baroccianum*," *Hellēnika* 43:2 (1993), pp. 219-25.

eleventh century. The most recent author, other than Achmet, cited in the *Florilegium* is Patriarch Photius (d. 898).¹⁸ The text of the *Oneirocriticon* mentions a few financial and administrative terms that confirm its dating between 843 and 1075, but it is impossible to narrow down this time span based on their occurrence.

The influence that the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet exerted on subsequent works on dream interpretation was considerable. Dreambooks produced in medieval and Renaissance Europe are heavily indebted not only to Artemidoros, but also to the *Oneirocriticon*. Its full text was translated into Latin in the twelfth century, that is, almost four hundred years earlier than the full text of Artemidoros,¹⁹ and through this translation found its way into several European vernacular languages from the late thirteenth century onward.²⁰ The *Oneiro-*

¹⁸ The reason is the difficulty of establishing exactly when a technical term appeared for the first time, became obsolete, or changed in meaning. These changes came about gradually, and often our archival information is insufficient for drawing a definite conclusion. The terms are *nomismata*, *miliaresia* and *folleis* (Drexl 208, 19-209, 22), which, in the context of the *Oneirocriticon*, mean "gold coin," "silver coin" and "bronze coin" respectively. All three terms had been current since late antiquity, but gradually became obsolete after Alexios Komnenos's coinage reform of 1092. In the passage on coins from the abridgment of *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690 (fol. 128v, col. 1) *nomisma* has the general meaning of "coin" (which was current even before 1092) and therefore cannot be used either to confirm or to reject the dating of 1075-85 ascribed to the manuscript. The word *charistikē* in the context of the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 76, 1-3) indicates a royal gift other than cash; at least that is the meaning this word has in the tenth-century military treatise attributed to Constantine Porphyrogenitus; see Constantine VII (attributed to), *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, ed. and trans. J. Haldon (Vienna, 1990), p. 239. *Charistikē* is also an administrative term indicating the giving of a monastery to a private person or institution on a conditional basis for a limited period. Its first known use is in a 908 act of Leo VI (r. 886-912), though the main evidence comes from a somewhat later period; its last known use is in the *diataxis* of Michael Attaleiates (1077). *Paroikos* (Drexl 52, 23-24) in classical Greek means "neighbor"; its meaning in the Old and New Testament is "foreign, alien," and in early Christian literature "sojourner, temporary resident." From the tenth century through to the end of the Byzantine Empire, *paroikos* signifies a dependent peasant, and this is the meaning of the word as it is used in the *Oneirocriticon*.

¹⁹ The complete text of the *Oneirocriticon* was translated into Latin by Leo Tuscus in 1176; that of Artemidoros, by Janus Cornarius in 1539.

²⁰ For the influence of the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet on Latin and vernacular dreambooks, see F. Berriot, *Exposicions et significacions des songes* (Geneva, 1989), pp. 36-42. He dates the Anglo-Norman version of the *Oneirocriticon* in manuscript Berlin 968.Q to the late 13th century. For a critical edition of the Middle French version, see M. G. Glover, "Critical Edition of the Middle French Version of Achmet ibn Sirin's Oneiromancy Found in MS *Français* 1317 fols. 51r-106v, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Entitled (cy commence la table des) Exposicions et significacions des songes par Daniel et autres exposez," Ph.D. diss., Birkbeck College, London, 1992 (inaccessible to me). On the influence of the *Oneirocriticon* in medieval and early modern Europe, see L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 2 (New York, 1943), pp. 290-304; T. Fahd, "L'oniromancie orientale et ses repercussions sur l'oniromancie de l'occident médiéval," *Oriente e Occidente nel medioevo: filosofia e scienze: convegno internazionale*, 9-15

criticon is therefore the most important Byzantine dreambook in terms of both size and literary impact on the genre of dream interpretation.

The *Oneirocriticon* can be dated to the late ninth or the tenth century, a period of increased intellectual activity in Byzantium known as the Macedonian Renaissance. The role of the classical, Hellenistic and late-antique heritage on the literary output of this period has been discussed at length in scholarly publications.²¹ Determining the *Oneirocriticon*'s sources and especially its relationship to the second-century Greek text of Artemidoros can shed further light on its character.

Investigating the sources of the *Oneirocriticon* is important not only on account of the literary impact of the work and its significance for cultural and intellectual history, but also because of the potential misunderstandings that might arise when contemporary scholars use the text as a source for the study of everyday life in Byzantium. Before tapping into the wealth of information it provides on the material culture of the Middle Byzantine period and the mind and soul of the Byzantine, it is imperative to know where the interpretations offered in this dreambook came from and what changes, if any, they underwent in the process of transmission.

Earlier Scholarship

The discussion of the sources and authorship of the *Oneirocriticon* began in 1577, when Johann Loewenklau (Johannes Leunclavius, 1533-93) published his Latin translation of the Greek text. Loewenklau based his translation on a single Greek manuscript, then in the possession of the Hungarian humanist János Zsámboky (Johannes Sambucus)²² and today in the Österreichische

april 1969 (Rome, 1971), pp. 347-74; S. Collin-Roset, ed. "Le Liber Thesauri Occulti de Pascalis Romanus," *AHDLM* 30 (1964), pp. 111-98. The influence of the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet on a Slavonic dreambook has yet to be determined. The work survives in a Dubrovnik manuscript from 1520 and is attributed to the prophet Daniel. It is different, however, from other known Old Slavic versions of Daniel's dreambook. The immediate ancestry of the Dubrovnik dreambook can be traced to a combination of Byzantine and Latin (Italian) traditions (information provided by Adelina Angusheva and brought to my attention by Professor I. Ševčenko).

²¹ For bibliography on the subject, see *ODB*, s.vv. "Encyclopedism" and "Renaissance."

²² Johannes Sambucus or János Zsámboky of Nagyszombat/Trnava (1531-84) was a Hungarian humanist, physician, and historiographer to the Viennese court. He traveled extensively in Italy in search of Greek manuscripts. In 1578 his collection of Greek manuscripts was purchased by the Imperial Library in Vienna and formed the basis for the Greek manuscript collection of today's Nationalbibliothek. See H. Gerstinger, "Johannes Sambucus als Handschriftsammler," *Festschrift*

Nationalbibliothek (Vindob. philos. et philol. gr. 297), which was copied at the beginning of the sixteenth century.²³ Loewenklaui's translation was published under the title, *Apomasaris Apotelesmata sive de significatis et eventis insomniorum, ex Indorum, Persarum Aegyptiorumque disciplina* (The "Apotelesmata"²⁴ of Apomasar, or on the Meaning and Consequences of Dreams from the Teaching of the Indians, Persians and Egyptians).²⁵ The name of the author is given as "Apomasar" on the Greek manuscript itself, but its first folio with the title of the work is missing. The specification "from the Indians, Persians and Egyptians" was taken from the chapter headings in the Greek text. In his twelve-page preface to the translation, Loewenklaui briefly explained how he found the manuscript and discussed dream interpretation in ancient Greek and Latin literature. He observed that in the text the Arabs were nowhere mentioned. The Persians were the "Magians" known from Herodotus; the Indians, also called "Gymnosophistae," were known from Plutarch's life of Alexander the Great. As for the Egyptians, Loewenklaui admitted that he knew nothing about their science and sacred literature and would rather not repeat the abundant but unscholarly information that was circulating at the time.²⁶ Loewenklaui did not know who the author Apomasar was, but according to information provided by J. Camerarius, he must have been the Arab scholar known in the West as Albumasar, "qui vero nomine Iaphar adpellabatur," or more accurately Abū Ma'shar Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Balkhī, an Arab astrologer of the ninth century known for his copious quotations in his writings from Indian, Egyptian and Persian sources.²⁷ Loewenklaui notes that Albumasar was an Arab and a Muslim, and further remarks that the author of

der Nationalbibliothek in Wien (Vienna, 1926), pp. 251-400; idem, "Aus dem Tagebuch des kaiserlichen Hofhistoriographen Johannes Sambucus (1531-84)," *Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse* 248:2 (1965); idem and A. Vantuch, "Die Briefe des Johannes Sambucus (Zsámboky) 1554-1584," *Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse* 255 (1968); A. Vantuch, *Jan Sambucus* (Bratislava, 1975).

²³ F. Drexel, *Achmet's Traumbuch, Einleitung und Probe eines kritischen Textes*, Inauguraldissertation (Freising, 1909), p. 15. For the most recent description of the manuscript, see H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 4 vols. in 7 (Vienna, 1961-1994), vol. 1, p. 392.

²⁴ The Greek word *apotelesmata* literally means "outcomes," "results"; as a technical term in astrology it means the results of certain positions of the stars on human destiny.

²⁵ Further specifications: "Depromptus e Io. Sambuci v.c. bibliotheca liber, Io. Leunklavio interprete. Francofurti, excudebat Andreas Wechelus, 1577."

²⁶ Praefatio, pp. 7-8.

²⁷ On Abū Ma'shar Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Balkhī (787-886), see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 7, pp. 139-51 and 328-29; also *DSB*, s.v. "Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī, Ja'far ibn Muḥammad."

the Greek text could not have been either, even if he was not a Greek, because of the obvious Christian character of numerous passages in the book. Loewenklaui was certain that the true identity of the dreambook's author could be found, if only the first folio of Zsámboky's manuscript had not been missing.

The text in *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr. 297* begins with the last phrases from the fourth introductory chapter of the *Oneirocriticon*,²⁸ which is immediately followed by the interpretation of the first dream symbol, the Resurrection of the Dead, according to the Indians, the Egyptians and the Persians. The first page of the manuscript, as it now stands, contains the following chapter headings: "ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐρμηνεία περὶ ἀναστάσεως" (From the Indians, Interpretation on the Resurrection); "ἐκ τῶν αἰγυπτίων περὶ ἀναστάσεως ὁμοίως" (From the Egyptians on Resurrection, as Well); "ἐκ τῶν περσῶν περὶ ἀναστάσεως" (From the Persians on Resurrection); "ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ παραδείσου" (From the Indians on Paradise). In the space left after the third chapter heading, "ἐκ τῶν περσῶν περὶ ἀναστάσεως" (From the Persians on Resurrection), a later hand has added the word ἀπομάσαρος (*Apomasaros*), a Hellenized form of the name of Abū Ma'shar, which is also repeated in the upper margin of the same page. Many of his works had been translated into Greek before the end of the tenth century.²⁹ In

²⁸ The text begins in the middle of a word: "ῥων ὄψεαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὴν [sic] εἶχε πόθον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς..." (Drexel 3, 17 ff.).

²⁹ Only one of these translations has received a critical edition. This is Abū Ma'shar's handbook on casting horoscopes entitled *Kitāb tahāwīl sinī al-mawālīd* (Book of the Revolutions of the Years of Nativities), translated into Greek as *Peri tēs tōn etōn enallagēs*. Only the first five books survive; critical edition Abū Ma'shar, *Albumasar's: De revolutionibus nativitatum*, ed. D. Pingree (Leipzig, 1967). On the date of the translation, see *ibid.*, p. viii. The Byzantine astrological compendium, *Ta mystēria tou Apomasar* (The Mysteries of Apomasar), contains excerpts from further works by Abū Ma'shar: Book 1 of the *Mysteries* discusses elections and seems to be based on his *Kitāb al-ikhtiyārāt* (Book of Elections) and possibly also his *Kitāb al-sihām* (Book of Lots). Book 2 (partially published in *CCAG*, vol. 4, pp. 124-27 and *CCAG*, vol. 5:1, pp. 142-55), is a work by his student Abū Sa'īd Shādhān b. Baḥr, who quotes him profusely. The title of the Arabic work is *Kitāb mudhakarāt abī Ma'shar fī asrār 'ilm al-nujūm wa-sū'āl abī Sa'īd Shādhān ibn Baḥr 'an abī Ma'shar wa-jawābāt abī Ma'shar lahu bi-mā ajābahu* (Book of the Deliberations of Abū Ma'shar on the Secrets of Astrology and the Questions of Abū Sa'īd Shādhān b. Baḥr to Abū Ma'shar and the Answers of Abū Ma'shar by Which He Responded to Him). See M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (Leiden, 1972), p. 323. On the date of the Byzantine translation, see D. Pingree, "Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia," *DOP* 43 (1989), p. 227. Book 3 of the *Mysteries* consists for the most part of lengthy selections from Abū Ma'shar's *Kitāb al-madkhal al-kabīr 'ala 'ilm al-hikām al-nujūm* (Great Introduction to the Science of Astrology). The Greek translation of yet another work by Abū Ma'shar, his *Kitāb qirānāt al-kawākib fī al-burūj al-ithnā 'ashara* (Book of the Conjunctions of the Planets in the Twelve Signs) is included in the first book of another Byzantine astrological compendium, the *Introduction*

them, he refers to the use of horoscopes by the Babylonians, Persians, Indians, and Egyptians. Conceivably, someone familiar with Abū Ma'shar's predilection for Indian, Persian, and Egyptian sources read the first chapters of the *Oneirocriticon* in the acephalous *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 297, associated its contents with the Arab astrologer and wrote the name "Apomasaros" in the manuscript margin, where Loewenklau subsequently found it. Abū Ma'shar was very well known to Latin scholars, because his *Introduction to Astrology*, translated into Latin in the eleventh century, had become a standard textbook in the Latin West. That is why his name was familiar to Camerarius, Loewenklau's informant. Loewenklau transferred the marginal note of the Greek manuscript to the title of his Latin translation, thus making Abū Ma'shar the author of the dreambook.

We know that Abū Ma'shar did write a book on dream interpretation, but it is now lost,³⁰ and there is reason to doubt that the *Oneirocriticon* is the translation of that work. First, the title of the lost dreambook, *Kitāb tafsīr al-manāmāt min al-nujūm* (Book on Dream Interpretation by the Stars), indicates that its contents combined dream interpretation with astrology and explained how to interpret dreams according to the phases of the moon and the position of the stars, a method known from texts that survive in Greek manuscripts,³¹ but never mentioned in the *Oneirocriticon*. Second, the Indians to whom the genuine works of Abū Ma'shar refer are clearly Hindus, while the Indians quoted in the *Oneirocriticon* are Christians. Third, the *Oneirocriticon* includes a chapter on the interpretation of the planets in the following sequence: Sun, Moon,

to *Astrology* by Aḥmad the Persian (published in *CCAG*, vol. 2, pp. 123-30). For information on the works of Abū Ma'shar and their Greek and Latin translations, see Pingree's article in *DSB*, s.v. "Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī, Ja'far ibn Muḥammad."

³⁰ *Kitāb tafsīr al-manāmāt min al-nujūm*; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, J. Rödiger and A. Müller (Leipzig, 1871), p. 277, l. 20. Ullmann suggested anew that the *Oneirocriticon* is a translation of this work by Abū Ma'shar, but the text he cited is the Latin translation by Loewenklau. See Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimpwissenschaften im Islam*, p. 324.

³¹ For example, *Vat. gr.* 1056, fol. 116r (published in *CCAG*, vol. 5:3, pp. 88-90); also, *Paris. gr.* 2417, fol. 165r (published in *CCAG*, vol. 8:1, pp. 152-53). Both are chapters from longer astrological works. Dreambooks that connect the veracity of dreams to the phases of the moon survive in several manuscripts, among them the following: *Athen. Bibl. Nat.* 1275 (ed. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, vol. 1 [Liège and Paris, 1927], pp. 182-83); *Athen. Bibl. Nat.* 1350 (ed. *ibid.*, pp. 204-5); *Paris. gr.* 2315 (ed. *ibid.*, p. 546); *Paris. gr.* 2511 (ed. *ibid.*, pp. 525-26; and ed. F. Drexel, *Bayerische Blätter für das Gymnasialschulwesen* 1923, pp. 214-15); *Vat. gr.* 342 and *Berol. gr.* 168 (ed. S. G. Mercati, "Onirocriticon lunare secondo i codici Vaticano greco 342 e Berlinense greco 168," *BZ* 32 [1932], pp. 263-66); *Vat. gr.* 573. See Guidorizzi, "I proutuari onirocritici bizantini," p. 139; also T. Gregory, "I sogni e gli astri," *I sogni nel medioevo*, ed. *idem* (Rome, 1985), pp. 111-48.

Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.³² In antiquity and the Middle Ages the planets were given several different sequences, but the one that appears in the *Oneirocriticon* does not correspond to any of them.³³ These planets were evidently listed in the Arabic source used by the *Oneirocriticon* by someone without astrological expertise, according to the order in which he could remember them. It is improbable that an accomplished astrologer such as Abū Ma'shar would overlook the basic principles of his science. Last but not least, the third introductory chapter of the *Oneirocriticon*, which is missing from *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 297 and is ascribed to the dream interpreter of the Persian king, denounces astrology and declares that dream interpretation is an easier and more accurate way to predict the future.³⁴ It is unlikely that an astrologer would quote such a condemnation of his art in his own work.

Loewenklau predicted that the dreambook he translated would not be pleasing to "good and erudite men," for it is inferior to the dreambook of Artemidoros, which is on a similar subject, although Apomasar wrote long after Artemidoros. He observed that, like Artemidoros, Apomasar suggested different interpretations of a dream depending on the social situation of the dreamer, as well on the season of the year and time of day at which a dream was dreamt. Loewenklau agreed that although much of the text's contents was pure superstition, it should be tolerated, for, as he put it, "Don't we read pagan and foreign texts that are filled with superstitions? And don't we forgive their superstitions, like a mark on the skin that does not mar the body?"

Twenty-six years later, in 1603, the Greek text was printed for the first time. The editor was N. Rigault (Rigaltius) who published a number of dreambooks in a single volume.³⁵ In his two-page introduction, Rigault admitted that he knew little about the author, Achmet. He was an Arab physician, none other than the one whose seven books on medicine were mentioned by Gesner,

³² Drexel 129, 12-18.

³³ See O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, 2nd ed. (Providence, R. I., 1957), p. 169.

³⁴ Drexel 2, 25-3, 11.

³⁵ *Artemidori Daldiani et Achmetis Sereimi f. Oneirocritica. Astrampsychi et Nicephori versus etiam Oneirocritici. Nicolai Rigaltii ad Artemidorum Notae* (Paris, 1603). This was published "ex officina Claudii Morelli," but the same volume, with the same title and contents was printed that same year by another Parisian printer, Marcus Orry ("Apud M. Orry"). See V. F. Goldsmith, *A Short-Title Catalogue of French Books, 1601-1700, in the Library of the British Museum* (London, 1969), nos. 913 and 914.

a piece of information which is correct according to Ianus Antonius Saracenus in his notes to Dioscorides.³⁶ Rigault added that twenty-six or twenty-seven years earlier Loewenklaui had published a Latin translation, but the text was in several passages corrupt and mistakenly attributed to Apomasar, as Loewenklaui himself later admitted in his *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum*. Rigault concluded:

And, so that I do not conceal or disguise anything, I have adduced two codices of the royal library, but there was nowhere I could obtain the name of Achmet with certainty, for they are both ἀκέφαλοι. Except that in one of the two an inscription with the name of Achmet ["*Achmetis titulus*"] was placed before the text by a more recent hand. Moreover, in the Greek copy, from which Leo Tuscus translated the text into Latin and dedicated [his translation] to Hugo Echerianus³⁷ around the year 1160, the name of the author was missing, as it is possible to deduce from the Italian translation by Tricassus Mantuanus. From that translation I have transcribed the prologue which you see here, not because I believe that this prologue was

³⁶ There is no evidence in the Greek text itself that would connect it to medicine, except for the fact that in some of its later manuscripts it is copied together with medical texts. This is done in *Cambrig. (Trinity College) gr. 1386* (O 8.11, 6102); *Paris. gr. 2419*; *Bononiensis (Bibl. Univ.) 3632*. Rigault's observation only shows how much in his own mind dream interpretation was associated with medicine. Konrad Gessner's first volume of the *Bibliotheca Universalis*, which is an index of authors, includes the following entries: "Achmeti opus de proportionibus singularibus. Achmeth medici filij Habramij peregrinantium viatica libris septem Graeco sermone descripta. Habet eos hoc tempore Venetijs illustrissimus vir D. Diegus Hurtadus à Mendoza Caesareae majestatis legatus" (C. Gesner, *Bibliotheca Universalis* [Zurich, 1545], pt. 1, *Quae omnis generis authorum nomina cum lucubrationibus singulorum iuxta literarum seriem proponit*, p. 3). The second entry clearly refers to Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Khālid al-Jazzār (on him, see below, n. 43). I was unable to locate any reference to any other author named Achmet in Gesner. The second volume of the *Bibliotheca Universalis*, the *Pandectarum sive partitionum universalium libri XXI, sive Bibliothecae Tomus II* (Zurich, 1548), contains a classified arrangement of the contents of the *Bibliotheca* and supplements. Only *libri I-XIX* were issued; *liber XX*, which dealt with the subject of medicine, was never published; *liber XXI*, which dealt with theology, was published separately in 1549; see J. Christian Bay, "Conrad Gesner (1516-1565), The Father of Bibliography: An Appreciation," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 10:2 (April 1916), p. 66. This means that Gesner never published any further information on "Achmeth," nor did he connect Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Khālid al-Jazzār with dream interpretation.

I was unable to identify Ianus Antonius Saracenus, aside from a single reference to one of his publications, *De peste commentarius* (Lyons, 1572); see *Short Catalogue of Books Printed in France and of French Books Printed in Other Countries from 1470 to 1600 Now in the British Museum* (London, 1924). H. M. Adams, *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1967), p. 387, mentions a work published by Johannes Antonius Saracenus, *Summa Pont. Leoni X. J.A.S. equitis et oratoris pro repub. Senen.* (Rome, [1513?]); however, since Janus is not identical to Johannes, and the two works are rather removed from each other in terms of date, place of publication, and subject matter, it is possible that *De peste* and the *Summa* were not by the same author.

³⁷ Sic, instead of "Etherianus."

written by Achmet, for I rather think it is by Leo, but in order that nothing should seem to be missing from our edition.³⁸

Soon after the first edition of the Greek text appeared, Barth observed that "Achmet, son of Sereim, is not the author of the Greek compilation, but rather a barbarian (*barbaricus*) dream interpreter."³⁹ Somewhat later, in 1688, Du Cange rejected Achmet's authorship of the Greek dreambook.⁴⁰ The problem was further discussed by Peter Lambeck in his commentary on the holdings of the Imperial Library in Vienna, published some seventy years after the appearance of the first edition of the *Oneirocriticon*.⁴¹ In discussing *cod. 143*,⁴² Lambeck pointed out that Rigault's identification of Achmet based on Gesner was wrong. Rigault, according to Lambeck, confused Achmet, a dream interpreter by profession, "with Achmet the Syrian, son of Abraham, grandson of Khālid, a physician by profession."⁴³ He then ran a chronological check

³⁸ On the second unnumbered page of the preface addressed to the reader following the title page: "Achmetis f. Seirim Oneirocritica, nunc primum graece in lucem edita. Ex bibliotheca Regis Christianissimi."

³⁹ Kaspar von Barth, *Casparis Barthi Adversariorum commentariorum libri LX* (Frankfurt, 1624), vol. 1, bk. 31, chap. 14.

⁴⁰ Du Cange, s.v. "Μαμοῦν."

⁴¹ P. Lambeck, *Commentariorum de augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, 8 vols. (Vienna, 1665-1679), vol. 7, codd. CXLII-CXLVI, cols. 562-88.

⁴² Today *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr. 111* (13th century), which includes the opening chapter of the work, entitled "ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, βιβλίον ὀνειροκριτικὸν ὅπερ συνήξε καὶ συνέταξε Ἀχμετ υἱὸς Σερείμ, ὁ ὀνειροκριτὴς τοῦ πρώτου συμβούλου Μαμοῦν" (In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Book on dream interpretation which was put together and composed by Achmet, son of Sereim, dream interpreter to Caliph Mamoun). For a detailed description, see Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 1, p. 222.

⁴³ This is Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Khālid al-Jazzār (d. 979). He was from Kairouan, Tunisia. His *Kitāb i'timād al-adwiya al-mufrada* (Book of Reliance on Simple Medicines) and *Zād al-musāfir* (Supplies for a Traveler) were translated into Greek presumably by Constantine the African. Lambeck must have thought he was Syrian because the title of the Greek translation of *Zād al-musāfir* in *Vindob. med. gr. 30* reads as follows: Αὕτη πολυτρύλητος [sic] ἡ Σύρων βίβλος. Βίβλος λεγόμενη τὰ ἑφόδια τοῦ Ἀποδημοῦντος, συντεθεῖσα παρὰ Ἑπρου Βαγχαφάρ τοῦ Ἑβην Ἑλγζηζάρ, μεταβληθεῖσα εἰς τὴν ἑλλάδα γλώτταν παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου πρωτασηκρίτου τοῦ Ῥηγίνου. Αὕτη βίβλος ἦν ἡ πάλαι θρυλουμένη, ἡ καὶ Σύρικος εὐστόχως κεκλημένη (This is the famous book of the Syrians. The book called "Supplies for the Traveler," composed by Abū Ja'far b. al-Jazzār, translated into the Greek language by Constantine of Rhegium, the *protasecretis*. This is the long famous book, which is appropriately called Syrian). Moreover, the index of the work in the same manuscript is titled Σύνταγμα δέλτος [δέλτου?] ἐκ Σύρων σοφοῦ γένους (Composition of the book from the wise nation of the Syrians). See Lambeck, *Commentariorum*, vol. 6:2, cols. 285 ff. The titles in *Vindob. med. gr. 30* can be found in Lambeck's description of manuscript 29, which is today *Vindob. med. gr. 20*. For a recent

using chapter 19 of the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 15, 18ff.), where Achmet is presented as a dream interpreter to Caliph al-Ma'mūn, who died in 833. Lambeck cited a number of Greek sources, as well as *Georgii Elmacini Historia Saracenica*, published in 1625, that attest to al-Ma'mūn's interest in Greek learning.⁴⁴ However, Lambeck observed that the Arab revolt that overthrew the reigning caliph described in chapter 192 (Drexl 148, 17ff.) fits better into the reign of al-Amīn, the brother of al-Ma'mūn, who was deposed by al-Ma'mūn's revolt in 813. Since in chapter 19 Achmet speaks in the first person, Lambeck believed that the text furnishes two chronological indications that allow us to date it to the beginning of the ninth century and, more specifically, to the reign of al-Ma'mūn. Lambeck concluded that, as is clear from the *Oneirocriticon* itself, Achmet, though the dream interpreter to the Muslim al-Ma'mūn, was himself a Christian. He must also have been of Greek origin, since he wrote the *Oneirocriticon* in Greek, a language that al-Ma'mūn, to whom the *Oneirocriticon* is dedicated in the first chapter, knew well.⁴⁵

Lambeck went on to comment on three other codices that contain Achmet's text.⁴⁶ The last one is the codex that once belonged to Zsámboky, the one from which Loewenklau had made his Latin translation attributed to Apomasar. Lambeck pointed out that a note ἀπομάσαρος next to the chapter heading "ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν περὶ ἀναστάσεως" (From the Persians on Resurrection) must have been responsible for the mistaken attribution.

There was considerable confusion and disagreement about the identity of Achmet among the early scholars. One reason for their difficulties was the dearth of available publications on Islamic history and literature. The last volume of Lambeck's *Commentarii* was published in 1679. Eighteen years later, in 1697, a milestone of Oriental studies and a forerunner of today's *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the *Bibliothèque orientale* by Barthélemy d'Herbelot

description of both manuscripts, see Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 2, pp. 64-66 and 80-82; for Ibn al-Jazzār, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 3, pp. 304-7; for the Greek translations, see H. Hunger, *Byzantinē logotechnia. Hē logia kosmikē grammateia tōn byzantinōn*, vol. 3 (Athens, 1994), pp. 134-35 [Greek translation with updated bibliography of *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978)].

⁴⁴ Lambeck, *Commentariorum*, vol. 6:2, col. 574: "Georgii Elmacini *Historia Saracenica*, a Thoma Erpenio in Latinam linguam translata, & a Jacobo Golio A.C. 1625 Lugduni Batavorum typis Erpenianis Arabice ac Latine in folio edita."

⁴⁵ The first chapter of the *Oneirocriticon* does contain a dedication to a *despotēs*, but no name is given. Though al-Ma'mūn was interested in Greek learning and sponsored translations of Greek works into Arabic, we have no reason to assume that he knew Greek himself.

⁴⁶ CXLIV, CXLV and CXLVI, today *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 162, 287 and 297.

(1625-95) appeared.⁴⁷ It was published posthumously, its author having died two years earlier, and was a work of unprecedented breadth. It is, however, marred by errors that are only too easy to criticize today, after three hundred years of additional scholarship. Among them, it lists at least three different figures by the name of Sirin: first, "Ebn Sirin..., qui a été fort estimé pour l'austerité de sa vie" (no connection with dream interpretation mentioned); second, "Abou Abdallah Mohammed Ben Sirin," also known as "al-Salemi," who wrote a dreambook in fifty chapters (Paris, Bibliothèque du Roi, ms. 1034) based on that of "Abou Ishak al-Kermani"; third, "Mohammed Ben Sirin," who made an Arabic translation and commentary of the Greek dreambook of Artemidoros.⁴⁸ Muḥammad b. Sīrīn was a Muslim scholar of the seventh century known for the piety and austerity of his life. From the tenth century onward he was credited with the authorship of a number of dreambooks. The translator of Artemidoros into Arabic was Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (9th century). D'Herbelot's misleading information passed from one scholarly work to the next, and injected confusion into subsequent discussions on the relationship of the Greek *Oneirocriticon* to Arabic dreambooks for more than two hundred years.

Between 1766 and 1782, Lambeck's *Commentarii* was published again, this time augmented and improved with notes by Adam František Kollar (alias Colarius, 1718-83). The new editor consulted d'Herbelot and repeated what he said, namely, that Ibn Sirīn, also known as "Alsalemi," wrote a dreambook (the one that survived in Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris as ms. 1034⁴⁹) based on the work of al-Kirmanī. Kollar observed that the Arabic dreambook in fifty chapters differed from the Greek *Oneirocriticon*, which is divided into a larger number of chapters, and while Ibn Sirīn was an Arab and a Muslim, Kollar

⁴⁷ B. d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale, ou Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connoissance des peuples de l'Orient* (Paris, 1697). The work was reprinted several times in the course of the 18th century.

⁴⁸ A full account of d'Herbelot's entries on dream interpretation and correction of the mistakes can be found in Steinschneider, "Ibn Shahin und Ibn Sirin zur Literatur der Oneirokritik," *ZDMG* 17 (1863), pp. 234-35.

⁴⁹ This is the call number given by d'Herbelot. However, the manuscript had already been given a new call number, 1212, and was described under the new call number in the catalogue that was current when Kollar was writing. According to Steinschneider, "Ibn Shahin und Ibn Sirin," p. 235, d'Herbelot's 1034 had become 1210 (today it is 2742). However, 1210 is titled *Ta'bir al-Ru'yā* and its older number was 4573; 1212 (today 2744) bears the older number 1034 and a Latin note stating that its title is "Ketab alescharat fi elm al-ebarat." It is divided into fifty chapters, and is the work of "Abou Abdallah Mohammed Ben Sirin," based on the method and principles of "Abou Ishak al-Kermani."

considered the Greek work to be a compilation that used Achmet, Apomasar and other Muslim writers, but was written by a Christian Greek who lived later than his Arab models. Kollar believed this compiler to have been Symeon Seth (or his son) who flourished in the eleventh century and who knew Arabic.⁵⁰ A number of works by Symeon Seth had already been published before Kollar's time.⁵¹

It is easy to exclude Symeon Seth as a candidate, however. He was a scientist and writer at the court of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), on whose orders he translated *Kalila wa-Dimna*, a collection of originally Indian fables, from Arabic into Greek.⁵² He was also familiar with Arabic medicine, as is evident in his medical writings. Not much is known about his life, though it is certain that he flourished in the second half of the eleventh century.⁵³ Kollar suggested that he might have been the compiler of the *Oneirocriticon* because he was known to have translated works from Arabic into Greek and to have lived after the reign of Caliph al-Ma'mūn, who is mentioned in the Greek dreambook. However, Symeon's style is more sophisticated than that of the *Oneirocriticon*, as is apparent not only from his grammar and syntax but also from the allusions in his texts that indicate familiarity with ancient Greek literature.⁵⁴ In addition, the *Oneirocriticon* enjoyed a wide circulation

⁵⁰ *Petri Labecii Hamburgensis Commentariorum de augustissima Bibliotheca caesarea vindobonensi*, ed. A. F. Kollar, 8 vols. (Vienna, 1766-82), vol. 7, cols. 561-64, n. (A).

⁵¹ For early publications of Symeon Seth's works, see K. Krumbacher, *Historia tēs byzantinēs logotechnias*, vol. 2, trans. S. Sōtēriadēs (Athens, 1900), pp. 420-21. The more recent work by Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, gives bibliography that postdates Kollar's. Kollar mentions that Fabricius had published Seth's writings in *Bibliotheca Graeca*, 14 vols., 1st ed. (Hamburg, 1708-28), vol. 13.

⁵² The work is known in Greek as *Stephanitēs kai Ichnelatēs*; its title informs us about the circumstances of its translation. See Symeon Seth, *Stephanites und Ichnelates: Überlieferungsgeschichte und Text*, ed. L. O. Sjöberg (Stockholm, 1962), p. 151: Συγγραφή ... ἐξ-ἐλληνισθεῖσα δὲ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει προστάξει τοῦ αὐτιδίου βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ (A work ... translated into Greek in Constantinople by order of the praiseworthy emperor lord Alexios Komnenos).

⁵³ See *ODB*, s.v. "Seth, Symeon."

⁵⁴ Besides the New Testament and the Psalter, *Stephanitēs kai Ichnelatēs* includes quotations from Choerilos Samios, Demosthenes, Galen, Hesiod, Homer (*Iliad*), Pindar and Theognis; see Sjöberg, *Stephanites und Ichnelates*, p. 246. The Greek translation of *Kalila wa-Dimna* was rather sophisticated, as shown in the recent study by H. Bassoukos-Kondylis, *Stephanites kai Ichnelates, traduction grecque (XIe siècle) du livre Kalila wa-Dimna d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' (VIIIe siècle). Étude lexicologique et littéraire* (Louvain, 1997); for a brief presentation of its arguments, see eadem, "Stephanites kai Ichnelates. Traduction grecque de *Kalila wa-Dimna*," *Muséon* 103 (1990), pp. 139-49. In his *Conspectus rerum naturalium* (Σύνοψις τῶν φυσικῶν), Symeon Seth refers to Plutarch, Aristotle and the Peripatetics, the Stoics, John Philoponos, Proclus, Ptolemy,

in the 1080s, if not earlier. An abridged version of it appears in *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690; it is quoted in the eleventh-century *Florilegium Baroccianum*, and its excerpts appear in the margins of the eleventh-century *Laurentianus Plut.* 87, 8. In short, both chronological and stylistic evidence tells us that Symeon Seth could not have been the compiler of the *Oneirocriticon*.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, a new catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Bibliothèque du Roi had been published. In the *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* that appeared in 1739, there are no remarks regarding the Greek connection of the Arabic manuscript mentioned by Kollar. However, in the entry on manuscript 1210 (today BN arabe 2742) we read the following:

ms. 1210: A bombycine codex that arrived in the library of Colbert through the services of Wansleben⁵⁶ in the year 1676. It contains the dreambook (*oneirocriticon*) of Muhammed, son of Sirin, who was born in Amida in Mesopotamia and died on the last day in the year of the Hijra 762. This work is exactly the same (*idem omnino est*) as the one produced in Greek by [the author] by the name Achmet son of Sirin.⁵⁷

The information incorporated into this entry is probably related to two Latin notes on the flyleaves of the manuscript. The first note, inscribed "Joseph Ascari 1735," informs us that Muḥammad b. Sirīn was from the Mesopotamian city of Amida (today Diyarbakir in Turkey), on the banks of the river Tigris. He died in 762 H. (1358 A.D.). On the next page a second Latin note by a different hand reads: "Cod. 4573, Oneirocriticon autore Muhamed f. Sirin. Idem qui graece editus est nomine Achmet f. Sirim,"⁵⁸ which must have been

Plato, and Stephanus of Alexandria, and shows his acquaintance with their theories; in his *De utilitate corporum caelestium* (περὶ χρηίας τῶν οὐρανίων σωμάτων) he mentions Gregory of Nyssa, Plotinus, Ptolemy, Poseidonius, Hippocrates, Galen, and Aristophanes; see A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, vol. 2 (Liège and Paris, 1939), p. 127.

⁵⁵ Kollar added that there might soon be a new edition of the *Oneirocriticon*. Jacob Tollus (1630-96) had compared Rigault's text with the four manuscripts in the Viennese Imperial Library, and had made numerous emendations, but had died before publishing his improved edition. His manuscript was in the hands of his heirs and Kollar thought they would probably have it published, though Kollar himself saw no need for a new edition, on account of the eminently superstitious nature of the *Oneirocriticon*. In fact Tollus's work was never printed.

⁵⁶ Johann Michael Wansleben (1635-79) was a German Orientalist who served as Colbert's envoy to Egypt between 1672 and 1676, when he was recalled to Paris. On his life, see A. Pougeois, *Vansleb, savant orientaliste et voyageur: sa vie, sa disgrâce, ses oeuvres* (Paris, 1869).

⁵⁷ *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* (Paris, 1737), p. 230.

⁵⁸ "Cod. 4573, dreambook by the author Muḥammad, son of Sirin. The same who is published in Greek by the name Achmet, son of Sirim."

what misled the cataloguer into stating that the work, and not simply the author, was the same as in the Greek edition.⁵⁹

The catalogue entry and the notes on the manuscript further complicate the problems of authorship and date. If the author lived in the fourteenth century, as is claimed in the note on the Paris manuscript and catalogue, how could he have served Caliph al-Ma'mūn, who lived in the ninth? Clearly, there is something wrong either with the dates given for the author, or with the identification of the two texts, or both.

Wüstenfeld, who included an entry on Ibn Sīrīn in his *History of the Arab Physicians*,⁶⁰ was the first to have noticed that dreambooks by later authors were attributed to Ibn Sīrīn (d. 728).⁶¹ The sources and authorship of the *Oneirocriticon* were discussed again by N. Bland, in an article that appeared in 1856.⁶² Bland drew the facts for his discussion primarily from Persian works on dream interpretation that had been translated from the Arabic. He gave a detailed exposition of the theoretical principles of Islamic dream interpretation according to the dreambooks with which he was familiar. He pointed out which of these principles were inspired by Greek philosophy and medicine⁶³ and made cursory mention of some similarities between Islamic dreambooks and the work of Artemidoros.⁶⁴ However, he did not investigate the subject, limiting himself only to a note: "[Artemidoros is] the authority most frequently named by Arabian writers on Tābīr, and the resemblance of the two systems is the most strongly traced in his writings."⁶⁵ In a long appendix to the article, he drew up a preliminary list of Islamic works on dream interpretation that he knew either from manuscripts (mostly Persian or Turkish) or, more often, from the list of sources given by the authors of dreambooks that he had read. He also appended the table of contents of a number of Islamic dreambooks that he had examined. Finally, he wrote two pages "On

⁵⁹ About the Latin notes on this manuscript, see also Fahd, "L'oniromancie orientale," pp. 364-65.

⁶⁰ F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Aerzte und Naturforscher* (Göttingen, 1840).

⁶¹ Note again the connection between dream interpretation and medicine; Wüstenfeld, *ibid.*, pp. 10-11, no. 20, mentions that Ibn Sīrīn was a well-known authority on Islamic law, *ḥadīth*, and dream interpretation, but cites no medical writings; nor does he refer to any medical activities by Ibn Sīrīn.

⁶² N. Bland, "On the Muhammedan Science of Tābīr, or Interpretation of Dreams," *JRAS* 16 (1856), pp. 118-71.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 128, 142.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 124, n. 3.

the pretended Greek and Latin version of Ibn Sīrīn's *Oneirocritics*," in which he mentioned the twelfth-century Latin translation by Leo Tuscus and that of Loewenklaus, as well as the edition of the Greek text by Rigault and the problematic attributions made until then. He observed that Ibn Sīrīn was not a contemporary of Caliph al-Ma'mūn and deduced that the "Sereim" of the Greek *Oneirocriticon* cannot be identified with the Arab Ibn Sīrīn. Moreover, the references in the Greek text to Christian notions show that the work was not composed by a Muslim. Bland judged that "the arrangement [of the *Oneirocriticon*], as well as the whole character of the composition, is far from Oriental"⁶⁶ and concluded:

On the whole it is reasonable to suppose the Greek to have been the original of the work, or perhaps that it was compiled in Arabic by some Christian, probably of Syria, from various native sources, and of these, especially, the Khabar al Māmūnī [a work that is known only by its title], which would account for the frequent mention of Māmūn. Ibn Sīrīn's name may have been assigned to it as its author, from the numerous interpretations it contains of his.⁶⁷

In 1863 M. Steinschneider, a scholar known for the enormous breadth of his studies on the medieval translations from other languages into Arabic and vice versa, published a response to Bland.⁶⁸ In it he attempted to ascertain the dates and identities of the Arab writers who had been proposed as the authors or sources of the Greek text. He was very careful not to repeat the suppositions and mistakes made by other scholars, but he briefly reviewed the previous literature on the identity of Ibn Sīrīn and pointed out the mistakes made in d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale* that had subsequently been perpetuated in the works of scholars such as Kollar and Bland. He also established the source of Artemidoros's influence on Arabic dream interpretation.⁶⁹ According to d'Herbelot, Ibn Sīrīn had prepared an Arabic translation of and commentary on the work of Artemidoros. Steinschneider, on the other hand, quoted the tenth-century bibliographical work, *al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, which stated that Ḥunayn b. Ishāq had translated the work of Artemidoros in five books into Arabic.⁷⁰ As for the Greek *Oneirocriticon*, Steinschneider mentioned the entry of the 1739 Paris catalogue of Arabic manuscripts, according to which

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁶⁸ Steinschneider, "Ibn Shahin und Ibn Sīrīn," pp. 227-44.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 235 and 241.

⁷⁰ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, et al., p. 255, ll. 9-10.

the text in ms. 1210 was identical with the Greek work. Steinschneider could not consult the manuscript himself, but suggested that the Arabic text might be a translation from the Greek and called for its re-examination by an Arabist to end "the doubts and confusion that have reigned until most recently."⁷¹ He prudently concluded that several questions concerning Arabic dream interpretation could only be answered by examining the beginnings of this kind of literature in Islam and carefully investigating not only the contents of dreambooks, but also their connection to the whole of Arabic literature.

Between 1883 and 1895 a new catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in Paris was prepared by De Slane. The old Bibliothèque du Roi had become the Bibliothèque Nationale and new call numbers had been assigned to the older acquisitions (it was then that the old Bibliothèque du Roi ms. 1210 became BN *arabe* 2742). It is not clear whether De Slane was aware of the debate surrounding this manuscript, or whether he examined it with Steinschneider's suggestion in mind; in any case, the new catalogue included no comment on the alleged connection between BN *arabe* 2742 and the Greek *Oneirocriticon*.⁷²

In his 1898 collation of Rigault's 1603 edition of the *Oneirocriticon* with further Greek manuscripts, C.-E. Ruelle states that "Achmet or Ahmed Abou-Mazar, son of Seirim, an Arab physician, lived at the beginning of the ninth century. He was a Christian and fulfilled the function of a dream interpreter in Babylon, at the side of Caliph Al Mamoun, the son of the famous Haroun al Raschid."⁷³ In 1900, F. Cumont briefly examined the question whether Ἀχμέτης ὁ Πέρσης (Ahmad the Persian), author of a collection of astrological texts, was the same as the author of the *Oneirocriticon*. His conclusion was negative.⁷⁴ In 1909, Drexel, who would later prepare a critical edition of the Greek *Oneirocriticon*, published the preliminary results of his research on the text.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Steinschneider, "Ibn Shahin und Ibn Sirin," p. 237.

⁷² W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1887-99), nos. 4263-89, is likewise silent about Ibn Sirin's Greek connection.

⁷³ C.-E. Ruelle, "La clef des songes d'Achmet Abou-Mazar. Fragment inédit et bonnes variantes," *Revue des études grecques* 7 (1894), p. 305. It is evidently from Ruelle's article that O. Gotthardt, *Über die Traumbücher des Mittelalters*, Königliches Luthergymnasium zu Eisleben, no. 334 (Eisleben, 1912), p. 3, copied the following information: "Achmet ist im 9. Jahrhundert Leibarzt und zugleich Hoftraumdeuter des Kalifen Mamun (oder al-Mamun) gewesen."

⁷⁴ See CCAG, vol. 2, p. 122, n. 1. This theory is given more credence than the opinions expressed by other scholars on the identity of the *Oneirocriticon*'s author by Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 2, p. 292. On Achmet the Persian, see D. Pingree, "Historical Horoscopes," *JAOS* 82 (1962), pp. 487-502.

⁷⁵ Drexel, *Achmetis Traumbuch*.

In the chapter, "Is Achmet the author of the Greek dreambook?,"⁷⁶ Drexel reviewed the previous literature on the subject⁷⁷ and concluded, not without frustration: "I am not risking a final conclusion regarding this question now; possibly [such a conclusion] is completely impossible."⁷⁸ In his 1923 introduction to the critical edition of the Greek text, Drexel mentioned the alleged identity of BN *arabe* 2742 with the *Oneirocriticon*. However, he interpreted De Slane's silence on the question as an indication that the two works were different.⁷⁹ His conclusion was that the attribution of the *Oneirocriticon* to Achmet was spurious.⁸⁰

Fahd's research facilitated enormously all future examination of the connection between the Greek *Oneirocriticon* and Arabic dream interpretation. In his *Divination arabe* and in a number of articles,⁸¹ Fahd examined the

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 2-5.

⁷⁷ Drexel mentioned the opinions of a number of scholars (Reiske, Fabricius-Harles and Casiri); all repeat earlier opinions and information without stating anything new.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 5.

⁷⁹ Drexel, *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, Prolegomena, p. ix.

⁸⁰ A. Fischer, "Die Quitte als Vorzeichen bei Persern und Arabern und das Traumbuch des 'Abd al-Ranī an-Nābulusi," *ZDMG* 68 (1914), 275-325, offered some clarifications regarding the dates and identities of authors and works on Islamic dream interpretation, as well as references to available publications on the subject. However, the problems presented by the Greek *Oneirocriticon* were not discussed at any length. The Greek text is briefly mentioned on p. 304, n. 2. Abdel Dalm, *L'oniromancie arabe d'après Ibn Sirin* (Damascus, 1958), p. 26, revisited the question by examining all previous scholarship on the topic and suggesting that the *Oneirocriticon* had been written by Hunayn b. Ishāq, the famous Christian physician and translator from Arabic into Greek who was active in the court of 9th-century Baghdad.

⁸¹ T. Fahd, *La divination arabe. Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam* (Leiden, 1966; rpt. without the bibliography, Paris, 1987); idem, ed. *Artémidore d'Éphèse, Le livre des songes. Traduit du grec en arabe par Hunayn b. Ishāq (mort en 260/873)* (Damascus, 1964); idem, "Les songes et leur interprétation selon l'Islam," *Sources Orientales* 2. *Les songes et leur interprétation* (Paris, 1959), pp. 127-58; idem, "La traduction arabe des *Oneirocritica* d'Artémidore d'Ephèse," *Arabica* 7 (1960), pp. 87-89; idem, "Le rêve dans la société musulmane du Moyen Âge," in *Les rêves et les sociétés humaines*, ed. G.E. von Grunebaum and R. Caillois (Paris, 1967), pp. 335-65; Spanish trans., *Los sueños y las sociedades humanas* (Buenos Aires, 1964), pp. 193-230; English trans., *The Dream and Human Societies* (Berkeley, 1966), pp. 351-79; idem, "Les corps de métiers au IVe/Xe siècle à Bagdad d'après le chapitre XII d'al-Qādirī fī l-ta'bīr de Dinawari," *JESHO* 8:1 (1965), pp. 186-212; idem, "L'abeille en Islam," *Traité de biologie de l'abeille*, ed. R. Chauvin, vol. 5: *Histoire, Ethnographie et Folklore* (Paris, 1968), pp. 61-83; idem, "Ja'far as-Šādiq et la tradition scientifique arabe," *Le Shi'isme imamite* (Paris, 1970), pp. 131-142; idem, "La connaissance de l'inconnaissable et l'obtention de l'impossible dans la pensée mantique et magique de l'Islam," *Bulletin des Études Orientales* 44 (1992/93), pp. 33-44; idem, *El²*, s.v. "ru'yā,"; idem, "L'oniromancie orientale"; idem, "Ange, Démons et Djinn en Islam," *Sources Orientales* 8 (Paris, 1971), pp. 155-213; idem, "Hunayn ibn Ishāq est-il le traducteur des *Oneirocritica* d'Artémidore d'Ephèse?," *Arabica* 21:3 (1975), pp. 270-84.

beginnings of Arabian dream interpretation and the development of the literary genre of dreambooks, and contributed an inventory of lost and surviving Arabic dreambooks⁸² based on existing bibliographical compilations⁸³ and especially on years of research in Turkish manuscript collections. He recorded 158 Arabic titles and 23 Turkish and Persian works that seem to be translations from the Arabic, for a total of 181 titles of works, some lost, some still extant. The inventory, arranged alphabetically by author, also gives dates whenever possible, lists the existing manuscripts of a work, and summarizes the conclusions that Fahd reached after a necessarily short examination of each text. In this way, he made the investigation of the overwhelming bulk of Arabic dreambooks manageable. In his entry on Ibn Sirin, for example, Fahd listed translations of Ibn Sirin's work in Persian, Turkish, Greek and Latin, and added: "One thing is certain: all these treatises do not resemble each other. We are convinced that, after a detailed comparative study, one would manage to identify their various compilers."⁸⁴

A new interest in the *Oneirocriticon* produced a number of publications in the 1980s. In 1986, K. Brackertz published an annotated German translation of the Greek text of the *Oneirocriticon*. In his introduction, he briefly examined the question of sources, and concluded that the name of Ibn Sirin attached to the Greek work is a pseudonym, in the way several Arabic dreambooks were attributed to him. Brackertz added that the *Oneirocriticon* is not a translation from the Arabic, but a work written by a Christian Greek who drew upon Arabic sources, as is clear from the several Christian references in the text.⁸⁵ He discounted the claim of the author of the *Oneirocriticon* that he used Indian, Persian and Egyptian sources, remarking that the only Indian and Egyptian elements consisted in a little local color. The single Indian reference, a statement that the elephant is only hunted in India, appears in chapter 269. A comparison with the Indian dreambook of Jagaddeva yielded no borrowing from true Indian dream interpretation. The Egyptian local color is limited to the word pharaoh and references to the Nile (Drex1 152, 16) and Cleopatra (Drex1 153, 1).

⁸² Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 330-67.

⁸³ Ibn al-Nadim, *Kitab al-fihrist*; English trans., *The Fihrist of al-Nadim: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, trans. B. Dodge, 2 vols. (New York, 1970); Hajji Khalifa, *Muṣṭafah b. 'Abd Allāh, Kashf al-Zunūn 'an al-Asāmī wa-al-Funūn/Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopedicum*, ed. and trans. G. Flügel, 7 vols. (London, 1835-58); Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, nos. 4263-89; Brockelmann, *GAL*.

⁸⁴ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 356.

⁸⁵ K. Brackertz, trans., *Das Traumbuch des Achmet ben Sirin* (Munich, 1986), p. 10.

Brackertz found the Persian-Arabian contributions to the work, on the other hand, in references to polygamy, legitimate wives and concubines, musk and perfumes (Drex1 19, 5 ff.), Arabian horses (Drex1 110, 23 ff.), camels as riding and pack animals (Drex1 185, 25 ff.), a mill driven by a camel (Drex1 149, 21), and feathers in a dream indicating rank (Drex1 231, 18).⁸⁶ Brackertz added that a number of loan words from Arabic and the mention of sugarcane and cotton, both introduced into the Mediterranean world by the Arabs, also suggested that the Greek author had used Arabic sources.⁸⁷ That the author was Christian is apparent, according to Brackertz, in quotations from the Bible and biblical words in the text, and the contents of chapters 5 to 10, which treat elements of the Christian faith, such as the Resurrection of the Dead, Paradise, Hell and the Angels.⁸⁸ In addition, chapter 11 discusses the prophets, apostles, teachers, martyrs and various church officials. Dream interpreters include Joseph, the foster father of Christ (Drex1 2, 5) and the prophet Daniel (Drex1 2, 6). The interpretation of fat and lean cows when the dreamer is a king (Drex1 189, 25-27) remind us of the pharaoh's well-known dreams and their interpretation by Joseph in the Old Testament.⁸⁹

Brackertz was very careful to discuss the Arabic sources of the *Oneirocriticon* solely on the basis of the Greek text itself, and avoided confusing his readers by citing Arabic works that have an undetermined relationship to the Greek text. He found that, although the author of the *Oneirocriticon* did draw on Arabic sources for his book, he was mainly indebted to the Greek tradition of dream interpretation. He not only knew, but also used, the second century A.D. work of Artemidoros, for the general principles of dream interpretation, and also for several interpretations of dream symbols. The same rationale for the interpretation of a given dream is adduced both in Artemidoros and in the *Oneirocriticon*.⁹⁰ Finally, Brackertz observed that the language and style of

⁸⁶ Brackertz does not explain why he considers this an exclusively Arabian interpretation. He probably repeats it from K. Latte, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon* rec. Drex1, *Gnomon* 2 (1926), p. 419. The Greek word πτερόν (which Brackertz renders by *Feder*) means both "feather" and "wing." The interpretation of wings as denoting a high rank is mentioned in Artemidoros ii.68 (Pack 192, 8-11).

⁸⁷ Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, p. 12. In that, he follows the opinions expressed by K. Dietrich in his review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon* rec. Drex1, in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 30:10 (1927), pp. 881-84.

⁸⁸ Brackertz does not mention that these concepts are not exclusively Christian.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

the *Oneirocriticon*, more elevated than that found in the rest of the surviving Byzantine dreambooks, indicate the influence of Artemidoros ("sein Vorbild und Modell"), of the New Testament, and of vernacular forms and expressions.

In 1991, S. Oberhelman published an English translation of the *Oneirocriticon* accompanied by an extensive introduction and commentary,⁹² both based on his 1981 dissertation.⁹³ He identified the author of the *Oneirocriticon* as "a Christian Greek who used the *nom de plume* of Achmet to project an air of erudite, cosmopolitan learning."⁹⁴ He believed that the three sources used for compiling the *Oneirocriticon* were Arabic works, Artemidoros, and Byzantine sources:

[Achmet's] Arabic sources provided the schema of chapter listings, exemplary dreams, and some symbols and their interpretative meanings. Certain sections were borrowed from Byzantine Christian sources, especially the earlier dreambooks ascribed to Daniel and Astrampsychus. Finally, the *Oneirocriticon* of Artemidoros was the provenance of both many of Achmet's symbols and ... his methodology and theories on dreams.⁹⁵

Oberhelman was persuaded that pseudo-Achmet had direct knowledge of Artemidoros and used his work extensively.⁹⁶ To demonstrate the relationship between the two works, he drew up a comparative list of dream symbols from them with parallel interpretations. The list is not exhaustive because of constraints of space and in places it is faulty and misleading, but it remains a handy tool for research on the exact relationship between the Byzantine *Oneirocriticon* and Artemidoros.

The translations of Brackertz and Oberhelman made the Greek text more accessible to scholars, and their introductions reexamined its problems in some detail. Several questions, however, still remained unresolved. In his 1987 review of *Das Traumbuch des Achmet ben Sirin*, G. Strohmaier called for a new

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 18.

⁹² Oberhelman, *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*.

⁹³ Oberhelman, "Oneirocritic Literature of the Late Roman and Byzantine Eras of Greece."

⁹⁴ Oberhelman, *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, p. 12.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 20. Concerning the Arabic material, Oberhelman notes: "It would appear that Achmet used Ibn Shāhin's [sic] dreambook as a schematic model for the presentation of his own material" (p. 17) because "the parallels and arrangement of material ... are too exact not to suppose some relationship" (p. 18). Appendix II of Oberhelman's publication is the table of contents of Ibn Shāhin's dreambook, which has been lifted (without acknowledgment) from Bland, "Muhammedan Science of Tābīr." Ibn Shāhin was a 15th-century author, which makes it impossible for the author of the *Oneirocriticon* to have used his work.

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 18-19.

examination of the sources of the Greek text in order to determine its relationship with Arabic dream interpretation,⁹⁷ and in a 1985 article G. Dagron summarized the current state of research regarding the authorship and sources of the Byzantine *Oneirocriticon* in the following words:

If all specialists ... agree today that they recognize in the *Oneirocriticon* the work of a Byzantine influenced by Islam, nobody has yet elucidated the complicated problem of its borrowings from Arabic literature of the ninth-tenth centuries. Regarding this point, the research of N. Bland, M. Steinschneider and A. Fischer remained without conclusion and, unfortunately, without an echo.⁹⁸

Clearly, any investigation of the sources of the *Oneirocriticon* should not remain limited to the Greek text alone. One ought to examine the Greek text side by side with an Arabic dreambook and see what conclusions a detailed comparison yields. But which Arabic dreambook should one use? The only Muslim dream interpreter expressly mentioned in the Greek text, Ibn Sirin, is the alleged author of several dreambooks with different titles that belong to different centuries. Moreover, none of the surviving Arabic dreambooks listed in Fahd's inventory is earlier than the beginning of the eleventh century, which suggests that no Arabic dreambook that clearly antedates the Greek text was known to him.⁹⁹ The only viable alternative is to examine the old Paris, Bibliothèque du Roi ms. 1210, now BN arabe 2742, that had been reputed to be *omnino idem* with the Greek text.

Scholars who have examined the Greek text of the *Oneirocriticon* have all insisted on its Christian character, especially in chapters 5-12 which discuss a number of Christian concepts. One would think that the most fertile testing grounds, even if the introductions of the two works were identical, would be the passages discussing religion in each dreambook. Both Islam and Christianity

⁹⁷ G. Strohmaier, review of *Das Traumbuch des Achmet ben Sirin*, übersetzt und erläutert von Karl Brackertz, München (C.H. Beck) 1986, *Klio* 69 (1987), pp. 654-55.

⁹⁸ G. Dagron, "Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi. Le rêve et son interprétation d'après les sources byzantines," *I sogni nel medioevo*, ed. Gregory, p. 49.

⁹⁹ The oldest Arabic dreambook surviving in its entirety mentioned in Fahd's inventory is that of al-Dinawari, which, according to its introduction, was completed in 1006. A still older one, that of Ibn Qutayba (d. 889), was known to Fahd from a unique Turkish manuscript, Ankara University, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Ktp., *İsm. Saib Sincer* I, 4501, fols. 180b-217, which, however, contained only a theoretical introduction and no interpretations of specific dream symbols. A manuscript with the full text of Ibn Qutayba's dreambook was made known to the scholarly world in 1974 through the study of M. J. Kister, "The Interpretation of Dreams: An Unknown Manuscript of Ibn Qutayba's 'Ibārāt al-Rū'yā,'" *IOS* 4 (1974), pp. 67-103. The dreambook of Ibn Qutayba, together with several other manuscripts from the collection of Professor Yahuda, was given to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem by his heirs after his death in 1951. The text remains unpublished.

are monotheistic religions and share a number of concepts, as well as of holy figures. But could the Christian interpretation of the Last Judgment, of Paradise and Hell, angels and prophets be identical with the Muslim interpretation of the same topics? None of the researchers of the Greek text had thought it was possible, and yet that is exactly the case.

The Resurrection of the Dead is the first religious dream discussed in the *Oneirocriticon*. It is also the first religious dream interpreted in BN *arabe* 2742 after godhead itself. The interpretation in the two dreambooks is identical and parts of the text in the two languages read almost word for word the same.¹⁰⁰ The introduction to the Arabic text, on the other hand, turns out to be very different from its Greek counterpart, and the examination of further entries shows that, while the dream interpretations sometimes converge, at other times they are completely different. It soon becomes clear that BN *arabe* 2742 contains numerous nuggets, but is definitely not identical with the Greek text.

Another Parisian manuscript, currently BN *arabe* 2744, was claimed by d'Herbelot to be the source of the Greek text, a claim repeated by Kollar but not in subsequent manuscript catalogues. Consequently, it has not attracted much scholarly attention. An examination of BN *arabe* 2744, of other Parisian manuscripts on dream interpretation, and of other Arabic dreambooks, both published and unpublished, leads to the conclusion that all texts of Arabic dream interpretation resemble each other to a greater or lesser extent, but that no two among them—or at least of those that I examined—are identical. Additional complications arise from the fact that treatises with the same title and purportedly by the same author can have slightly different contents.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ BN *arabe* 2742, fol. 4; and Drex1 3, 26–4,3.

¹⁰¹ Such is the case, for example, with BN *arabe* 2742 and 2743, both of which are attributed to Ibn Sirin and bear the title *Ta'bir al-ru'yā*. Although they share some word-for-word passages, they are not identical throughout. A treatise with the same title and purportedly by the same author was published in Pakistan (Muhammad b. Sirin, *Ta'bir al-ru'yā*. Arabic text and Urdu translation, [s. l., 1970]). The same work has also been translated into French by D. Penot, *L'interprétation des rêves. Manuel d'oniromancie musulmane* (Lyons, 1992); and into Italian by I. Zilio Grandi, *Il libro del sogno veritiero* (Turin, 1992). Except for Zilio Grandi (on p. xxiv), no published version of the work indicates which manuscript or manuscripts it was based on. The five versions that I have examined are similar, though they are not all equally long; they vary in chapter sequence and do not always phrase an interpretation in the exact same words. A *terminus post quem* for their composition can be established, since all three narrate the dream dreamt by Alphonso IV (1065–1109), king of Castille, Leon, and Galicia, before the battle of Saragossa, which took place in 1086 (Ibn Sirin, *Ta'bir al-ru'yā*, p. 124; Ibn Sirin, *Interprétation des rêves*, trans. Penot, pp. 139–42; Ibn Sirin, *Libro del sogno*, trans. Zilio Grandi, pp. 99–100). The same dream is also quoted and translated into French by Fahd according to Ibn al-Athir (*La divination arabe*, pp. 299–300).

and, conversely, that the same treatise is often referred to by different titles or authors.¹⁰² Dating each dreambook and ensuring that its attribution to the author mentioned in its title is genuine can create other vexing problems. As was mentioned earlier, many are attributed to Ibn Sirin (d. 728), who certainly never wrote anything on the subject and whose renown as a dream interpreter emerged only in the course of the ninth century, gradually to become synonymous with the art of dream interpretation itself.¹⁰³

The Greek text of the *Oneirocriticon* is connected with the Arabic dreambooks in the way that the Arabic dreambooks are connected with each other: it resembles a number of them, both in structure and in content, but is not identical with any. Moreover, the slightly disturbed order of the Greek chapters and the repetition of certain interpretations in various parts of the *Oneirocriticon* indicate that more than one Arabic dreambook was used for its compilation. If the Greek author based the *Oneirocriticon* on a single Arabic text, then it was one that had been compiled on the basis of more. Either case implies that in order to obtain a better picture of how the Byzantine compiler used his Arabic sources it is important to compare the Greek text with as many Arabic dreambooks as possible.

Because it is impossible to compare the *Oneirocriticon* with each and every one of the several dozen surviving Arabic works, choosing which Arabic works to compare with the Greek can only be arbitrary. I selected five, using two criteria: the early date of their composition, which would place them chronologically as close as possible to the *Oneirocriticon*, and their accessibility to the larger scholarly community, which would facilitate further discussion, especially concerning the interpretation of the hundreds of dream symbols in the Greek and the Arabic tradition that are impossible to cover in the present study.

Using these criteria, the first two of the five chosen Arabic dreambooks are among the earliest surviving Arabic works on dream interpretation, though even they cannot be safely considered to antedate the Greek text, which possibly constitutes the earliest surviving document belonging to the rich tradition of

Other editions of a work under the same title that I have not examined are Ibn Sirin, *Kitāb ta'bir al-ru'yā* (Cairo, [n. d.]); Ibn Sirin, *Kitāb ta'bir al-ru'yā* (Baghdad, [1900?]).

¹⁰² Such is the case with Ibn Qutayba's dreambook; see Kister, "Interpretation of Dreams," p. 67.

¹⁰³ See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 312–15; also *Et*², s.v. "Ibn Sirin." The most recent and detailed discussion concerning the connection of Ibn Sirin with dream interpretation can be found in J. Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East." Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1999, pp. 32–41.

Arabic dream interpretation. The other three Arabic works definitely postdate the *Oneirocriticon*; they were written between the eleventh and the early eighteenth century. As they incorporate much of the earlier tradition on dream interpretation, however, comparing them with the Greek text can still be fruitful. Moreover, these works constitute the three major sources on Arabic dream interpretation currently available in print and are housed in a number of university libraries in North America. The five Arabic sources are:¹⁰⁴

1. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba (828-89), *ʿIbārāt al-ru'yā* (Interpretations of Dreams). The work survives in two manuscripts: Hebrew University, *Yahuda ar.* 196, and Ankara University, *Dil ve Tarih*.

¹⁰⁴ Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," established the identity of Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Khalaf b. Aḥmad al-Sijistānī (no. 112 in Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 354) as the last Saffarid amir of Sijistān (963-1009) and thus firmly placed his work among those written in the second half of the 10th century. Lamoreaux also identified a manuscript of al-Qayrawānī's dreambook (11th century), which was known to Fahd only by title (no. 93), and was able to summon evidence indicating that a further work, the dreambook by al-Mu'āfirī (or Ma'āfirī), listed by Fahd (no. 81) as surviving in two manuscripts without an indication as to its chronology, could be dated to the 10th century. After Lamoreaux's work became known to me, I contemplated whether it was worth procuring the manuscripts of these three authors to compare them with the *Oneirocriticon*, on account of their early date. I decided against it since all three most likely postdated the *Oneirocriticon*; their dating, combined with Lamoreaux's report on their contents, indicated that none of them could possibly be the direct source of the Greek text. Al-Sijistānī's work is extremely concise (Lamoreaux, p. 60) and for this reason promised few new interpretations. Al-Qayrawānī's work (ibid., pp. 86-96) picked from earlier sources only what in his opinion was firmly grounded in the Muslim tradition and "wholly eschewed" dream lore derived (or believed to be derived) from the other religious communities of the ancient and contemporary Near East, as well as everything inherited from the Greco-Roman tradition (ibid., p. 94). The author of the *Oneirocriticon* relied on Islamic sources that not only included, but even gave a prominent position to, the kind of material that al-Qayrawānī deliberately avoided in his compilation, so the additional material I could collect from al-Qayrawānī's work also promised to be minimal. The dreambook of Ma'āfirī interprets exclusively parts of the human body and is very concise (ibid., p. 341), which suggests that it too contained very little, if any, material comparable to the interpretations found in the *Oneirocriticon*. My examination of Arabic dreambooks, both those that I chose to compare with the *Oneirocriticon* and others (manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale and printed works), indicated that Arabic dreambooks, based as they always were on earlier sources, repeated much of the same material. The repetitiousness and ultimate cohesion of the Arabic tradition on dream interpretation are also commented on by Lamoreaux (pp. 128-74), based on his *in situ* examination of manuscripts in Turkey and the Middle East, so few new interpretations could be expected from either al-Sijistānī or al-Qayrawānī. My experience had also taught me that the oldest Arabic compilations did not always preserve the passages most closely connected with the Greek *Oneirocriticon*, since I had sometimes been able to find in the two later dreambooks that I had chosen (written in the 15th and 17th-18th century) interpretations comparable to the Greek ones that were missing from the two earlier (9th- and early-11th-century) Arabic works I had at my disposal. Finally, all but one of these manuscripts had the disadvantage of being in Turkish libraries, from which obtaining microfilms is particularly complicated and time-consuming.

Coğrafya Fakültesi Ktp., *Ism. Saib Sincer* 1, 4501, fols. 180a-217b.¹⁰⁵ Parts of the text are missing in both manuscripts, but it seems that the one belonging to the Hebrew University preserves a version closer to the archetype than the one in Ankara.¹⁰⁶

2. Abū Sa'īd (or Sa'd) Naṣr b. Ya'qūb al-Dīnawarī (d. ca. 1020),¹⁰⁷ *Kitāb al-Qādirī fī al-ta'bīr* (The Book Dedicated to Caliph al-Qādir on Dream Interpretation). Since there is no critical edition available, I compare the Greek text with the oldest surviving manuscript, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Ktp. *Esad Efendi* 1833 (12th century).¹⁰⁸ Supplementary readings and references are taken from BN *arabe* 2745.¹⁰⁹

3. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Khalīlī al-Dārī, *Muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām* (Selection of Statements on the Exegesis of Dreams). The author seems to be otherwise unknown.¹¹⁰ The text used is the edition

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Qutayba is one of the great Sunni polygraphs of the 9th century, with an interest in both theology and belles lettres. For a detailed account of his life and work on dream interpretation, see Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 46-58; see also *EF*², s.v. "Ibn Qutayba, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim al-Dīnawarī." In the past, doubts have been expressed concerning the authenticity of Ibn Qutayba's dreambook. For a re-examination of the problem and proof of the work's authenticity, see Lamoreaux's Appendix 2.

¹⁰⁶ For the problems in the manuscript tradition of Ibn Qutayba's dreambook, see ibid., p. 47; also Kister, "Interpretation of Dreams," p. 69. I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Kister for kindly making available to me a reproduction of the Ankara manuscript.

¹⁰⁷ Al-Dīnawarī was a tax collector at Nishapur. The sultan Yāmīn al-Daūla relied on him for his correspondence with the caliph al-Qādir bi-l-Lāh. For his literary output and further references, see Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 10 vols., 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1954-59), vol. 8, p. 353 (s.v. *ناصر بن يعقوب*); see also Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 104-13.

¹⁰⁸ I would like to thank Professor Fahd for generously informing me about the results of his unpublished research on the text of al-Dīnawarī and for lending me his microfilm of *Esad Efendi* 1833, which otherwise would have been impossible to consult.

¹⁰⁹ Unfortunately, the manuscript stops at *bāb* 2 of the 12th *faṣl*. The references to BN *arabe* 2745 are supplied because not only is it easily accessible, as it is housed in a European library, but it is also the manuscript of reference used in one of the most important articles on the history of Arabic dream interpretation, Fahd's "Les songes et leur interprétation selon l'Islam."

¹¹⁰ Al-Dārī's name seems to have remained unrecorded in medieval biographical dictionaries and bibliographies, and the only mention of him in contemporary standard reference works is in *GAL*, vol. 51, p. 361, where he is identified only as the author of *al-Muntakhab*, which survives in BN *arabe* 2749 (the manuscript used by Fahd for the excerpts of Ibn Qutayba in *La divination arabe*). The date of the composition of *al-Muntakhab* is discussed in J. Lamoreaux, "Some Notes on the Dream Manual of al-Dārī," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 70 (1996), p. 52. Lamoreaux gives the early 11th century as a *terminus post quem* and 1214 as a *terminus ante quem*, with the likelihood that it was composed in the earlier part of this period. The elusive identity of the author of *al-Muntakhab* has also been discussed by I. Zilio Grandi, "Il problema della visione di dio secondo il manuale di onirocritica *Muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām*," *Annali di Ca' Foscari*

published under the name of Muḥammad b. Sirīn, *Tafsīr al-aḥlām al-kabīr al-musammā muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām* (The Great Exegesis of Dreams, also called Selection of Statements on the Exegesis of Dreams).¹¹¹

A major source for *al-Muntakhab* was the work of Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUthmān al-Wāʿiẓ al-Khargūshī (d. 1015),¹¹² *al-Bishāra wa-al-nidhāra fī taʿbīr al-ruʾyā* (The Glad Tidings and Warnings in the Interpretation of Dreams). This treatise is the third oldest surviving Arabic dreambook after al-Dīnawarī's. Several copies of it exist, but no *stemma* has ever been prepared, and it has never been published.¹¹³ I used the British Library copy, BL Or. 6262. Al-Khargūshī, who lived at the same time and in the same city as al-Dīnawarī, based many of his interpretations on those of his compatriot.¹¹⁴ In its turn, *al-Muntakhab* quotes al-Khargūshī's interpretations almost in their entirety, sometimes adding further material.¹¹⁵ Given the occasional additions

27:3 (1988), pp. 69-70. Zilio Grandi examines the chapter on dreaming of God and suggests that the work must have been written during the 12th or 13th century, a time when Islamic mysticism reached its peak (ibid., p. 79). However, this chapter was copied verbatim from the equivalent chapter of al-Khargūshī's *al-Bishāra wa-al-nidhāra* (BL Or. 6262 fol. 9b [17]–12a [22]) and can therefore be dated with certainty to the years between 1006 and 1020. The sufi references in *al-Bishāra* are understandable, since al-Khargūshī was an ascetic and had also written a history of sufism.

¹¹¹ Muḥammad b. Sirīn, *Tafsīr al-aḥlām al-kabīr al-musammā muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām* (Cairo, 1963). Other relatively recent editions are: Muḥammad ibn Sirīn, *Mukhtaṣar taʿbīr al-anām fī taʿbīr al-manām. Wa-bi-hi mubdhal min Kitāb al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām lil-ʿallāma al-maʿrūf bi-ibn al-Nābulusī* (Beirut, 1969); *Muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām* (Cairo, 1972), printed together with the work of al-Nābulusī, *Taʿbīr al-anām fī taʿbīr al-manām; Tafsīr al-aḥlām* (Amman, 1995). The work was first printed in the 19th century. For the earlier printings and their more recent descendants, see Lamoreaux, "Some Notes on the Dream Manual of al-Dārī," p. 47.

¹¹² Al-Khargūshī was a celebrated preacher and ascetic from Nishapur. Besides *al-Bishāra wa-al-nidhāra*, he also wrote a biography of Muḥammad and an account of sufism. See *Et*², s.v. "al-Khargūshī." See also Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 96-104.

¹¹³ See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 358, no. 128.

¹¹⁴ This is made evident by the number of textual parallels between them. Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *maqāla* 7, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 28b, lines 2-6, with the introduction of al-Khargūshī, BL Or. 6262, fol. 6a [12]; cf. the anecdotes on dreaming of crucifixion in al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 11, *bāb* 60, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 168a and al-Khargūshī, BL Or. 6262, fol. 150b [300]; cf. the interpretation of the cross, including the quotation from Artemidoros, in al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 11, *bāb* 59, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 167b and al-Khargūshī, BL Or. 6262, fol. 151a [301]; cf. the interpretation of the elephant, including the quotation from Artemidoros, in al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 21, *bāb* 104, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fols. 224a-b and al-Khargūshī, BL Or. 6262, fols. 142b-143b [344-346]; cf. the interpretation of the planets in al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 18, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fols. 152b-153a and al-Khargūshī, BL Or. 6262, fol. 197b [394], among others.

¹¹⁵ On the relationship between *al-Muntakhab* and the dreambook of al-Khargūshī, and a discussion of the remaining sources used for *al-Muntakhab*, see Lamoreaux, "Some Notes on the Dream Manual of al-Dārī," pp. 47-52.

and the easy accessibility of the work in print, I chose to compare the *Oneirocriticon* with *al-Muntakhab* instead of al-Khargūshī's dreambook, despite the latter's earlier date.

5. Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī (1410-68),¹¹⁶ *al-Ishārāt fī ʿilm al-ʿibārāt* (Intimations on the Science of Interpretations). This work exists in several manuscript versions and a number of printed editions.¹¹⁷ Ibn Shāhīn's passages will be quoted from the Cairo edition of 1991.¹¹⁸ In the introduction to his dreambook, Ibn Shāhīn says that he based his compilation both on older works and on his own experience, and lists the written sources that he used:¹¹⁹ "I have relied on the books of the ancients and the sayings of the venerable dream interpreters, such as the *Kitāb al-uṣūl* (Book of Sources) by Daniel the Wise;¹²⁰ the *Kitāb al-taqīm* (Book of Classification) by Jaʿfar al-Šādiq;¹²¹ the *Kitāb al-jawāmiʿ* (Book of Epitomes) by Muḥammad b. Sirīn;¹²² the *Kitāb al-dustūr* (Book of Constitutions) by Ibrāhīm al-Kirmānī;¹²³ the *Kitāb al-ir-shād* (Book of Guidance) by Jābir al-Maghribī;¹²⁴ the *Kitāb al-taʿbīr* (Book of Dream Interpretation) by Ismāʿīl b. al-Ashʿath;¹²⁵ the *Kitāb kanz al-ruʾyā* (Book of the Treasure of Dreams) by al-Maʾmūn;¹²⁶ the *Kitāb bayān al-taʿbīr* (Book on the Elucidation of Dream Interpretation) by ʿAbdūs;¹²⁷ the *Kitāb jumal*

¹¹⁶ Ibn Shāhīn's father was a *manlik* of the sultan Sayf al-Dīn Tatar. Ibn Shāhīn studied in Cairo and had a brilliant administrative career. He is the author of several works, including a description of Egypt; see *Et*², s.v. "Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī."

¹¹⁷ See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 351, no. 102.

¹¹⁸ Khalīl b. Shāhīn, *Tafsīr al-aḥlām al-musammā al-ishārāt fī ʿilm al-ʿibārāt*. 2 vols. in one (Cairo, 1991).

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 8.

¹²⁰ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 335, no. 24. Daniel the Wise is the prophet Daniel; dreambooks attributed to him are also known in Greek, Latin, and various European languages.

¹²¹ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 338, no. 39. The attribution is clearly spurious. Jaʿfar al-Šādiq (d. 765) was the sixth imām of the Shīʿa; his name is linked with the occult sciences. See Fahd, "Jaʿfar al-Šādiq et la tradition scientifique arabe," pp. 131-42; see also Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, pp. 195-96. See also no. 2 in the more recent catalogue of early Islamic dreambooks in Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," appendix 1 (subsequent references to numbers preceded by Lamoreaux's name refer to the number assigned to each Arabic author in this catalogue).

¹²² Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 355-36, no. 117, and especially p. 356, n. 3; Lamoreaux, no. 1.

¹²³ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 345, no. 67; Lamoreaux, no. 5.

¹²⁴ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 337-38, no. 38; Lamoreaux, no. 6.

¹²⁵ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 332, no. 9; Lamoreaux, no. 29, now lost.

¹²⁶ Lamoreaux, no. 32.

¹²⁷ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 331, no. 4; Lamoreaux, no. 44, now lost.

al-dalā'il (Book of the Groups of Signs);¹²⁸ the *Kitāb mabādī' al-ta'bīr* (Book of the Principles of Dream Interpretation);¹²⁹ the *Kitāb kāfī al-ru'yā* (Book of Adequate Dreams);¹³⁰ the *Kitāb al-ta'bīr* (Book of Dream Interpretation) by al-Ṭāmūsā (الطاموسى); the *Kitāb muqarṣat al-ru'yā* (The Fine and Narrow Written Book of Dreams);¹³¹ the *Kitāb tuḥfat al-mulūk* (Book of the Gem of Kings);¹³² the *Kitāb minhāj al-ta'bīr* (The Way to Dream Interpretation) by Khālid al-Iṣfahānī;¹³³ the *Kitāb muqaddimat al-ta'bīr* (Book of the Introduction to Dream Interpretation);¹³⁴ the *Kitāb ḥaqā'iq al-ru'yā* (Book of Facts on Dreams);¹³⁵ the *Kitāb al-wajīz* (Concise Book) by Muḥammad b. Shāmawayh;¹³⁶ the *Kitāb al-ta'bīr* (Book of Dream Interpretation) by Abū Sa'īd al-Wā'iz;¹³⁷ the *Kitāb kāmīl al-ta'bīr* (Book of Perfection on Dream Interpretation) by Shaykh Abū'l-Faḍl Ḥubaysh b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Nuqayshī; the *Kitāb al-ishāra ila 'ilm al-'ibāra* (Book of Intimation on the Science of Interpretation) by Abū 'Abd-Allāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Sālimī;¹³⁸ the *Kitāb al-durr al-munazzam fī al-sirr al-mu'azzam* (Book of Arranged Pearls Regarding the Sublime Mystery) by Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Naṣībī; and other authors like these, such as Shaykh Awḥad al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Dimyātī, Shaykh

¹²⁸ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 361, no. 155; Lamoreaux, no. 58, now lost.

¹²⁹ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 361, no. 156, now lost.

¹³⁰ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 361, no. 157; Lamoreaux, no. 59, now lost.

¹³¹ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 361, no. 153; Lamoreaux, no. 60, now lost. The Qarāmiṭah (Carmathians) were a Muslim sect influenced by gnosticism; they received their name from the founder Ḥamdān Qarṣat. The name Qarṣat in Aramaic means "he of the two red eyes," probably signifying a teacher of secret doctrines. The title of the dreambook has been translated according to one of the meanings of the root *q-r-m-t* in Arabic, namely "to write in fine and narrow characters," which was also a characteristic of old Manichean books. An interesting Greek example is the so-called Mani Codex, now in Cologne, an uncial manuscript of unusually small format that contains the biography of Mani (for references, see B. L. Fonkič and F. B. Poljakov, "Paläographische Grundlagen der Datierung des kölnener Mani-Codex," *BZ* 83 [1990], pp. 22-30). Another meaning of the root *q-r-m-t* in Arabic is "to copy out a charm"; see C. E. Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underworld: The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1976), vol. 1, p. 90. The dreambook's title could also mean "The Carmathian Book of Dreams," which would imply that it claims to be transmitting gnostic or apocryphal wisdom. On the sect of the Carmathians, see the *Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Qarāmiṭah."

¹³² Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 354, no. 112, still extant; the author is Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Khalaf b. Aḥmad al-Sijistānī; Lamoreaux, no. 61 (among the anonymous works) and no. 35.

¹³³ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 344, no. 64; Lamoreaux, no. 53, now lost.

¹³⁴ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 361, no. 152; Lamoreaux, no. 62, now lost.

¹³⁵ Lamoreaux, no. 63.

¹³⁶ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 352, no. 104; Lamoreaux, no. 54.

¹³⁷ Lamoreaux, no. 37.

¹³⁸ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 352, no. 103.

'Abd al-Qādir al-Ashmūnī, Shaykh Yūsuf al-Karūnī al-Sikandarī, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fir'awnī, Shaykh Ḥasan al-Ramlī, Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Karkhī al-Ghazāwī, Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn al-Karakī, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Ḥamdūn al-Ṣafadī, etc. To these I have added the truthful dreams that I and my companions have had that were fulfilled as clearly as the dawn of the morning Ibn Shāhīn's array of sources is impressive. Though most of the works he lists are no longer extant, they are also mentioned in other sources, such as the work of the bibliographer Ḥajjī Khalifa and in introductions to dreambooks other than Ibn Shāhīn's, which indicates that their titles are genuine.

6. 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā'īl al-Nābulusī (1641-1731),¹³⁹ *Ta'fīr al-anām fī tafsīr al-manām* (The Perfume of the Creation on the Exegesis of Dreams), which exists in several manuscripts and printed editions.¹⁴⁰ The Cairo edition of 1940 is used here.¹⁴¹ In the concluding chapter of his dreambook, al-Nābulusī gives his sources:¹⁴² al-Dīnawarī's *al-Qādirī fī al-ta'bīr* (Book Dedicated to Caliph al-Qādir on Dream Interpretation) and the dreambook of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm, known as Ibn al-Daqqāq al-Muqrī, entitled *al-ḥukm wa-al-ghāyāt fī ta'bīr al-manāmāt* (Decision and Objectives in the Interpretation of Dreams);¹⁴³ the dreambook of Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Khalīlī al-Dārī called *al-Muntakhab* (The Selection);¹⁴⁴ the dreambook of Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd-Allāh b. Ḥāzim b. Sulaymān al-Muzanī

¹³⁹ Al-Nābulusī was a poet, theologian, and an author of belles lettres. Born and raised in Damascus, he traveled to Baghdad, Palestine, Lebanon, Egypt, and the Hijaz before returning to his native city, where he died. For a list of his works, see al-Zirikli, *al-A'lām*, vol. 4, pp. 158-59 (s.v. عبد الغنى بن اسماعيل). For further biographical information, see also *El*², s.v. "Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā'īl al-Nābulusī."

¹⁴⁰ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 348, no. 85. To the editions cited by Fahd add two that were published since: 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Ta'fīr al-anām fī ta'bīr al-manām*, *Qāmūs al-aḥlām*, ed. Ḥanān Muḥammad Nūr Tabbarah (Beirut, 1993); 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *al-'ābir fī al-ta'bīr fī uṣūl kayfiyat ta'bīr al-ru'yā fī al-manām*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm (Beirut, 1996).

¹⁴¹ 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Ta'fīr al-anām fī ta'bīr al-manām*, *wa-bi-hāmishih awwaluhuma Muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām li-Muḥammad ibn Sirīn wa-thanihuma al-ishārāt fī 'ilm al-'ibārāt*, li-Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī. 2 vols. (Cairo, 1940); In this edition the dreambook of al-Nābulusī occupies the top half of each page in both volumes; *al-Muntakhab* can be found the bottom half of each page in the first volume, and the dreambook of Ibn Shāhīn in the bottom half of each page in the second volume.

¹⁴² Vol. 2, p. 350.

¹⁴³ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 335, no. 25; see also *ibid.*, p. 348, no. 83, and Lamoreaux, no. 33, where the title is different, but the name of the author almost the same.

¹⁴⁴ Lamoreaux, no. 55.

(المزنى) al-Shāfiʿī, entitled *al-Ishārah fī ʿilm al-ʿibārah* (Intimation on the Science of Interpretation);¹⁴⁵ the dreambook of Abū ʿAbd-Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Sālimī, entitled *Kitāb al-ishārah ila al-ʿibārah* (Book of Intimation on Interpretation);¹⁴⁶ the dreambook of Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Abī al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī, entitled *al-Badr al-munīr fī ʿilm al-taʿbīr* (The Shining Full Moon on the Science of Dream Interpretation);¹⁴⁷ the dreambook of Abū Ṭāhir Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Ghānim al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī, entitled *al-Muʿlam* or *al-Muʿallam ʿala ḥurūf al-muʿjam* (The Marked or The Inspired <Book> in Alphabetical Order), and its abridgment by Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Maqdisī al-Shāfiʿī, entitled *al-Muḥkam fī ikhtīṣāṣ al-muʿlam* (Referee in Distinguishing the Signs).¹⁴⁸ All of al-Nābulusī's sources are extant, but only *al-Muntakhab* is published.

The Author of the Oneirocriticon

The attribution of the *Oneirocriticon* to "Achmet, son of Sēreim" appears in the title of the work in a number of Greek manuscripts. However, there is no mention of Achmet, of Islam, or of the Arabs in the first four chapters of the *Oneirocriticon*, where the information on the work's sources is presented in the form of four separate prologues written in the first person and strung together. The first prologue mentions no author and only states that the *Oneirocriticon* is a compilation of Indian, Persian and Egyptian sources. The second prologue is attributed to one Syrbacham, dream interpreter to the king of the Indians, the third is said to be by Baram, dream interpreter to king Saanisan of Persia, and the fourth is attributed to Tarphan, dream interpreter to the Egyptian pharaoh.

Although Islam and the Arabs are not mentioned in the first four chapters, they do appear in subsequent passages. They are mentioned for the first time in chapter 19, in a narrative on a dreamer's dream and his consultation with a dream interpreter; the chapter's purpose is to exemplify how dream interpreta-

¹⁴⁵ This is possibly Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 347, no. 80, where the author is named ʿAbd Allah Sulaymān b. Ḥāzim. The title of the book is the same, and it is said to be an abridgment of a longer work by the same author.

¹⁴⁶ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 352, no. 103.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 346, no. 72.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 338, no. 42.

tion is supposed to be conducted and to confirm that the interpretations offered in theory earlier in the *Oneirocriticon* have proved to be reliable in practice. The story in chapter 19, which is also narrated in the first person, contains two Arabic names, Achmet, son of Sēreim, and Caliph al-Ma'mūn.

Ἐλθὼν τις ἄνθρωπος ἡρώτησέ μοι τῷ Ἀχμέτ τῷ υἱῷ Σηρείμ, τῷ ὄνειροκρίτῃ τοῦ πρωτοσυμβούλου Μαιμοῦν· εἶδον ἐν ὁράματι, ὅτι οἱ τρίχες τῶν σκελῶν μου ἐδασύνθησαν καὶ ἠῤῥήθησαν, καὶ ταύτας τῇ ψαλίδι ἐκούρευον. καὶ ἀπεκρίθην αὐτῷ· ὅτι τὸ λογάριόν σου καὶ ὁ πλοῦτός σου ἐπληθύνθησαν· καὶ ὅσον ἔκοψας τῶν τριχῶν σου, τοσοῦτον κακοδιοικεῖς αὐτά. καὶ εὐρέθῃ οὕτως τὸ πρᾶγμα.¹⁴⁹

A certain man came and asked me, Achmet, the son of Sēreim, the dream interpreter of the caliph Mamoun: "I saw in a dream that the hair on my legs grew longer and thicker and that I was cutting it with a pair of scissors." I replied: "Your wealth and riches have increased, but you mismanage them in proportion to the quantity of hair that you cut." And it was discovered that things were indeed so.

Taking into account the four prologues, this short anecdote constitutes the fifth instance of first-person discourse in the *Oneirocriticon*. Twelve more examples of actual consultation are inserted in the remaining pages, usually under the heading "ἐρώτησις" or "ἐρώτημα" (Question). Of the thirteen anecdotes about consultations, only the one in chapter 19 is narrated in the first person. It is also the only place in the whole book where the full name, "Achmet, son of Sēreim," is mentioned.¹⁵⁰ Ten of the thirteen anecdotes give the name as "the dream interpreter Sēreim," or simply "Sēreim,"¹⁵¹ and the remaining two say only "the dream interpreter" (ὁ ὄνειροκρίτης).¹⁵² In chapter 19, Ibn Sīrīn speaks in the first person, not because the compiler of the *Oneirocriticon* wants to assume his identity, but because his words are quoted directly in the same way the Indian, Persian and Egyptian dream interpreters were quoted earlier.

Why is Ibn Sīrīn allowed to speak in the first person only this one time, and after that is referred to in the third person? Arabic dreambooks frequently contain narrations or direct quotations like the thirteen anecdotes incorporated

¹⁴⁹ Drexl 15, 18 ff.

¹⁵⁰ "Achmet, son of Sēreim" is mentioned only in Drexl 15, 18. "Sēreim" is mentioned in Drexl 23, 25; 24, 2; 29, 25; 30, 1; 57, 13; 92, 2; 99, 8; 102, 2; 111, 26; 137, 24; 148, 19; 156, 7.

¹⁵¹ Chap. 20, Drexl 16, 1-10; chap. 36, Drexl 29, 28 ff.; chap. 96, Drexl 57, 11 ff.; chap. 139, Drexl 92, 1 ff.; chap. 144, Drexl 99, 6 ff.; chap. 147, Drexl 102, 1; chap. 153, Drexl 111, 24; chap. 176, Drexl 137, 22 ff.; chap. 194, Drexl 148, 18 ff.; chap. 199, Drexl 156, 6 ff.

¹⁵² Chap. 26, Drexl 23, 23 ff.; chap. 164, Drexl 217, 1 ff.

into the Greek *Oneirocriticon*. Whenever the Arabic narrations describe the way a specific dream had been interpreted either by the Prophet himself or by another important figure, such as Ibn Sīrīn, the authenticity of the interpretation is guaranteed by a "chain of authorities" (*isnād*) which precedes the narration, just as a similar chain of authorities precedes the *ḥadīth*, or traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad. The thirteen anecdotes in the Greek text have been stripped of their preceding chains of authorities, but the story in chapter 19 apparently had a chain of authorities that reached all the way back to the protagonist himself, that is, to Ibn Sīrīn, and this is why it is narrated in the first person. The chains for the other twelve must have reached back only as far as someone who had heard the story, which explains why they are narrated in the third person.¹⁵³

Unlike the other dream interpreters, Syrbacham, Baram and Tarphan, Achmet, the son of Sēreim, is the name of a recognizable historical figure, the seventh-century scholar Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn.¹⁵⁴ Ἀχμέτ is the Arabic Aḥmad (أحمد), transliterated into Greek letters. The transformation of "Sīrīn" to "Sēreim" (pronounced in Greek as "Sirim") is easy to explain: the confusion between ν (n) and μ (m) is frequent in Greek manuscripts written in the minuscule. Its several variants found in the Greek manuscript tradition indicate the difficulty the Greek scribes had in accurately reading and copying such a foreign name. Ibn Sīrīn was not, however, a contemporary of Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813-33), but must have become associated with him in later literature, at a time sufficiently removed from the actual lifetime of both.

Achmet, son of Sēreim, is the only name of a dream interpreter mentioned in the *Oneirocriticon* that does not appear to be fictional. This is apparently why it was attached to the title of the work, probably by one of the scribes who copied the Greek text. The work thus became known as *The Oneirocriticon*

¹⁵³ Similar anecdotes pertaining to astrological questions addressed to Abū Ma'shar are contained in the 10th-century Byzantine translation of Abū Sa'īd Shādhān's *Mudhakarāt*, which constitutes the second book of the Greek *Τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ* (*The Mysteries of Apomasar*). A number of these anecdotes were published in *CCAG*, vol. 5:1, pp. 144 ff. Two of them are preceded by short chains of authorities: εἶπεν ὁ Ἀποσαίτ ὅτι εἶπον τῷ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅτι εἶπε μοι ὁ Μουχοῦμετ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Μωσέως τοῦ Χορασμίāt ὅτι ... (Abū Sa'īd said that I said to Abū Ma'shar that Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khuwārizmī told me that ...) (ibid., p. 146). Also εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅτι ἤκουσα τοῦ Μουχοῦμετ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοδούλου λέγοντος ὅτι ... (Abū Ma'shar said, "I heard Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allah [b. 'Umar b. al-Bāzyār] say..." (ibid., p. 147).

¹⁵⁴ The spelling of "Aḥmad" (أحمد) in Arabic is very close to the spelling of "Muḥammad" (محمد). Both names stem from the same root, *ḥ-m-d*; the name of the Prophet Muḥammad is also said to be Aḥmad.

of Achmet, although the author/compiler makes no attempt to link himself to that name. We may therefore surmise that the title appearing in some of the Greek manuscripts attributing the *Oneirocriticon* to "Achmet, son of Sēreim, the dream interpreter to Caliph Mamoun," is a later invention, based on the information provided in chapter 19. Indeed, this title is not fully supported by the Greek manuscript tradition, since it appears only in some Greek manuscripts. The various titles of the work recorded in the Greek manuscripts are listed below in chronological order:

Paris. Suppl. gr. 690 (11th century), fol. 125r: <O>νειροκρίτου Ἰνδῶν, Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων (From the *Oneirokritēs*¹⁵⁵ of the Indians, Persians and Egyptians).

Vindob. philos. et philol. gr. 111 (13th century), fol. 1r: ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Βιβλίον ὀνειροκριτικὸν ὅπερ συνῆξε καὶ συνέταξεν Ἀχμέτ υἱὸς σηρεῖμ ὁ ὀνειροκρίτης τοῦ πρωτοσυμβούλου μαμοῦν. Πρόλογος τῶν ὀνειράτων (In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Book on dream interpretation which Achmet, son of Sereim, dream interpreter to Caliph Mammoun [*sic*], put together and composed).

Marc. gr. 299 (14th-century hand on the flyleaves of a 10th-century manuscript), fol. 5r: Περὶ ὀνείρων [*sic*] (On dreams).

Vindob. philos. et philol. gr. 162 (end of 14th century), fol. 8r: βιβλίον ὀνειροκριτικὸν ὅπερ συνῆξε καὶ συνέταξεν Ἀχμετ ὁ υἱὸς σηρεῖμ ὁ ὀνειροκρίτης τοῦ πρώτου συμβούλου μαμοῦν. Πρόλογος τῶν ὀνειράτων σὺν θεῷ ἁγίῳ οὕτως (Book on dream interpretation which Achmet, son of Sereim, dream interpreter to Caliph Mamoun, put together and composed. Prologue to the dreams, by holy God, thus).

Paris. gr. 2511 (end of 14th century), fol. 7r: βιβλίον ὀνειροκριτικὸν ὅπερ συνῆξε καὶ συνετάξατο Ἀχμέτ, υἱὸς σερῆμ τοῦ ὀνειροκρίτου τοῦ πρωτοσυμβούλου Μαμοῦν (Book on dream interpretation which Achmet, son of Serēm, dream interpreter to Caliph Mamoun, put together and composed).

Paris. gr. 2419 (15th century), fol. 295: ὀνειροκρίτης συρῖμ (*Oneirokritēs* Syrim [*sic*]).

Vat. gr. 573 (15th century), fol. 120: βιβλίον ὀνειροκριτικὸν ὅπερ συνῆξε καὶ συνέταξεν Ἀχμετ υἱὸς σηρεῖμ ὁ ὀνειροκρίτης τοῦ πρωτοσυμβούλου μαμήν (Book on dream interpretation which Achmet, son of Sereim, dream interpreter to Caliph Mamēn [*sic*] put together and composed).

¹⁵⁵ The Greek word *oneirokritēs* can mean both "dream interpreter" and "dreambook."

Athos, Iviron 4285.165 (15th century, excerpts only), fol. 146a: 'Ονειροκριτικὸν κατὰ Πέρσας Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰγυπτίους (Dreambook according to the Persians, Indians and Egyptians).

Ambros. gr. 592 (O 94 sup) (15th century), fol. 42v. No title. The text of the *Oneirocriticon* in this manuscript begins with an excerpt corresponding to chapter 124 of the critical edition (Drexl 73, 19 ff.) and gives the title of this chapter as "Ἐκ τῶν ἰνδῶν περὶ νευμάτων δι' ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ περὶ νυμφεύσεως" (From the Indians on nodding with the eyes and on getting married).

Borbon. gr. 356 (III.E.34) (15th century), fol. 1. No title. The first several folia (probably a whole quire) are missing.

Bononiensis (Bibl. Univ.) 3632 (15th century), fols. 442-446: The top margin of the page with the table of contents has the following inscriptions: συρῆμ (Syrēm); slightly further down: πίναξ τοῦ ὀνειράτος ἰνδῶν, περσῶν, αἰγυπτίων (Table [of contents] of the dream [sic] by Indians, Persians, Egyptians). The first chapter in the table of contents is: πρόλογος τοῦ συρῆμ τοῦ ὀνηρωκρίτου (Prologue by Sērīm the dream interpreter). The end of the table of contents is signaled as follows: τέλος του ὀνηρωκρίτου συρῆμ του ὀνηρωκρίτου ἔκ τοῦ λόγων ἡνδῶν περσῶν καὶ εἰγυπτίων. σὴλβαχάμ ὀνηρωκρίτου/ βαράάμ ὀνηρωκρίτου/ ταρφάν ὀνηρωκρίτου (End of the *Oneirokritēs* Syrim the *Oneirokritēs* from the teachings of Indians, Persians and Egyptians. Of the dream interpreter Sēlbacham [sic]/ the dream interpreter Baraam [sic]/ the dream interpreter Tarphan). The beginning of the text is inscribed συρῆμ ὁ ὀνηρωκριτικ<ος> (Syrim the dream interpreting [sic]). On the left side of this inscription: ἔκ τὸν ἡνδόν. περσόν (From the Indians, Persians...). On the right side: καὶ εἰγυπτίων (... and Egyptians).

Leidens. Voss. 49 (end of 15th century), fol. 1: ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τοῦ ὀνειρωκρίτου (Beginning, with [the help of] God, of the *Oneirokritēs*).

Cantabrigiensis (Trinity College) gr. 1386 (O 8.11, 6102) (15th-16th century), fol. 5: πίναξ τοῦ παρόντος κριτικοῦ τῶν ὀνείρων βιβλίου (Table of contents of the present book on the interpretation of dreams). Fol. 8: βιβλίον ὀνειρωκρίτης.¹⁵⁶ ὅπερ συνῆξε καὶ συνέταξεν ἀχμέτ υἱὸς σερεῖμ ὀνειρωκρίτου (Book *Oneirokritēs*; which Achmet, son of Sereim the dream interpreter, put together and composed). The part of the title after the semi-

¹⁵⁶ M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts of the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1902), p. 398, read this as βιβλίον ὀνειρωκριτικῆς, but what is written is clearly ὀνειρωκρίτης. The accent is clearly placed on ι; η and ς of the ending are placed on top of each other above the letter τ.

colon, found in other manuscripts, is here incorporated into the text of the introduction: Τοῦ πρώτου συμβούλου μαμοῦν πολλὰ κοπιάσαντος εὐρέσθαι τῷ δεσπότῃ μου τὴν ἀκριβῆ ἑρμηνεία τῶν ὀνείρων ... (Of Caliph Mamoun after I greatly toiled to find for my master the exact interpretation of dreams...) [sic, without punctuation].

Vindob. philos. et philol. gr. 287 (15th-16th century), fol. 1: No title.

Berol. gr. 171 (*Phil. gr.* 1575) (16th century), fol. 1: βιβλίον ὀνειροκρητικόν: ἀχμέτ υἱοῦ σειρήμ τοῦ τῆς παρούσης σοφίας διῆς ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔκβασις προγινώσκειται (Book; on dream interpretation: by Achmet son of Seirēm of the present wisdom [sic] through which the outcome of the future becomes known in advance).

Vindob. philos. et philol. gr. 297 (16th century). The first folio with the title of the work is missing. A later hand attributed the work to ἀπομάσαρος (Abū Ma'shar).

Paris. gr. 2427 (16th century). This is a direct copy of *Vindob.* 297. It therefore also omits the title of the work and the first chapter and attributes the work to ἀπομάσαρος (Abū Ma'shar).

Paris. gr. 2538 (16th century). The first folio with the title is missing (this is Rigault's codex).

Zagora, (Bibliothēkē Zagoras, Thessaly, Greece) 89 (1594), fol. 4: βιβλίον ὀνειροκριτικὸν ὅπερ συνῆξε καὶ συνέταξε ἀχά'. ἔτει [sic] ὁ Ἐσειρήμ ὁ ὀνειρωκρίτης τοῦ πρωτοσυμβούλου Μαμοῦν (Book on dream interpretation which Eseiřēm, dream interpreter to Caliph Mamoun, put together and composed in the year 1601 [sic]).

BL *Additicius* 8240 (17th century), fol. 124v. No title. The manuscript contains an excerpt corresponding to chapter 247 of the critical edition (Drexl 203, 27 ff.) and gives the title of this chapter: ἔκ τῶν περσῶν καὶ αἰγυπτίων περὶ διαφόρων εἰδῶν (From the Persians and Egyptians on various goods).

Hierosol. (of St. Sabbas) *gr.* 555 (17th century), fol. 1: Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος: βιβλίον ὀνειροκριτικόν, ὅπερ συνῆξεν καὶ συνέταξεν Ἀχίμ ὁ πρῶτος ἡμῶν ὀνειρωκρίτης τοῦ πρώτου συμβούλου Μαμοῦν κτλ. (In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; book on dream interpretation, which Achim [sic], our foremost dream interpreter to Caliph Mammoun [sic], put together and composed, etc.).

Hierosol. (of the Patriarchate) *gr.* 220 (17th century), fol. 2: ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος νῦν καὶ ἀεί. Βιβλίον

ὄνειροκριτικόν, τὸ ὁποῖον τὸ ἐμάζωξεν καὶ τὸ ἔκαμεν Ἀχαέτ [sic] ὁ υἱὸς Σειρήμ ὁ ὄνειροκρίτης τοῦ πρωτοσυμβούλου Μamoῦν· καὶ πρόλογος τοῦ ὄνειροκρίτου ἀληθέστατος (In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, now and forever; a book on dream interpretation, which Achaet [sic], the son of Seirēm, dream interpreter to Caliph Mamoun, compiled and made. And a most truthful prologue to the *Oneirokritēs*).

Petropolitanus Bibl. Acad. scient. graec. 161 (olim Instituti Archaeolog. Constantinopol.) (18th century), fol. 35: Ἐκ τοῦ ὄνειροκρίτου τοῦ Ταραφᾶν τοῦ σοφοῦ (From the *Oneirokritēs* by Taraphan [sic] the Wise).

In addition to the Greek manuscripts that preserve the *Oneirocriticon*, we should also consider some indirect evidence for its title. The excerpt of the *Oneirocriticon* contained in the eleventh-century anthology known as the *Florilegium Baroccianum* is inscribed "τοῦ Σιρίμ" (by Sirim).¹⁵⁷ In the twelfth century, Pascalis Romanus, who used the Greek texts of both the *Oneirocriticon* and Artemidoros to compile his *Liber Thesauri Occulti*, enumerates his sources in rather vague terms:¹⁵⁸

Collectus autem est liber iste ex divina et humana scriptura, tam ex usu experimenti quam ex ratione rei, de Latinis, Grecis et Caldeicis et Persis et Pharaonis et Nabugodonosor annalibus in quibus multifarie sompnia eorum sunt exposita. Fuerunt enim Pharaon et Nabugodonosor amatores futurorum et quia prophetas non habebant, velud gentiles, dedit eis Deus per tegumentum sompnii futura conspicer.

This book has been compiled from the divine and human scripture, both from experience and from logical deduction, from Latin, Greek and Chaldean and Persian [writings] and from the annals of the pharaoh and Nabuchodonosor, where their dreams are explained in many passages. For both the pharaoh and Nabuchodonosor loved to know the future and, since they were gentiles and did not have prophets, God gave them [the grace] to know the future through the veil of a dream.

Though an informed reader will realize that both Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* are implied in this enumeration, the names Artemidoros, Achmet, and Sirim are not mentioned. The information provided by Pascalis Romanus suggests that his copy of the *Oneirocriticon* did not mention the

¹⁵⁷ Critical edition by Sargologos, *Un traité de vie spirituelle et morale du XIe siècle*, p. 838 (chap. 24, 20). The date of the *Florilegium Baroccianum* is deduced from the age of its oldest manuscript, *Palmiacus* 6 (11th century).

¹⁵⁸ Collin-Roset, "Le *Liber Thesauri Occulti*," p. 147, § II. The same text is also quoted from Bodleian Digby 103 in C. H. Haskins, "Leo Tuscus," *BZ* 24 (1923-24), p. 47.

name of its compiler. This hypothesis is corroborated by the similarity of Pascalis Romanus's text to the versions of the Greek text preserved in *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690 (eleventh century) and *Marc. gr.* 299 (on a flyleaf written by a fourteenth-century hand), neither of which gives the Greek author's name.

The second Latin version of the *Oneirocriticon* from the twelfth century by Leo Tuscus is not an adaptation but a translation. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Leo faithfully reproduced not only the text but also the title of his model. The dedication reads as follows:¹⁵⁹ "Ad Hugonem Eterianum doctorem suum et utraque origine fratrem Leo Tuscus imperatoriarum epistolarum interpres de sompniis et oraculis" (Leo Tuscus, the interpreter of imperial letters, <dedicates this work> on dreams and oracles to Hugo Eterianus, his teacher and brother on both [the maternal and the paternal] side). The designation of the *Oneirocriticon* as "de somniis et oraculis" implies that the title found in Leo's Greek model did not give the name of the author. A statement from his introduction suggests that the Greek title of the work he translated was *Oneirokritēs* (which in Greek can mean both "dream interpreter" and "dreambook"), though the rhetorical manner in which it is phrased does not allow us to draw such a conclusion with certainty:

Ex eo igitur tempore pectus sollicitudine percussi sub corde ignitos versavi carbonem cogitando uti lene esset annon si¹⁶⁰ *onirocriti* Grecorum philosophis ariolanti loqui latine persuaderem enucleatim atque inoffensam perspicuitatem figmenti sompnialis tuo favore nostrorum Tuscorum desiderio breviter reserarem.

Therefore, since that time, I have anxiously smitten my chest and have been stirring live coals under my heart thinking whether or not it would be useful if the *Oneirokritēs* who divines for the philosophers of the Greeks spoke in Latin, and if I quickly disclosed for your sake the smooth lucidity of the images of dreams at the request of our Tuscans.

The titles seem to fall into five categories:

1. Titles that do not give the name of an author (*Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690, Leo Tuscus, *Marc. gr.* 299, *Leidens. Voss.* 49, *Athos, Ivion* 4285.165). This category is represented by the two oldest pieces of evidence that survive (the eleventh-

¹⁵⁹ I am copying from the oldest surviving manuscript of this translation, Bodleian Digby 103, fol. 59r.

¹⁶⁰ In the manuscript Wolfenbüttel, *Guelpherb. lat.* 2917, quoted in C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), p. 217: "cogitando utile esse si" = "thinking it will be useful if..."

century *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690 and the twelfth-century evidence of Leo Tuscus), as well as three later Greek manuscripts.¹⁶¹

2. Titles that attribute the work to "Sirim" without giving further information about the author (*Florilegium Baroccianum, Paris. gr.* 2419, *Bononiensis (Bibl. Univ.)* 3632).

3. Titles that attribute the work to ἀπομάσαρος (*Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 297 and its direct copy, *Paris. gr.* 2427).

4. One title that attributes the work to Tarphan (*Petropolitanus Bibl. Acad. scient. graec.* 161).

5. Titles that attribute the work to "Achmet, son of Sēreim, dream interpreter of Caliph Mamoun" (*Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 111, *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 162, *Berol. gr.* 171 [Phil. gr. 1575], *Vat. gr.* 573, *Paris. gr.* 2511, *Cantabrig. gr.* 1386 (O 8.11, 6102), *Zagora* 89, *Hierosol.* 555 and *Hierosol.* 220), the most numerous category, but also the most recent, since its earliest member belongs to the thirteenth century.

The analysis suggests that the *Oneirocriticon* was originally circulated anonymously. This is supported by our two oldest versions (the abridgment contained in *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690 and Leo Tuscus's translation), and is corroborated by Pascalis Romanus's compilation, as well as the attribution of the *Oneirocriticon* to Tarphan, Sirim, or Achmet; all these attributions must have been made by the scribes who copied the text and who wanted to attach an author's name to an originally anonymous work. The original title of the work, according to the earliest surviving testimony, *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690, was "ὄνειροκρίτης," which is also implied by Leo Tuscus. This title is recorded in the *Leidensis*, and is also repeated in conjunction with the names of putative authors in the *Petropolitanus* (Tarphan), *Paris. gr.* 2419, and the *Bononiensis* (Sirim). In addition, the *Cantabrigiensis* clearly calls the work "βιβλίον ὄνειροκρίτης," though this might be the mistake of the copyist, who possibly misread the abbreviation for the ending "-ικόν" found in his model.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ *Leidens Voss.* 49 (L) was considered by Drexel to be one of the best Greek manuscripts of the *Oneirocriticon*, but a new study of the manuscript tradition might change this evaluation.

¹⁶² The same conclusions about the spurious attribution of the *Oneirocriticon* to Achmet are set forth much more briefly in Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," without reference to my dissertation. I consider the concurrence of our opinions as a corroboration of the arguments presented here.

The Author's Sources

The first chapter of the *Oneirocriticon*, where the compiler explains the reason for writing his book and the method of its composition, reads as follows (*Drexel* 1, 3-14):¹⁶³

α' Πρόλογος τῶν ὄνειράτων

Πολλὰ κοπιήσας πρὸς τὸ ἀνερευνᾶν τῷ δεσπότη μου τὴν ἀκριβῆ ἑρμηνείαν τῶν ὄνειράτων, καθὼς αὐτὸς δι' ἐπιθυμίας εἶχε πολλῆς, εὖρον ἐκ τῶν ποιησάντων τὴν τοιαύτην ἀκρίβειαν κατ' ἀλήθειαν, ἥτοι Ἰνδῶν, Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, οἱ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀκριβολογήσαντες καὶ λεπτολογήσαντες ἐξέθεντο καὶ ἐλογογράφησαν τὴν παρούσαν ἑρμηνείαν. καὶ ἐξ ἐκάστου τούτων ἐκλεξάμενος κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐξεθέμην τῶν τριῶν τὰς κρίσεις καὶ λύσεις ἐν ἐκάστῳ κεφαλαίῳ, ὥσάν καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης γνοῦς τὴν περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κεφάλαιον ἐκάστου κρίσιν καὶ λύσιν συλλογίσσεται καὶ μάθῃ τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ πειραθῇ τοῦ γλυκέος καὶ βαθέος καὶ πεποθημένου καὶ δυνατοῦ τῆς παρούσης σοφίας, δι' ἧς ἡ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐκβασίς προγινώσκειται.

1. Introduction to Dreams

I have greatly labored in order to investigate the accurate interpretation of dreams for my Lord (*despotēs*)—for he was very zealous about such matters—and have discovered that great and true precision has been achieved by some, namely the Indians, Persians and Egyptians. For, having weighed accurately and put in fine detail the truth, they have set forth and written down the present explanation. I have extracted summarily from each of those sources and have arranged the interpretations and solutions of all three of them in every chapter, so that my Lord, too, having learnt the interpretation and solution of each <dream> from that very chapter, may contemplate and perceive the truth, and experience the sweetness, profundity, satisfaction, and power of the wisdom contained therein; for through this wisdom the outcome of future events can be known in advance.

Subsequently, the compiler quotes three more prologues, also written in the first person; they are by "Syrbacham, dream interpreter to the king of India," "Baram, dream interpreter of Saanisan, king of Persia," and "Tarphan, dream interpreter of the pharaoh, king of the Egyptians." The royal dream interpreters speak thus:

¹⁶³ The English translation of passages from the *Oneirocriticon* are taken from Oberhelman, *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, with emendations by me. Oberhelman's translation should be used with caution, since it suffers from carelessness and an insufficient knowledge of Greek. The German translation by Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, is much more reliable.

β' Εκ τοῦ λόγου τῶν Ἰνδῶν

Συρβαχάμ ὁ ὄνειροκρίτης τοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέως· Σοφία μεγίστη [ὅταν] ἡ περὶ τῶν ὀνειράτων κρίσις καὶ λύσις καὶ προφητεία ἀπὸ θεοῦ πᾶσιν εὐαγγελιζομένη, καθὼς ποῦ γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις εὐαγγελίοις, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἀγαπῶντά με ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου ἐλευσόμεθα καὶ μονὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ποιήσομεν. τοῦτο δὲ τελειοῦται δι' ὁράματος. καὶ μαρτυρεῖ Ἰωσήφ ὁ καταπιστευθεὶς τὴν Μαρίαν, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ φωτός, δι' ὁράματος μηνυθεῖς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Δανιὴλ καὶ οἱ πλείους τῶν προφητῶν δι' ὁράσεως τὸ θεῖον φῶς ἐδιδάχθησαν. οἷς βεβαιούσθωσαν πάντες, ὅτι θεῖον τι μῆνυμα περὶ πάντων, ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ φαύλων, παντὶ τῷ λαῷ ἢ τῶν ὀνειράτων ὅψις ἐστίν. μὴ λογιζέσθω δὲ τις, ὅτι μία τις ἐστὶ κρίσις καὶ λύσις ὀνειράτος ἐνὸς τῶν διαφόρων προσώπων. διότι τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ὀνειράτα οἰκείαν ἔχουσι κρίσιν καὶ λύσιν, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ πλουσίων ὁμοίως οἰκείαν, καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων τε καὶ πτωχῶν ἀναλόγως οἰκείαν· ὁμοίως δὲ ἄλλη κρίσις ὀνειρῶν γυναικῶν καὶ ἄλλῃ ἀνδρῶν· καὶ ἄλλῃ κρίσις ἐν θέρει καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐν χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ. δι' ὧν καὶ μᾶλλον ὀφείλει ὁ ὄνειροκρίτης πυκνὸς τις εἶναι καὶ πολυμαθὴς καὶ τὸν θεῖον φόβον ἔχων αἰεὶ. οἷς καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ κρίσις ἐστὶν ἀσφαλής, διότι ἀπὸ θεοῦ κεχαρίτῃται. οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁ θεῖος ὄνειρος προδεικνύται ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς καὶ ἀμαρτωλοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ πλούσιον ἔλεος τοῦ θεοῦ, καθὼς τρέφει καὶ τοὺς ἀρνούμενους καὶ τοὺς βλασφημοῦντας αὐτόν. νῦν οὖν ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἁγίας ἀνάρχου καὶ ἀχωρίστου τριάδος τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἀπάρχομαι.¹⁶⁴

2. From the Account of the Indians

Syrbacham, the dream interpreter of the king of the Indians <said>:
"The interpretation and decipherment of dreams is very great wisdom and prophecy brought by God as glad tidings to all, as is written in the Holy Gospels, that 'to the one who loves Me, My Father and I will come and tarry with him' [John 14:23]. This is fulfilled through a vision. Joseph, the one entrusted with Mary, the mother of Light, who was informed by a vision, bears witness to it.¹⁶⁵ Likewise, Daniel and most of the prophets were taught the divine light through <prophetic> visions. By these <examples> all should rest assured that the appearance of dreams is for everybody a divine message concerning everything, both good and evil. And let no one reckon that the interpretation and solution to a dream are the same for different individuals. For the dreams of kings have their own interpretation and solution, and those of the nobles and the wealthy likewise their own, and those of the destitute and the poor their own accordingly. Similarly, the interpretation of women's dreams differs from that of men's dreams. The interpretation is also different during the summer and during the winter season. For these reasons the dream interpreter ought to be someone very wise and extremely learned and God fearing always. Thereby the interpretation is very sound, because it is bestowed by

¹⁶⁴ Drex1 1, 15-3, 24.

¹⁶⁵ See Matthew 1:18-25, 2:13-14 and 2:22.

the grace of God. For God-sent dreams appear not only to the good, but also to the wicked and sinful, because of God's bountiful mercy, just as he takes care even of those who deny and blaspheme him. Now, by the power of the eternal and inseparable Holy Trinity, I begin my interpretation."

γ' Εκ τοῦ λόγου τῶν Περσῶν

Βαράμ ὁ ὄνειροκρίτης Σαανισάν βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν· Ἐκ τῆς κρίσεως τῶν ὀνειράτων μεγίστην γνῶσιν καὶ πρόγνωσιν ἐφευρών, ζωῆς τε καὶ θανάτου, πενίας τε καὶ πλούτου, νόσου καὶ ὑγείας, χαρᾶς καὶ λύπης, νίκης ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἥττης, ἐλάττονι κόπῳ τὸ μέλλον ἀληθῶς ἐκμανθάνω ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγίστου κόπου τῆς ἀστρονομίας, δηλονότι ἐὰν ἄρα ὁ ὄνειροκρίτης ἐστὶν ἀκριβέστατος· ἔγκοπος γάρ καὶ πολλάκις σφαλλομένη τῆς ἀστρονομίας ἢ κατάληψις. πολλοὶ γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ πείραν ἔσχον, τῶν ἀστρονομησάντων εἰς ἀλλήλους διέφερον τότε καὶ διηνέχθησαν ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον ἀνατρέποντες. ἡ δὲ κρίσις τῶν ὀνειράτων, ἣν ἐγὼ ἐξεθέμην, παντὶ τρόπῳ τὸ ἀναμφίβολον ἔχει. καὶ ὁ ταύτην μετέρχεσθαι βουλόμενος λεπτότητα διανοίας καὶ πόθον πρὸς τοὺς κυρίους τῶν ἀστέρων ἔχέτω. νῦν οὖν ἀρχομαι περὶ πάντων ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαίως.¹⁶⁶

3. From the Account of the Persians

Baram, dream interpreter to Saanisan, king of the Persians <said>:

"Having discovered through the interpretation of dreams very great wisdom and foreknowledge about life and death, poverty and wealth, sickness and health, joy and sorrow, victory over enemies and defeat, I truthfully study the future at much less toil than if I were to use the very laborious process of astrology, that is, if the dream interpreter is very precise. For the comprehension of astrology is toilsome, frequently yields wrong results, and is also wearisome and very lengthy. Indeed, as I know from experience, many astrologers at times disagreed with each other and each excelled in refuting the other. On the other hand, the interpretation of dreams which I have set forth is in every way unambiguous. And let him who wishes to pursue it have a sharp mind and love for the lords of the stars. So now I begin <to talk> truthfully and with certainty about everything."

δ' Εκ τοῦ λόγου τῶν Αἰγυπτίων

Ταρφάν ὁ ὄνειροκρίτης Φαραῶ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· Ἡρεύνῃσα¹⁶⁷ περὶ ὧν εὔρον οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐν ταῖς κρίσεσι τῶν ὀνειράτων, περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἕτερός τις οὕτως καταλαβεῖν ταῦτα ὥσπερ ἐγὼ διὰ τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην· πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν καὶ συνεχὴς αὐτῷ τῶν ὀνειράτων ἡ ὅψις. καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς πολὺν εἶχε πόθον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, οἱ πάντα, ὅσα καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῷ συμβήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, προεδείκνυνον ἐν ὀνειράσιν. ἅπερ ἐγὼ ἀκριβῶς διέλυον αἰεὶ· καὶ αὐτὸς

¹⁶⁶ Drex1 2, 25-3, 11.

¹⁶⁷ Drex1 3, 14 has "ἡρεύνῃσαν"; I prefer "ἡρεύνῃσα" on the basis of *Vat. gr.* 573, as well as the use of the first person singular in this chapter.

δι' ἐμοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν προεγίνωσκε τε καὶ εὗρισκε. νῦν οὖν ἐκτίθημι ταῦτα περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ ἐπειράθην καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Φαραωνῖται καὶ οἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς σοφοὶ καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἐνδέχεται θεωρεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐρμηνεύων ἐκτίθημι.¹⁶⁸

4. From the Account of the Egyptians

Tarphan, the dream interpreter of the pharaoh, king of the Egyptians <said>:
"I have researched what the kings of the Egyptians have found in the interpretation of dreams, which nobody else was able to comprehend as well as I have, for the sake of my Lord. For he used to have many and frequent dreams. For he used to have great love for the gods, who foreshadowed every single thing that was about to happen to him in dreams, which I have always interpreted accurately, and through me he learned and knew the truth beforehand. So now I set forth what I and the ancient pharaonites and their wise men know from experience. And I set forth the interpretation of everything that is possible for humans to dream."

As each of the dream interpreters declares that his art draws its power and veracity from its association with the divine, it becomes evident that the Indian interpreter, who quotes a passage from the Gospels and mentions the dreams of Joseph, the husband of Mary, is a Christian, and all subsequent chapters of the *Oneirocriticon* that have an openly Christian flavor, are also labeled "Indian." The Persian dream interpreter worships the stars; the Egyptian dream interpreter and his master believe in several unnamed gods. In other words, the first four chapters of the *Oneirocriticon* claim that the work was compiled on the basis of Christian Indian and pagan Persian and Egyptian sources. The question that arises is whether the designations "Indian," "Persian" and "Egyptian," as well as the interpretations presented under these labels, existed in the Arabic sources of the *Oneirocriticon* or were invented by the Greek compiler. The answer to this question would reveal something about the Greek compiler's approach to his source material.

Neither the compiler of the *Oneirocriticon* nor his Byzantine readers understood "Indians" to refer to the inhabitants of the Indian subcontinent. In tenth-century Greek, the word "Indian" could be taken to mean, more or less, an eastern Christian. All eastern nations, including Christian ones, are called "Indian" in Greek sources as early as the fourth century.¹⁶⁹ Works such as

¹⁶⁸ Drex1 3, 12-24.

¹⁶⁹ See I. Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1984), pp. 86-106, discussing the diplomatic mission of Theophilos the "Indian" among Oriental Christians, ca. 356. Christians existed on the Indian subcontinent long before European colonization. According to legend, their church was founded by the apostle Thomas. The earliest physical remains of Christianity were discovered in southern India and consist of five stone crosses inscribed in

Palladios's *On the Races of India and the Brahmins*, Pseudo-Kallisthenes' *Alexander Romance* and its numerous versions from the fourth century onwards,¹⁷⁰ and the immensely popular romance *cum* hagiography *Barlaam kai Ioasaph*, portray India as the home of a pious and wise people. At times, and especially from the seventh century onwards, India was confused with Christian Ethiopia, which was called "inner India" in earlier sources and through which Indian goods were imported to Byzantium. The same confusion of India with the lands south of Egypt is evident in Artemidoros's ninth-century translation into Arabic by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, where the Greek "India" (Ἰνδία) is rendered as "the land of Nubia" (بلاد النوبة).¹⁷¹ It is from this literary world that the Christian Indians of the *Oneirocriticon* hail.

The only possibly genuine Indian trace in the Byzantine dreambook is the name of the Indian dream interpreter, Syrbacham, which could be a corruption of the Sanscrit śrī Brāhmanah, meaning "the reverend Brahman."¹⁷² The most likely manner for such an Indian element to have ended up in a Middle Byzantine text is by way of an Arabic source, since the Arab acquaintance with the Indian subcontinent and its learning began with the first Arab conquest of Sindh under Muḥammad b. Qāsim in 712. Indeed, a comparison of the "Indian" chapters of the *Oneirocriticon* with the interpretations given in the Indian dreambook of Jagaddeva,¹⁷³ which was written later than the *Oneirocriticon* but is the earliest independent Indian dreambook that survives,¹⁷⁴ shows that

Pahlavi; they have been assigned to the 6th or 7th century on palaeographic grounds. See M. K. Kuriakose, *History of Christianity in India: Source Materials* (Madras, 1982), pp. 1-9. The Christian Indian tradition is clearly not connected with anything found in the *Oneirocriticon*.

¹⁷⁰ Both Palladios and the *Alexander Romance* were copiously excerpted in the 10th-century *Suda Lexicon*.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Artem. ii, 12; Pack 123, 2; Arabic text in Fahd, *Artémidore d'Éphèse, Le livre des songes*, p. 224, 3. The fact should hardly be surprising, since the medieval translators of classical Greek texts into Arabic did not understand Greek in the way the ancient authors did, but in the way the contemporary Byzantines did, because they learned their Greek from Byzantine teachers. To give one example, Ḥunayn b. Ishāq is said to have learned Greek after spending a couple of years in the lands of the Byzantines; see *EF*², s.v. "Ḥunayn b. Ishāq."

¹⁷² Suggested by G. Dagron, "Formes et fonctions du pluralisme linguistique à Byzance (IX-XII siècle)," *TM* 12 (1994), p. 237. Another Indian name could possibly be masked under "Syrbacham"; this could be Varāhamihira, a famous Indian astrologer and diviner of the 6th century C.E. with whom Arabic science became acquainted mainly through the works of Abū Ma'shar (787-886) and al-Bīrūnī (973-1048). On Varāhamihira, see Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, p. 301; see also D. Pingree, *Jyotiḥśāstra: Astral and Mathematical Literature, A History of Indian Literature*, ed. J. Gonda, vol. 6:4 (Wiesbaden, 1981), pp. 74-76.

¹⁷³ Text and translation in J. von Negelein, *Der Traumschlüssel des Jagaddeva. Ein Beitrag zur indischen Mantik* (Gießen, 1912).

¹⁷⁴ Indian dream interpretation was usually treated in a chapter of longer works on omens. The

similarities are rare and should not be attributed to any direct influence.¹⁷⁵ Aside from the titles of the chapters labeled "from the Indians," India is mentioned only once in the *Oneirocriticon*, in the chapter on the interpretation of elephants according to the Persians and Egyptians (Drexl 221, 5-6): 'Ο ἐλέφας εἰς ὑψηλὸν ἄνδρα ξένον ἐξουσιαστήν πολὺπλουτον κρίνεται διὰ τὸ μὴ πανταχοῦ θηρᾶσθαι πλὴν ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ (An elephant is interpreted as an exalted man who is a very wealthy foreign ruler, because it is hunted nowhere else but in India). The same interpretation of elephants also occurs in Arabic dreambooks, without the justification quoted in the *Oneirocriticon*. However, one of the Arabic dreambooks does state that the significance of an elephant dreamt in India is different from that of the same dream dreamt in other parts of the world.¹⁷⁶ The "Indian" chapters of the *Oneirocriticon* that discuss religious notions are in fact copied or adapted from the Muslim

earliest independent treatise on dreams (*svapna*) that survives is the *Svapnacintāmaṇi* by the Gujarati scholar Jagaddeva (ca. 1175), but the interpretation of dreams goes back in Sanskrit literature to the *R̥gveda*. The most common Sanskrit text on the subject is the *Svapnādhyāya* of unknown date, attributed to Brhaspati (Jupiter). The manuscripts of this work have been inventoried in D. Pingree, *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit*. Series A, vol. 4, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 146 (1981), pp. 250-51; none of them is earlier than the 17th century. However, this should not be considered as conclusive evidence for the date of the work, since Indian manuscripts earlier than the 17th century are extremely rare (see Pingree, *Jyotiḥśāstra*, p. 118). For a comparison of ancient Greek with ancient Indian dream interpretation, see R. Stuhmann, "Der Traum in der altindischen Literatur im Vergleich mit altiranischen, hethitischen und griechischen Vorstellungen," Ph.D. diss., Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 1982. This study does not discuss any Greek dreambooks later than Artemidoros and concentrates mainly on the theoretical aspects of dream interpretation, though a few specific dream symbols are also considered. The relationship between Indian and Islamic dream interpretation has never been studied. Islam reached India as early as 712 and was firmly established in the Punjab and Kashmir by the first half of the 11th century. It is therefore possible that Islamic influences made their way into the twelfth-century dreambook of Jagaddeva. Regarding Indian influences on Islamic dream interpretation, the source and authenticity of the interpretations attributed to the Indians in the eleventh-century dreambook of al-Dinawari still need to be studied. On Indian dream interpretation, see Pingree, *Jyotiḥśāstra*, chap. 4, "Divination," and esp. p. 77. I would like to thank Professor Michael Witzel of Harvard University for numerous bibliographical references and for a very useful discussion on Indian dream interpretation.

¹⁷⁵ For some comments on the connection of the *Oneirocriticon* with Indian dream interpretation, see Negelein, *Der Traumschlüssel des Jagaddeva*, pp. XX-XXI. Negelein points out the similarity between Jagaddeva I, 17 and the *Oneirocriticon*, chap. 301 (Drexl 241, 1-14). K. Latte, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, *Gnomon* 2 (1926), p. 419, remarks: "Die Berührungen mit dem von Negelein in seiner Ausgabe des Traumschlüssels des Jagaddeva zusammengestellten Material sind spärlich (vgl. etw. 61, 1=J. I 48 p. 60 N., aber auch Artemidor I 33 p. 34, 23 Hercher; 77, 24=J. II 63. 76. 25, 12 und Negelein p. XIV 2)."

¹⁷⁶ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 190: رؤية الفيل في غير بلاد الهند شدة وفزع (The dream of an elephant outside of India <signifies> difficulty and distress).

interpretations of analogous symbols in Arabic dreambooks.

As for the purportedly Persian and Egyptian interpretations in the *Oneirocriticon*, many of them can be found in Arabic dreambooks, though no items peculiar to the material culture of ancient Egypt or Persia are mentioned in the Greek text.¹⁷⁷ But a handful of interpretations, mainly those that discuss religion and social customs, appear as specific to these two cultures. It is important to decide whether these details reflect a Byzantine or an Arabic image of Persia and Egypt and how accessible the pertinent information was to a Byzantine or Arabic author of the ninth and tenth centuries.

The Persian dream interpreter, Baram, and his king, Saanisan, have genuinely and almost generically Persian names. Saanisan appears to be a corruption of Sāsān, an ancestor of the last dynasty to rule Persia before the Arab conquests. His identification in the *Oneirocriticon* as "king of the Persians" is inaccurate, however, because, though of noble lineage, Sāsān never became king. But Arabic sources refer to the last imperial house of Persia as Bānū Sāsān (the clan of Sāsān), and it was a genuine Persian name with royal associations that was widely known, even to those who were not knowledgeable in history.¹⁷⁸ Baram is Bahrām, also a common Persian name, borne by the great warrior god of Zoroastrianism,¹⁷⁹ and by six Sasanian kings and several notables of

¹⁷⁷ According to Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 256-57, the interpretations that the *Oneirocriticon* ascribes to the Persians and Egyptians cannot be found in the extant Arabic dreambooks. Even in the chapters ascribed to the Indians, what seems to have been based on Islamic sources are only the interpretations presented at the very beginning; the rest might have been invented by the Greek author under the influence of the general idea in his Arabic source. Both these statements stand in need of correction. For examples of interpretations attributed to the Persians and Egyptians that have their equivalents in Arabic dreambooks, see the discussion on the interpretation of heads in chapter 5; also the interpretations of worshipping a star or a tree, receiving something from the pharaoh and sleeping in the same bed with him quoted below in this chapter. An example of a Christian chapter from the *Oneirocriticon* whose contents all have parallels in Islamic interpretations is chap. 149 (Drexl 103, 25-105, 11); see the discussion on the interpretation of priests and priestly duties in chapter 7.

¹⁷⁸ Al-Mas'ūdi, the 10th-century geographer, records a popular belief that the last ancient Persian to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca was Sāsān, whose ritual murmuring (*zamzama*) gave the name to the sacred well of Zamzam. Thus the name "Sāsān" that occurs in the *Oneirocriticon* might have been introduced to the Arabic source of the Greek text by a Muslim author because of both its royal Persian connotations and its Islamic acceptability. See al-Mas'ūdi, *Les prairies d'or*, trans. B. de Meynard, P. de Courteille and C. Pellat (Paris, 1962), vol. 1, p. 215, §574 (II, 148). Alternatively, assuming that the name Sāsān already occurred in the Arabic source of the *Oneirocriticon*, it might have been mentioned in order to remind the Arab reader of an association with apocryphal wisdom and magic, since "banū Sāsān" was the name applied to tricksters and beggars, who were often practitioners of magic and quack doctors. Cf. *El²*, s.v. "Sāsān" and Bosworth, *Medieval Islamic Underworld*, vol. 1.

¹⁷⁹ Interpreted in ancient Greek and Hellenistic sources as Arēs (Mars) or Hēraklēs (Hercules). See M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1982), pp. 40-41.

the Sasanian and later periods.¹⁸⁰

The religion of the Persians, as it can be gleaned in chapter 13 (Drexl 10, 5§11, 9), is Sasanian Zoroastrianism:

ἰγ' Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τῶν Περσῶν περὶ πίστεως

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ εἰδώλους ἑαυτὸν προσκυνοῦντα τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν μεγίστων ἀστέρων, ἢ τοῦ ἡλίου ἢ τὸ εἶδωλον, ἐπιδηθήσεται βασιλέως καὶ εἰσακουσθήσεται καὶ ἐγγιεῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅσον τῷ ἡλιακῷ εἰδῶλῳ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους.... Εἰ δὲ τὸ εἶδωλον ἢ εἰς πρόσωπον τῆς σελήνης καὶ ἴδῃ τοῦτό τις, ἐπιδηθήσεται τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ εἰσακουσθήσεται προσεγγίζων αὐτῷ, ὅσον τῷ σεληνιακῷ εἰδῶλῳ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ προσκυνοῦντα ἑαυτὸν τῷ εἰδῶλῳ τῆς Αφροδίτης, εἰς πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον τῆς αὐγούστης εὐδοκίμησει. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τῶν μεγιστάνων τοῦ βασιλέως ἡ αὐτὴ κρίσις.

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ προσκυνοῦντα ἑαυτὸν τῷ πυρὶ τῷ ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀσβέστω, εἰ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἢ καὶ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ὥσει καπνὸς δυσώδης ἐξελήλυθε τοῦ πυρός, πολεμηθήσεται παρ' ἐχθρῶν καὶ τραπήσεται· εἰ δὲ καπνὸς ἦν εὐώδης, ἐξάκουστον νίκην κατ' ἐχθρῶν λάβῃ. εἰ δὲ τις ἴδῃ τοῦτο τῆς κοινότητος τοῦ λαοῦ, δουλεύσει βασιλεῖ καὶ ἀποβήσεται ἀναλόγως τῆς εὐωδίας ἢ δυσωδίας καὶ γυνὴ ἂν ἦ, πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ὁμοίως τῆς ὁσμῆς ἀποβήσεται αὐτῇ. Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔκτισε ναὸν καὶ ἔθετο πῦρ ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς προσκύνῃσιν τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἔστι βασιλεὺς, ἐν βουλῇ αὐτοῦ βασιλεία ποιεῖ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἀποδέχεται αὐτόν.¹⁸¹

13. From the Account of the Persians on Faith

If someone dreams that he was worshipping the idols that are named after the greatest of the stars, should the idol be that of the sun, he will beseech the king and [his wish] will be granted and he will approach the king as closely as he did the idol in the dream.... If the idol depicted the moon and someone sees it, he will beseech the first minister to the king and [his wish] will be granted, and he will approach him as far as he approached the idol of the moon in his sleep. And if someone dreams that he was worshipping the idol of Venus, he will become the most trusted person of the queen. And likewise, the same interpretation applies to the remaining planets and the king's magistrates.

If someone dreams that he was worshipping the eternal flame in the temples, if he is king and saw something like a malodorous smoke arise from the fire, he will be attacked by enemies and will be routed; but if the smoke is sweet-smelling, he may

¹⁸⁰ This name appears in the Greek sources as Βαράνης, Βαραάνης and Βαραράνης, but also as Βαράμ, e.g., in Theophylaktos Simocatta; for a list of occurrences, see Theophylaktos Simocatta, *Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor and P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1972), p. 320. On the kings by that name in history and mythology, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Bahrām."

¹⁸¹ Drexl 10, 5-11, 9. In addition, the Persians appear as star worshipers in chap. 168, "From the Persians on Stars" (Drexl 131, 23-132, 3), and in the introduction to the *Oneirocriticon* by the Persian dream interpreter (Drexl 2, 25-3, 11) quoted above.

gain a famous victory over them. If a commoner dreams this, he will serve a king and the result will be analogous to the foulness or sweetness of the smell. If the dreamer is a woman, it will turn out for her likewise in regard to her husband. If someone sees that he built a temple and set up a fire for public worship, if he is king he will appoint someone as king according to his will and the people will accept him.

In chapter 169, "From the Persians on the Stars" (Drexl 131, 23§132, 3) it is said that incense burning and sacrificing formed part of the ritual worship of the stars.

The image of Zoroastrianism conveyed in these chapters is accurate.¹⁸² In Zoroastrian belief the sun is the symbol of Ohrmazd, the creator and principle of good. The moon is associated with light and water and conveys health and growth to plants.¹⁸³ Venus (Anāhid) was the tutelary divinity of the Sasanian house.¹⁸⁴ Her cult originated in that of the Assyro-Babylonian Ishtar, the Lady of the planet Venus and of love and war. Anāhid was absorbed by Zoroastrianism in the time of the Achaemenians and was worshiped down to Islamic times as Bānū Pārs ("the Lady of Persia").¹⁸⁵ Fire is considered sacred, and the maintenance of perpetual flames is central to ritual worship,¹⁸⁶ which also included sacrifice of animals and other offerings.¹⁸⁷ Further chapters indirectly supply a very few details about the beliefs and customs of the Persians. In chapter 6, "From the Persians on Resurrection," it is implied that resurrection

¹⁸² Chap. 159, "From the Persians and Egyptians on Fire" (Drexl 120, 17-122, 25), also includes a "Zoroastrian" interpretation, though its importance is negligible, considering the total length of the chapter: Τὸ πῦρ εἰς μεγίστας κρίνεται κρίσεις· εἰς θεῶν γὰρ ἀνάγεται πρόσωπα (Drexl 120, 18-19) εἰ δὲ <ἴδῃ τις> ὅτι προσεκύνησε τῷ πυρὶ, μεγιστάνων δεηθήσεται καὶ ἀκουσθήσεται (Drexl 121, 2-3). (Fire bears the greatest interpretations, for it refers to gods If <someone dreams> that he worshiped fire, he will beseech nobles and be heard).

¹⁸³ See *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Astrology and Astronomy in Iran," esp. §§ "Sun and Moon," "Stars" (p. 865).

¹⁸⁴ See M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London, 1979), pp. 115 and 142.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62 and 163.

¹⁸⁶ See A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1936), pp. 140-41: "L'Avesta distingue cinq sortes de feu *Bərzisavah* est le feu du temple (appelé le feu *Vahram*) et aussi le feu destiné à l'usage ordinaire...." See also *ibid.*, p. 157: "Correspondant aux grades du régime patriarcal des anciens Iraniens, il y avait un feu de maison, un feu de clan ou de village (*ādhurān*) et un feu pour chaque canton ou province. Ce dernier est appelé feu de *Varhrān* (Vahrām). Tandis que le feu de maison était entretenu par le *mānbadh*, le maître de maison, deux prêtres au moins étaient nécessaires pour le service de l'*adhurān* et le feu de *Varhrān* demandait un corps de prêtres plus nombreux sous la direction d'un *mōbadh*."

¹⁸⁷ See Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, pp. 53, 66, 75-76, 86, 164, 173-74, 211.

was part of Zoroastrian eschatology; a number of chapters attributed to the Persians and Egyptians together mention polygamy.¹⁸⁸ The only inaccuracy that turns up is the implication that the Persians bury their dead, which is found in a chapter attributed to both the Persians and the Egyptians.¹⁸⁹ In fact they disposed of dead bodies by exposing them.¹⁹⁰

The Greek-speaking world had direct contacts with Persia from antiquity until the Arab conquest. Greek historians from Herodotus to Zonaras wrote about ancient Persia in detail,¹⁹¹ and information on Persian religion, culture, and wisdom can be found in a vast number of Greek sources.¹⁹² But, in the ninth or the tenth century, only a devoted antiquarian would have been able to piece together an accurate picture of Zoroastrianism, and such a task would have been even more daunting, if not impossible, for someone like the compiler of the *Oneirocriticon*, whose only textual references come from the Bible. On the other hand, Zoroastrianism was part of contemporary reality in the Muslim world. After the Islamic conquest its adherents were accorded the status of *dhimmi*,¹⁹³ and functioning Zoroastrian temples could be found in the heartland of the caliphate until the eleventh century, as is evident from the information provided by the Arab geographers.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, aspects of the Zoroastrian

¹⁸⁸ Drexl 20, 18-19; 56, 6-12; 64, 21-23; 110, 15-17; 120, 22-24; 173, 20; 175, 27-176, 3; 178, 7-8; 182, 25. For polygamy in Zoroastrianism, see Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 317 ff. For ancient Egyptian polygamy as described in medieval Arabic sources, see Muradā ibn al-Khafif, *L'Egypte de Murtadi, fils du Gaphiphe*, ed. G. Wiet, trans. P. Vattier (Paris, 1953), p. 34.

¹⁸⁹ Chap. 122, Drexl 86, 21-89, 11.

¹⁹⁰ It is known that in the 9th-10th century, Zoroastrians erected high walled enclosures (*dakhma*, funerary towers) for that purpose, in order not to offend Muslims and to shield the dead from the risk of violation; see Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, pp. 90-92 and 157-58.

¹⁹¹ On the Greek sources pertinent to Iranian history, see the introduction to each chapter in R. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 3:7 (Munich, 1983).

¹⁹² Most of these references have been collected and studied in J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1938).

¹⁹³ The *ahl al-dhimma* ("the protected people") or *ahl al-kitāb* ("people of the Book") were non-Muslims who could not be forcibly converted to Islam and, though subject to social restrictions, were guaranteed protection and autonomy of institutions by the ruler in exchange for special taxes. Their religions were respected because, according to the Qur'ān, they possessed a scripture containing divine revelation. The Qur'ān did not clearly include Zoroastrians among the "people of the Book" but, although the matter was open to interpretation, the status of *dhimmi* was conferred upon them; see R. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia* (New York, 1975), p. 135.

¹⁹⁴ See B. M. Tirmidhi, "Zoroastrians and Their Fire Temples in Iran and Adjoining Countries from the 9th to the 14th Centuries," *Islamic Culture* 24 (1950), pp. 271-84. For the survival of Zoroastrianism under Islamic rule, see M. Boyce, *Zoroastrianism: Its Antiquity and Constant*

religion were treated, though never in much detail, by authors such as Ibn al-Nadīm in the *Kitāb al-fihrist*,¹⁹⁵ Ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī in *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*,¹⁹⁶ and Shahrastānī in *Kitāb al-milal wa-al-niḥal*.¹⁹⁷ Further proof that whoever conceived the interpretations in the *Oneirocriticon* was familiar with Zoroastrianism as a living religion can be found in chapter 12, which discusses the significance of dreams that involve abandoning Christianity in favor of Judaism, Islam or Zoroastrianism (Drexl 8, 10-12 and 9, 6-11).¹⁹⁸ Including such a dream indicates that Zoroastrianism was a religion practiced in the author's milieu, as was the case in Muslim lands, but not in Byzantium.

The most important indication that the Greek compiler of the *Oneirocriticon* did not invent the "Persian" interpretations but copied them from an Arabic model is the fact that these interpretations can also be found in Arabic dreambooks. The interpretation of the sun, the moon and the planets as representing the king, his prime minister and members of the royal court found in the *Oneirocriticon* is also found in every single Arabic dreambook,¹⁹⁹ along with the interpretation of fire as king.²⁰⁰ The portrayal of Persians as star worshipers, however, may not have been based on direct and accurate information obtained by the Arabic author of the Persian interpretations that ended up in the *Oneirocriticon*, but simply inspired by a tendency detectable in the Arabic sources to consider all pagan religions—that is religions other than Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—as cults of the stars with rituals that included the worship of and sacrifices to idols.²⁰¹

The *Oneirocriticon* is less knowledgeable about ancient Egypt than about Zoroastrian Persia. Aside from the name of the pharaoh and a reference to

Vigor (Costa Mesa, Calif. and New York, 1992), pp. 149-62.

¹⁹⁵ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge.

¹⁹⁶ Ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, *Moslem Schisms and Sects (al-Farq bayn al-Firaq)*, *Being the History of the Various Philosophic Systems Developed in Islam*, trans. K. Chambers Seelye and A. Halkin, 2 vols., Columbia Oriental Studies 25 (New York, 1920).

¹⁹⁷ For further references, see *El²*, s.v. "Madjūs," esp. pp. 1116-18.

¹⁹⁸ 'Εάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι μάγος ἐγένετο, οὗτος φιλάργυρος καὶ φιλόπλουτος γενήσεται (If someone dreams that he became a magian, he will become avaricious and niggardly). The same interpretation can be found in Arabic dreambooks.

¹⁹⁹ See chap. 166, and especially Drexl 127, 3-7 and 129, 12-18.

²⁰⁰ Cf. al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 267, s.v. *مجنوس*: *سلطان النار فإنه يطلب خدمة*: *سلطان لأن النار سلطان*. (If someone dreams that he was worshiping fire, he will seek to be employed in the service of a king, for the fire is a king).

²⁰¹ See J. Hjärpe, "Analyse critique des traditions arabes sur les sabéens harraniens," Ph.D. diss., University of Uppsala, 1972, pp. 43-61, and especially §3: "La notion du 'paganisme' comme astrolâtrie et idolâtrie."

ancient Egyptian polytheism, Egyptian references are limited to "the water of the Nile" and "the carafe of Cleopatra." By the time the *Oneirocriticon* was compiled, the Nile irrigated Muslim territories, and its interpretation as power and money (Drexl 152, 16-19) is consistent with that found in Arabic dreambooks.²⁰² It is unclear whether or not the "carafe of Cleopatra" (τὸ βαυκάλιον τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, Drexl 153, 1) reflects something found in the Arabic sources of the *Oneirocriticon* (although I was unable to find a similar passage in them) and whether it was a real object²⁰³ or invented in order to evoke Egyptian local color.²⁰⁴ Alchemical writings ascribed to Cleopatra exist both in Greek and in Arabic, which implies that the reference to Cleopatra might be explained by her connection, not with Egypt, but with the occult sciences.²⁰⁵

Both the Byzantines and the Arabs considered ancient Egypt to be the homeland of men versed in apocryphal wisdom, such as Hermes Trismegistus, whose writings had been translated from Greek into Arabic. But the Greek books on dreams called βίβλοι αἱ "Ὠρου καὶ Ἰσιδος" (Books of Horos and Isis) that are recorded by two second-century authors, Lucian and Dio Chrysostomos, are unlikely to have furnished any of the "Egyptian" material in the *Oneirocriticon*, since they did not contain interpretations of dream symbols but stories about incubations and supernatural visions.²⁰⁶ Knowledge of the religion and customs of ancient Egypt was very limited among both the

²⁰² *Al-Muntakhab*, chap. 41, p. 289: ومن شرب من نهر النيل فانه ينال ذهباً بقدر ما شرب (Whoever drinks from the river Nile will receive gold commensurate with what he drank). *Al-Nābulusī*, vol. 2, p. 312, s.v. (نهر) من رأى في المنام انه يشرب منه فانه ينال : نيل مصر (نهر) (The Nile of Egypt: Whoever sees in his dream that he drank from its water will obtain gold commensurate with the amount he drank. If someone dreams of the river Nile, he will obtain sovereignty and power).

²⁰³ *Baukalion* is "ein ursprünglich besonders in Alexandria übliches gläsernes oder tönernes bauchiges Gefäß mit engem Hals, das beim Füllen und Ausgießen einen glucksenden Ton gab. In byzantinischer Zeit bezeichnet es auch einen Wasserkrug" (Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, n. 371).

²⁰⁴ Latte, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexl, p. 419; Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, p. 12.

²⁰⁵ See Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 4, p. 70; also M. Ullmann, "Kleopatra in einer arabischen alchemistischen Disputation," *WZKM* 64 (1971), pp. 158-75, where the dialogue of Cleopatra with her students translated by Ullmann (p. 169) reveals that the "water of the Nile" was an allegorical name used in alchemy for the philosopher's stone: "Drauf frug sie: Und warum wird er [=der Stein des Goldes] Wasser des Niles (mā' an-Nil) genannt? Sie antworteten: Weil der Nil, wenn er schwillt, die Saaten befruchtet. Dann gibt es viele Früchte, und der Segen zieht ein. So auch unser Wasser: Wenn es in den (alchemistischen) Prozeß eintritt, wird es ganz und gar ein Gutes."

²⁰⁶ See Del Corno, *Graecorum de re onirocritica*, pp. 70 and 151.

Byzantines and the Arabs. Unlike Zoroastrianism, the old pagan religion of ancient Egypt had long been extinct by the tenth century and information on it could only be gleaned from books written in the Hellenistic era and later.²⁰⁷ The vagueness and rarity of the Egyptian references in the *Oneirocriticon* reflect this ignorance.

The title of pharaoh that is applied to Egypt's ruler in the *Oneirocriticon* was known to Christians through the Old Testament and to Muslims from the Qur'ān. The preoccupation of the pharaoh with dream interpretation mentioned in the introductory chapter attributed to Tarphan is consistent not only with the story of the pharaoh's dreams interpreted by Joseph, which is related both in the Old Testament and in the Qur'ān, but also with Arabic lore about pharaonic Egypt. According to the medieval Arabic sources, the kings of Egypt used to dream constantly about imminent events. Their dreams were interpreted by their high priests and were always truthful, because of their lofty and mighty position.²⁰⁸

Tarphan, the name of the pharaoh's dream interpreter, is curious. It could stem from the Arabic root *t-r-f* (ترف)²⁰⁹ or *t-r-f* (طرف),²¹⁰ though no adjective

²⁰⁷ The most extensive single Greek source on the religion and society of Egypt before Alexander's conquest was probably the second of the nine books of Herodotus's history, but this work was not widely read in Byzantium, and the compiler of the *Oneirocriticon* was definitely unaware of the information it provides. Byzantine chroniclers who included Egyptian history in their treatment of the pre-Christian era drew from the Old Testament, and from Hellenistic and late-antique sources. Their main goal, however, was not to convey ethnographical information, but to record the succession of Egypt's kings. In the Arabic-speaking world, ancient Egypt was treated more often in geographical than in historical works. For a collection of the information on ancient Egyptian religion contained in the writings of Greek and Latin authors, see Th. Hopfner, *Fontes historiae religionis Aegyptiacae*. 5 vols. (Bonn, 1922-25). The information contained in the Arabic sources on ancient Egypt can be found in the introduction to Murtaḍā ibn al-Khaḥif, *Egypte de Murtadi*, ed. Wiet. More recent bibliography in U. Haarmann, *Kitāb anwār 'ulwiyy al-ajrām fī al-kashf 'an asrār al-ahrām ta'līf Abī Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥusaynī al-Iḍrīsī* (Beirut, 1991). See also Ibn Waḥshiyya, *Ancient Alphabets and Hieroglyphic Characters Explained with an Account on the Egyptian Priests and Their Classes, Initiation and Sacrifices*, trans. Joseph Hammer [von Purgstall] (London, 1806). This work is based mainly on Hellenistic sources translated from Greek; see T. Fahd, "Sur une collection d'alphabets antiques réunis par Ibn Waḥshiyya," in *Le déchiffrement des écritures et des langues*, ed. J. Leclant (Paris, 1973), pp. 105-19. Cf. also U. Sezgin, "Al-Mas'ūdī, Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīfshāh und das *Kitāb al-'ajā'ib*-Aegyptiaka in arabischen Texten des 10. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* 8 (1993), pp. 1-70.

²⁰⁸ For references to primary sources, see Murtaḍā ibn al-Khaḥif, *Egypte de Murtadi*, ed. Wiet, pp. 35-36 and 67.

²⁰⁹ The root *t-r-f* in verbal pattern I means "to live in luxury"; in pattern IV "to make someone effeminate" and "to surround with luxury"; the noun *taraf* means "luxury, opulence".

²¹⁰ The root *t-r-f* has a variety of meanings in the verbal patterns and nouns that are formed

tarfān or *ṭarfān* is recorded in Arabic dictionaries. At any rate, it is not clear why a Greek- or an Arabic-speaking person would consider this name appropriate for an ancient Egyptian dream interpreter.²¹¹

The chapter from the Egyptians on faith gives very vague information about their religion (Drexl 11, 10-26). The gods of the Egyptians remain unnamed, as they did in the introductory chapter:

ἰδ' Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τῶν Αἰγυπτίων περὶ πίστεως ὁμοίως

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ προσκυνοῦντα ἑαυτὸν θεοὺς ἢ εἰδῶλα ἢ ζῶα ἢ δένδρα, οὗτος εὐρήσει χάριν πρὸς τὸν Φαραῶ καὶ τοὺς μεγιστάνους αὐτοῦ ἀναλόγως τῆς εὐγενείας τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ ζώων καὶ δένδρων. ἂν δὲ προσκυνῇ τὸν θρόνον τοῦ Φαραῶ καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτοῦ, οὗτος ἄρχων γενήσεται ὅμοιος τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτοῦ. ἂν δὲ προσκυνῇ τῇ ῥάβδῳ τοῦ Φαραῶ ἢ βαστάσῃ αὐτήν ἢ καθίσῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ ἢ τοῦ δίφρου αὐτοῦ, οὗτος πρῶτος σύμβουλος ἔσται αὐτῷ. ἂν ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ ἵππῳ τοῦ Φαραῶ ἢ τοῖς σελλαρίῳ, εἰ μὲν ἐν βουλῇ τοῦ Φαραῶ τοῦτο ἐποίησε, γυναικὰ οἰκείαν δώσει αὐτῷ, εἰ δὲ ἔξω τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ, οὗτος ἐπιβήσεται κατὰ τοῦ κορασίου αὐτοῦ καὶ φωραθήσεται.

Ἐάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι συγκαθεύδει τῷ Φαραῶ ἢ ὁ Φαραῶ συγκοιμᾶται αὐτῷ τρόπῳ γυναικός, μυστικός ἔσται τῷ Φαραῶ καὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἀποκρύφων μυστηρίων αὐτοῦ.

14. From the Account of the Egyptians on Faith

from it. Verbal pattern I means "to blink, to squint"; IV means "to feature or tell something new or novel or original"; and V "to be on the extreme side". The noun *tarf* means both "glance" and "eye". In astrology, it is the name of one of the houses of the moon. It can also mean "a generous man" or "a nobleman (with respect to ancestry) up to the most remote forefather." If we interpret the ending *-ān* as that of a dual, *ṭarfān* could mean "the two eyes."

²¹¹ Unless the name *Tarfān* is somehow connected with the name of *Tarifa al-Kāhina*, one of the most celebrated prophetesses of pre-Islamic Arabia. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 142-44, tentatively connects her name with the biblical Hebrew word *teraphim* which means, among other things, "donneur d'oracle." It is even conceivable that an Arab author might have borrowed the name of the Egyptian dream interpreter from the list of the ancestors of the pharaoh whose dreams were interpreted by Joseph. *Ἐκ τῶν* (ترفان) would then represent a misreading of "Tharwān" (ثروان). See al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, ed. Muhammad Abū Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1960): *فاما غيره فإنه قال: كان يومئذ الملك بمصر وفرعونها الريان بن لاوذ بن سام بن نوح.* (Another account gives the full name of the king and pharaoh of Egypt at that time as al-Rayyān b. al-Walid b. Tharwān b. Arāshah b. Qārān b. 'Amr b. 'Imlāq b. Lud b. Shem b. Noah), W. M. Brinner, trans., *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2: *The Prophets and Patriarchs* (Albany, N. Y., 1987), p. 153. In the Arabic spelling the ductus of "Thawrān" is almost identical with that of "Tarfān," and it only takes misplacing one dot and mistaking و for ف to read the second name instead of the first.

If someone dreams that he was worshiping gods or idols or animals or trees, he will find favor before the pharaoh and his nobles in proportion to the nobility of the idols and animals and trees. If he performs the *proskynēsis* in front of the throne of the pharaoh just as his magistrates do, he too will become a magistrate like them. If he performs the *proskynēsis* or lifts the pharaoh's staff, or if he sits on his carriage, that is his chariot, he will become his first councilor. If he dreams that he sat on a horse that belonged to the pharaoh—that is, a saddle horse—if he did so with the pharaoh's consent, the pharaoh will give him a woman from his family; if without his consent, the dreamer will sleep with a girl that belongs to the pharaoh and will be caught.

If he dreams that he slept with the pharaoh or that he had intercourse with him as if he were a woman, the dreamer will become the pharaoh's private secretary and be the first man privy to his hidden secrets.

The chapter on faith according to Egyptian sources is much shorter than the corresponding chapters according to Indian and Persian sources, and does not include many details about the Egyptian religion, possibly because the author knew little about it. The interpretation of worshipping a tree quoted at the beginning of the passage (Drexl 11, 11-25) can be found in the dreambook of al-Dīnawarī concerning the Sabians.²¹²

في روية من يعبد نجما او شجرة * من رأى انه يعبد بعض النجوم فانه رجل صابي فرايه رأى الصابيين او يتقرب الى رجل شريف او يكون مذبذبا براي كل احد.

On dreaming of adoring a star or a tree: Whoever dreams that he worships some of the stars is a Sabian, for his persuasion is that of the Sabians. Or he will curry favor with a distinguished man or he will vacillate between the persuasion of each one.

A similar interpretation is repeated in *al-Muntakhab*.²¹³

فان رأى كانه يعبد نجما او شجرة فانه رجل دينه دين الصابئين وهم من القوم الذين وصفهم الله تعالى فقال مذبذبين بين ذلك وقيل ان هذه الرؤيا تدل على ان صاحبها يتقرب الى خدمة رجل جليل يتهاون بدينه.

And if he dreams that he worships a star or a tree, a man of his religion belongs to the religion of the Sabians, and they are from the people that God Almighty

²¹² Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 71, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 83a.

²¹³ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 330.

described as "swaying between this and that" [Qur'ān 4:143]. And it is said this dream signifies that the dreamer will curry favor by serving a man in a lofty position who will disdain his religion.

The similarity between the Greek and Arabic interpretations of worshipping a tree indicates that the image of the ancient Egyptians in the *Oneirocriticon* owes something to the image of the Sabians in medieval Arabic literature. Arabic authors occasionally applied the name *Ṣābi'* to various groups of polytheists past and present.²¹⁴ Sabians are usually said to be star worshipers, while the Egyptians of the *Oneirocriticon* are not.²¹⁵ But it seems that several Arabic authors thought of the ancient Egyptians as Sabians,²¹⁶ and al-Mas'ūdī in *Kitāb al-tanbīh* clearly says so in his enumeration of Sabian groups, in which he includes the Chaldean or Babylonian Sabians (Mandaeans), the Buddhists of China, the ancient Greeks, and the Egyptian Sabians, "the last of whom can be found nowadays in Ḥarrān."²¹⁷

The remaining interpretations in the Egyptian chapter on faith, which make up more than half of its total, discuss dreams about the pharaoh. The pharaoh (Ar. *fir'awn*) of the tale of Moses in the Qur'ān is generally presented in Islam as the epitome of evil. The interpretations of dreaming of the pharaoh in Arabic dreambooks are accordingly inspired by the relevant Quranic passages and are totally different from the interpretations quoted in the *Oneirocriticon*.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ The question of who the Sabians of the Arabic sources were is a complicated one, and need not be addressed here; see D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1856); for criticism of Chwolsohn's views, see J. Hjärpe, "Analyse critique des traditions arabes sur les sabéens ḥarraniens," and *El'*, s.v. "Ṣābi'" and "Ṣābi'a."

²¹⁵ It is possible that the Egyptians are not described as star worshipers in order to avoid giving them a characteristic already attributed to the Persians.

²¹⁶ See Murtaḍā ibn al-Khafif, *Egypte de Murtaḍi*, ed. Wiet, p. 60.

²¹⁷ Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, vol. 1, p. 214. For a French translation of the passage in question, see B. Carra de Vaux, trans., *Maḡoudī. Le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision* (Paris, 1897), p. 221.

²¹⁸ Al-Dinawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 86 (*Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 66a): كل فرعون عدو الدين فمن رأى فرعوناً حسن الحال فهو سوء حال للامام وقومه كما ان سوء حال فرعون حسن حال الامام وقومه وكذلك كل عدو لرجل * فان رأى انه تحول بعض فراعنة الدنيا فانه ينال قوة وتشيع دعواه ويفسد دينه ويتحد سيره ذلك الفرعون في الشر والاثم ويخذل ويموت على الكفر * ... فان رأى بعض اموات الفراعنة والاكاسرة والجبابرة حي في بلده او موضع وهو واليها فان سيرته تظهر هناك (Every pharaoh is an enemy of religion. If someone dreams of a pharaoh in good condition, this bodes ill for the leader and people of that place. Likewise, ill in the condition of the pharaoh bodes well for the condition of the leader and his people. And likewise for the enemies of man. And if he dreams that he was transformed into one of the pharaohs of the world,

But if we realize that the pharaoh is a sovereign and look into the interpretations of the dreams about caliphs and kings given in the Arabic dreambooks, it is possible to find analogous passages. Here are some interpretations of dreams featuring caliphs quoted in the dreambook of Ibn Shāhīn (nos. 369 and 375):

ومن رأى ان الخليفة كساه او حمله او اركبه او اعطاه شيئاً من متاع الدنيا فانه يصيب سلطاناً وعزاً وفخراً بقدر ما ينسب إليه ذلك العطاء.

Whoever sees that the caliph dressed him or transported him or gave him a mount or gave him one of the worldly commodities, indeed he will attain sovereignty and might and glory analogous to the gift.

ومن رأى انه هو والخليفة على فراش واحد فانه يشركه في امره او يوليه مكاناً يحكم فيه وقيل اما ان يتزوج امرأة من بيت الخليفة او يهبه جارية.

Whoever sees that he and the caliph are in the same bed, indeed he will become a partner in his command or <the caliph> will entrust <the dreamer> with authority over a place. And it is said either that he will marry a woman from the house of the caliph or that the caliph will give the dreamer a slave girl.

The inclusion of interpretations about the pharaoh in a chapter on faith can partly be explained, perhaps, by the statement of Ibn Tāhīr al-Baghdādī that some among the pagans worship particular individuals, such as Jamshīd, Nimrūd b. Kanaʿān and Firʿawn.²¹⁹ But, most important, it conforms to the arrangement of Islamic dreambooks. There, dreams about caliphs are interpreted in the first, religious, chapters, right after the holy figures, because their title in Arabic literally means that they are the successors of the Prophet as heads of the Muslim community. Moreover, the first four, known as the "orthodox" or "rightly guided" caliphs, are indeed regarded as holy figures and had all been close companions of Muḥammad during his prophetic mission. The *proskynēsis* of the pharaoh is reminiscent both of Byzantine ceremonial²²⁰ and of that

he will obtain power and his pretensions will become known, his religion will decay, and his conduct will concur <with that of> the pharaoh regarding evil and sin and he will forsake <religion> and will die in godlessness. ... And if he dreams that any of the dead pharaohs and Persian kings and tyrants live in his country or at a place while he governs it, indeed a tyrant's conduct will appear there). The same interpretations are repeated almost verbatim in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 121, s.v. فرعون.

²¹⁹ See Ibn Tāhīr al-Baghdādī, *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, trans. Chambers Seelye and Halkin, vol. 2, p. 345.

²²⁰ See *ODB*, s.v. "Proskynesis."

followed at the caliphal court.²²¹ As for the pharaoh's staff, sceptres were understood to be symbols of imperial power both in Byzantium and in the Muslim lands.²²²

The following passage of the *Oneirocriticon* is tantalizing because it is unclear whether it refers to the Egyptians or the Persians (Drexl 51, 19-27):

πδ' Ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων περὶ ἐγκάτων καὶ σπλάγχνων

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ τὸ ἥπαρ αὐτοῦ ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ἀφεδρῶνος ἐξῆλθεν, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ μέγιστος καὶ πλούσιος, ὁ οἰκονόμος αὐτοῦ ἀπολείται καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐπιθυμία αὐτοῦ, διότι τὸ ἥπαρ διανέμει πᾶσιν σαρκὶ τὴν τροφήν. οὕτως γὰρ ἔκριναν καὶ οἱ νόμοι ἡμῶν πάλαι, ἡνίκα ὁ νεανίας ἐκεῖνος ἄρπαξ ὤφθη τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἡμῶν, ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ ἥπαρ αὐτοῦ οἰωνοί, διότι πασῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἴτιον τὸ ἥπαρ ἐστίν.

84. From the Persians and the Egyptians on Intestines and Internal Organs

If someone dreams that his liver came out through his anus, if he is very powerful and wealthy, his steward and every object of his desire will be destroyed, for the liver distributes nourishment to the entire body. Our laws have also decreed thus in the past, when that young man was discovered to have abducted the daughter of our high priest, that birds of prey should devour his liver, because the liver is responsible for all desires.

The story of the young man who was condemned to have his liver devoured by birds of prey does not appear in either Arabic or Greek sources, though the story of Prometheus, who received the same punishment for having stolen fire from the gods, is frequently referred to in texts that constituted standard Byzantine school reading.²²³ The liver (κبد) was considered to be the seat of the soul and responsible for desires by the Arabs, as well.²²⁴ Whether the Greek compiler invented this story or found it in his Arabic sources is unknown. All this evidence indicates that, despite the claim made in the first prologue

²²¹ See D. and J. Sourdél, *La civilisation de l'Islam classique* (Paris, 1968), p. 379.

²²² See ODB, s.v. "Insignia" and "Scepter"; Sourdél and Sourdél, *La civilisation de l'Islam classique*, p. 368.

²²³ See also Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, p. 250, n. 170.

²²⁴ This belief appears to antedate knowledge of Greek science and philosophy among the Arabs, as is evident from the following historical occurrence connected with the rise of Islam. In the third year of the hijra, the Meccans marched against the Muslims of Medina. The Prophet went out to meet them on Mount Uhud and the Muslim army was beaten. The wives of the Quraysh, who had been brought to the battlefield in order to give courage to the fighters by their presence and their chanting, mutilated the Muslim dead. Hind, the wife of Abū Sufyān, publicly plucked out the liver of the Prophet's uncle Hamzah and tried to eat it. The Prophet subsequently received a revelation according to which mutilation was forbidden to Muslims; see M. Pickthall, *The Glorious Koran* (Albany, N. Y., 1976), p. 61.

of the *Oneirocriticon* that it was compiled on the basis of Indian, Persian and Egyptian sources, genuine elements from these sources are few. In addition, the image of Persia and ancient Egypt conveyed in the *Oneirocriticon* seems to depend on knowledge about these two civilizations current among the Arabs, but not among the Byzantines. So apparently it was the Arabic sources of the *Oneirocriticon* that contained dream interpretations purportedly offered by Persian and Egyptian interpreters.²²⁵ The Greek compiler must have retained these Persian and Egyptian chapters more or less as he found them in the Arabic sources. His own intervention consisted in Christianizing the Muslim chapters and labeling them "Indian," to make them both exotic and acceptable to his Christian readers. It is possible, however, that the Arabic sources included chapters on, or at least mention of, Indian dream interpretation, from which the Greek compiler might have borrowed the name of the Indian dream interpreter, Syrbacham.

The Author's Patron

The first chapter of the *Oneirocriticon* quoted earlier informs us that it was compiled for a *despotēs* (translated as "lord"). The last paragraph of the last chapter in the *Oneirocriticon* defends the reliability of its interpretations in the presence of the dream interpreter's patrons who, in the final phrase of the work, are said to be emperors (*basileis*):²²⁶

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς μακραῖς ἐκβάσει τῶν χρονίων ὀνειράτων ἐγγράφως ἐσημειούμεθα ἕκαστον ὄναρ. καὶ ὅτε ἡ ἐκβασὶς ἔλθῃ, ²²⁷ἀνεμνήσκωμεν τὴν δεσποτείαν ἡμῶν ἡμεῖς οἱ κριταὶ τῶν ὀνειράτων λέγοντες: "ὅτι τότε εἶδες καὶ τότε κρίνεται καὶ τότε ἀπεξέβη." ²²⁸ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἀντιφιλονεικούντας εἰς ἔλεγχον αὐτῶν ἐποιούμεν. διὰ τοῦτο πιστευτέον, ὅτι πάντα τὰ ὀνειράτα ἀγγελία καὶ προγνώσεις εἰσὶν ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τε κακοῦ ὑπὲρ τε ἀγαθοῦ ἐν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. πλέον δὲ ἐν τούτῳ πιστώθητι, ὃ ἀντιλέγων, ἐν τῇ ταχείᾳ καὶ καθημερινῇ κρίσει καὶ ἐκβάσει ἀπαραλλάκτῳ. καὶ ἐκ τούτων διδάσκου τὰς μακρὰς καὶ χρονίας ἐκβάσεις, ὥς

²²⁵ We have seen that al-Dīnawarī also claimed to have based his dreambook on a variety of foreign sources, and he was, at least in part, sincere. Ibn Shāhīn's enumeration of sources (Introduction, p. 8) includes the work of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fir'awnī (Muḥammad the Pharaonite), who is not otherwise known. Could it be another dreambook claiming ancient Egyptian sources?

²²⁶ Drexl 241, 15-26.

²²⁷ *Paris. gr.* 2419, fol. 295: ἦλθεν.

²²⁸ Drexl 241, 19: πορεύει; *Paris. gr.* 2419, fol. 295: ἀποξεύει [*sic*]; *Bononiensis (Bibl. Univ.)* 3632, fol. 444r: ἀπεξέβη; *Digby* 103, fol. 127v: pervenit eventus.

ἐπὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέων σημειούμεθα.

For old dreams that take a long time to come true, we recorded in writing each dream. And whenever the dream came true, we, the interpreters of dreams, reminded our Lord (*despotēs*) saying, "You have dreamt such and such, and it is interpreted as such and such, and it came true (ἄπεξέβη)." We did this in order to refute our opponents. Therefore we must believe that all dreams are messages and portents from God about both good and evil for all the people. Moreover, you should be persuaded by this, O critic, by the unambiguous quick and every day interpretation and outcome [of dreams]. From those, you should learn about the chronic and long term outcomes, which we record for our Lords (*despotai*) and emperors.

The word *despotēs*, used twice in the first chapter of the *Oneirocriticon* to designate the compiler's patron (Drex1 1, 3 and 1, 10), and repeated in the last chapter of the work, generally means "lord" or "master" and could be applied to anyone in a position of authority, such as princes, bishops, and emperors.²²⁹ Beginning in the sixth century it was also the usual form of address for an emperor.²³⁰ How, then, should the word *despotēs* be understood in the context of the *Oneirocriticon*? In the fourth prologue, Tarphan, the dream interpreter to the pharaoh, king of the Egyptians, also refers to his master as *despotēs* (Drex1 3, 16). This time the term is clearly used in the sense of a reigning monarch.²³¹ The literary sources,²³² as well as the numismatic and sigillographic

²²⁹ See Lampe, s.v. "δεσπότης."

²³⁰ F. Dölger, *Byzantinische Diplomatie. 20 Aufsätze zum Urkundenwesen der Byzantiner* (Ettal, 1956), p. 131; L. Bréhier, "L'origine des titres impériaux à Byzance," *BZ* 15 (1906), pp. 161-78, esp. 176.

²³¹ Internal evidence from the *Oneirocriticon*, especially when its text is compared with Artemidoros and Arabic dream interpretation, also suggests that it might have been compiled at the request of a royal patron. Both the introduction (Drex1 2, 10-15) and the final chapter (Drex1 240, 7-20) of the *Oneirocriticon* explain that the significance of a dream depends largely on the sex and social position of the dreamer. Accordingly, a variety of interpretations for the same dream are given, and the possibility that the dreamer is a king is often mentioned (Drex1 10, 26; 33, 27 ff.; 59, 20-24; 76, 6-9; 87, 18-21; 174, 2-5; 175, 3-8; 179, 8 ff.; 207, 20-22; 214, 25-215, 5; 225, 23-27 are some examples). A variety of interpretations for the same dream according to the identity of the dreamer is also offered in Artemidoros and in Arabic dreambooks, but the *Oneirocriticon* interprets royal dreams more frequently than its ancient Greek and Arabic counterparts do, including the 11th-century dreambook of al-Dīnawarī, which is dedicated to the reigning caliph al-Qādir bi-'llāh. The *Oneirocriticon* also includes the following instructions on how to address an emperor (Drex1 59, 20-24): τῷ γὰρ βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἔνι εἰπεῖν "οἱ συγγενεῖς σου" ἀλλὰ "οἱ δοῦλοι σου", διότι ἀπὸ θεοῦ τὸ βασιλεύειν αὐτῷ (For it is not possible to say to a emperor "your relations" but "your servants," for kingship has been bestowed upon him from God).

²³² Cf. especially the preface to the *Geoponika* (Proem. 11), a 10th-century treatise on agriculture dedicated to the emperor Constantine VII (r. 945-59), which addresses him as *despotēs*, instead of

evidence of the ninth and tenth centuries, also indicate that the title *despotēs*, routinely and by itself, designates the reigning emperor in the period during which the *Oneirocriticon* was compiled.²³³

If the *Oneirocriticon* was indeed compiled for an emperor, as both its first and its last chapter suggest, it could be any one of those who reigned between 843 and the eleventh century, since internal evidence and its manuscript tradition suggest that it was written between these two dates. Among them, Leo VI (886-912) seems the likeliest candidate. He was an educated man who was interested in literature as well as the occult sciences and divination, as confirmed by three pieces of evidence. The first is an incident narrated in the tenth-century chronicle known as *Theophanes Continuatus*.²³⁴ After an eclipse of the moon the emperor summoned Pantaleon, metropolitan of Synnada, to interpret this portent for him. The metropolitan's interpretation was that the eclipse pertained εἰς τὸ δεύτερον πρόσωπον (to the second person, i.e., the second most powerful person after the emperor). The eclipse proved to have prefigured the downfall of the minister Samonas, an Arab captive who managed to exercise great influence at the Byzantine court during Leo's reign. Other evidence of Leo's partiality to the occult is the horoscope cast for his newborn son Constantine (the future Constantine VII) which must have been commissioned by him, since it is written in terms that flatter the infant's parents.²³⁵ Finally, dream interpretation was removed from the list of evil practices with legislation that was passed during Leo's reign.²³⁶ Two military manuals of the tenth century

using another imperial title: Ἀλλ' εὐτυχίους, ὃ δικαιότατε δέσποτα Κωνσταντῖνε (May you prosper, O most just Emperor Constantine) in *Geoponica*, ed. H. Beckh (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 2, 28-29.

²³³ See Ph. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks and the Whittemore Collection*, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C., 1973), pp. 176-83. For 10th-century seals where the word δεσπότης alone means "emperor," see N. Oikonomides, *A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals* (Washington, D.C., 1986), p. 65 (no. 59), p. 68 (no. 62), and p. 73 (no. 69). See also the ornamental crown dedicated to the church of Saint Sophia by the emperor Leo VI (r. 886-912) inscribed with the legend ΛΕΩΝ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ (*Leo despotēs*). Today this crown belongs to the treasury of the church of San Marco in Venice. At a later date, it was topped with a piece of ornamental rock crystal and a statuette of the Virgin. The ensemble is generally known as the "Grotto"; see M. Carrieri et al., *Le trésor de Saint-Marc de Venise* (Milan, 1984), pp. 117-21.

²³⁴ *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), p. 376, 8-19.

²³⁵ D. Pingree, "The Horoscope of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus," *DOP* 27 (1973), pp. 219-31.

²³⁶ See G. Calofonos, "Manuel II Palaiologos: Interpreter of Dreams?" *ByzF* 9 (1991), p. 450; Dagron, "Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi," p. 39, n. 10, with further references to Byzantine legislation concerning dream interpretation; *Syntagma tōn theiōn kai hierōn kanonōn*, ed. G.

further suggest the importance attached to dream interpretation in imperial circles as a means for boosting the morale of soldiers going into battle, which makes the possibility that the *Oneirocriticon* was compiled for an imperial patron seem even more likely.²³⁷

In conclusion, the *Oneirocriticon* was compiled in the tenth century, most probably for an emperor, by an author who opted not to disclose either his own identity or that of his patron. A possible reason for this reticence might have been the official condemnation of various forms of divination, including dream interpretation, by Byzantine law. Though the author based his work on Arabic sources, he had no intention of expressly connecting it with the Arabs, or Islam, but only with Indian (which, in his and his readers' understanding, meant eastern Christian), Persian, and Egyptian sources; its attribution to Achmet resulted from a scribe's misunderstanding of the information given in its chapter 19.

Rallès and M. Potlès, vol. 1 (Athens, 1852), p. 192.

²³⁷ The earlier manual is Leo VI's *Constitutiones Tacticae* (PG 107, col. 1061A). The later is the treatise, *On Imperial Expeditions*, published as "Appendix ad librum I" in Constantine VII (attributed to), *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. Reiske, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1829), pp. 444-508; new edition in Constantine VII (attributed to), *Three Treatises on Expeditions*, ed. and trans. Haldon, text (C), pp. 94-151. For the importance of the occult sciences, and especially magic, in the tradition of ancient and medieval Greek military manuals, see E. L. Wheeler, "Magic in Late Antique Warfare and Byzantine Military Theory," *Twenty-Second Annual Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers, October 24-27, 1996* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1996), p. 78.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LANGUAGE OF THE *ONEIROCRITICON*

F. Drexl, the editor of the *Oneirocriticon*, attributed its breaches of the rules of high-style Greek to the scribes who had copied the text. On those grounds he introduced corrections that sometimes violated the manuscript tradition, arguing that such changes were warranted by "the sense of the text" and "the style of the author."¹ At least two of his reviewers must have agreed with him, because they also proposed improvements to the text that disregarded the manuscript tradition.² At the same time, however, Drexl was not oblivious to the connection of the text's language to Modern Greek, and attempted to localize its composition based on its use of four words: ἀνάπλιον (woolen blanket), ἥπατοπνεύμων (= ἥπαρ + πνεύμων = liver and lung), λυποπούλι (a kind of bird³) and ψιχίον (fingertip), which occur as ἀνάπλα, σκωτοφλέμονα,⁴ κλασοπούλι and ψίχα in the contemporary dialects of the eastern Aegean (Crete, Mytilene, and Asia Minor).⁵

Phaidon Koukoules considered the language of the *Oneirocriticon* in two publications: one, originally an address to the Academy of Athens delivered in 1922, for which he must have used Rigault's text of 1604; and the other a review of Drexl's critical edition published in 1926. In both publications, Koukoules' overriding concern was to prove the direct dependence of the *Oneirocriticon* on Artemidoros and to exclude the possibility that it was translated or paraphrased from Arabic or Syriac texts. In his opinion, the

¹ *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. Drexl, p. xv.

² Ch. Charitonides, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexl, *EEBS* 8 (1931), pp. 231-34; A. D. Nock, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. by F. Drexl, *JHS* 47 (1927), pp. 149 ff. According to Nock (p. 149), the *Oneirocriticon* was edited "in a most satisfactory manner."

³ For the exact meaning of this word, see Appendix 4, s.v. "λυποπούλι."

⁴ In Modern Greek σ(υ)κῶτι = ἥπαρ and φλεμόνι = πλεμόνι = πνεμόνι = πνεύμων. See Drexl, *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. 251, index rerum et verborum, s.v. "ἥπατοπνεύμων."

⁵ Drexl, *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. vii; also *ibid.*, pp. 243-65, index rerum et verborum, s.v. "ἀνάπλιον," "ἥπατοπνεύμων," "λυποπούλι," "ψιχίον." Koukoules, in his review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexl, *Laographia* 9 (1926), pp. 288-89, rightly insists that the occurrence in texts of words that survive in dialects today does not necessarily mean that the text was composed where the dialect is spoken, since many of the words that only survive in contemporary dialects were possibly common in the past.

language of the *Oneirocriticon* furnished proof of its exclusively Greek antecedents, since it contains "no forced expressions" and "indicates no dependence on a foreign model."⁶ His scholarly objective was to prove that the tradition of ancient Greek dream interpretation was preserved in Byzantium and passed down from there to modern Greek dreamlore,⁷ an objective consistent with the broader intellectual trends of the time, which were concerned with proving the continuity of Greek civilization from antiquity through Byzantium into modern times.

K. Dietrich expressed the opposite opinion in his review of Drexl's critical edition,⁸ referring to an earlier suggestion by Bland, the first scholar who systematically studied Islamic dream interpretation, that the *Oneirocriticon* had been compiled "by some Christian, probably of Syria, from various native sources."⁹ Dietrich adduced evidence from both the content and the language of the Greek text to support this view, which Bland had not discussed at any length. He singled out the interpretation that wearing sandals made from cowhide means marrying a Byzantine woman ('Ρωμαία) and from camelhide means marrying an Arab (ἔσται ἡ γυνή ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἀράβων).¹⁰ He found that, at the time of the composition of the work between the ninth and the eleventh century, such cross-cultural marriage prospects were possible only in Syria. The reference in the *Oneirocriticon* to the *semantērion*, a long piece of iron, bronze, or wood struck with a hammer to summon the Christian flock to church, was viewed by Dietrich as an indication of the Syro-Palestinian provenience of the text, since this instrument had been in use in Palestinian monasteries since the seventh century, and is called ξύλον τοῦ κρούσματος

⁶ According to the account of Koukoules' address published in *Athena* 35 (1924), p. 237, "At the beginning, Mr. Phaidon Koukoules examined the opinions expressed until now about the author of the so-called *Oneirocriticon of Achmet* and deduced that he is not an Arab, as is believed, but a Byzantine Greek and a Christian. The speaker arrived at this conclusion ... because of the text's language and expression, which is similar to that of later dreambooks that definitely did not draw their material from it" Also Koukoules, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. 286: "It is out of the question that this is a translation of an Arabic or Syriac model, because the overall phrasing of the text, which is fortunately long enough, indicates no forced expressions and no dependence on a foreign model."

⁷ Koukoules observed that the traditions on dream interpretation that survive in Manē in the southwest Peloponnese can be found in the works of Hippocrates, Artemidoros, Astrampsychos, Ps.-Achmet, Ps.-Nikephoros, and Ps.-Daniel in *Athena* 35 (1924), p. 238; see also Ph. Koukoules, *Hē neoellēnikē hermēneia tōn oneirōn kai hē oneirokritikē paradosis* (Athens, 1954) [non vidi].

⁸ Dietrich, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. by F. Drexl, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 30:10 (1927), cols. 881-84.

⁹ Bland, "On the Muhammedan Science of Tābir," p. 171.

¹⁰ Drexl 178, 16ff.

(sounding board). Dietrich added that cotton and sugar, both mentioned in the text, were brought to the Mediterranean by the Arabs,¹¹ thus implying that the Greek text must have been written at a place subject to Arab political and cultural influence. Dietrich also pointed out that the word κόχλα (*kochla* = kohl) that occurs in the Greek text is closer to the pronunciation of its Syriac equivalent (*kuhlā*), than to its Arabic one (*kuhl*).¹² It should therefore be regarded as a loan word from Syriac rather than from Arabic and as proof of the Graeco-Syrian provenience of the *Oneirocriticon*.¹³ Finally, Dietrich identified four loan words from Arabic¹⁴ and concluded that the author of the

¹¹ Βάμβαξ occurs in several instances, among them Drexl 154, 23; 155, 21 ff.; 171, 19; 172, 4; 175, 23. Σάχαρ occurs in Drexl 150, 21; 152, 19; 197, 7; 206, 8.

¹² Drexl 33, 17 ff.: ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι εἶδος τὸ λεγόμενον κόχλα ἐμβάλλει πρὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ φανεῖσθαι φῶς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, οὗτος κενόδοξος ἔσται (If someone dreams that he put on his eyes the substance called *kochla* so that more light would appear in his eyes, he will be vainglorious). Recipes containing antimony for the cure of eye diseases were well known in Graeco-Roman medicine. The use of antimony for eye diseases continued among the Arabs and in fact was so widespread that it was used even by quack doctors. See Bosworth, *Medieval Islamic Underworld*, vol. 1, p. 146. For *kuhl* in the sense of "eye medication" in general, see al-Kindī, *The Medical Formulary or Aqrābādhi of al-Kindī*, ed. M. Levey (Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1966), p. 181, fol. 129a; p. 175, fol. 127b.

¹³ Dietrich, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, col. 884: "Dieses Arabische *kuhl* lautete nun im Syrischen *kuhlā*, kommt also der Form κόχλα des griechischen Textes ganz nahe, so daß wir damit ein wichtiges Kriterium für den syrisch-griechischen Ursprung des griechischen Textes gewinnen."

¹⁴ ζουλάπιον = οἶνος ἐκ σακχάρους (Drexl 150, 22) from *julāb*, *jullāb* (julep); φάρας = sagum (Drexl 177, 1) from *jubbah* (a long outer garment, open in front, with wide sleeves); φάρας = arabisches Roß (Drexl 110, 24; 111, 26; 181, 6 ff.; 182, 5; 182, 9; 183, 7) from *faras* (horse, mare); χάσδιον (noun) = Seidengewebe (Drexl 175, 16; 180, 11) from *khazz* (silk, silk fabric); The word χάσδιον (noun: Drexl 175, 16; 180, 11) or χάσδιος (adjective: Drexl 115, 3; 170, 13; 177, 8; 204, 15), which is attested in several Byzantine sources from the 10th century onward, means both "silk" and "felt," reflecting the variety of meanings possible for the Arabic word *khazz*, from which χάσδιον originated. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, gives the following meaning: "خَزْ A certain kind of cloth..., well known..., woven of wool and silk; and also a kind of cloth entirely of silk; ... or it is the name of a certain beast [thought by Golius to be the beaver]: and afterwards applied to the cloth made of its fur..." This double meaning seems to have been the source of some confusion to modern scholars of Byzantine Greek. Drexl's interpretation of the word (in *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. 264, index rerum et verborum) is: "χάσδιον (*χάσδεον, *χάσδον?) = textum sericum." However, the text of the *Oneirocriticon* twice indicates that the meaning of the word cannot be "silk": τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ ἐρίου κάστορος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἦτοι χάσδια λωρωτά... (170, 12-13); εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ τις τὸ τοιοῦτον [καβάδι], ὅτι χάσδιον ἦν, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον ἐξ ἀνδρῶν πονηρῶν διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἐρίου κυνοποτάμου εἶναι αὐτὸ (115, 2-4). Brackeriz (p. 119) translates this passage, "Ist dieses ein Chasdion, wird er von Schurken viel Geld bekommen, weil das Kleid aus der Wolle des Bibers gemacht ist," and explains Chasdion as "ein arabisches oder persisches Wort. Darunter ist ein kostbarer Stoff (sowie das daraus gefertigte Kleid) zu verstehen, der aus der Wolle des Bibers, d. h. wohl der Unterwolle, oder der des Wassermarders, gewebt ist. Reiske übersetzt in seinem Kommentar zu 'de cerimoniis' Bd. II, S. 712 das Wort mit 'sammet' oder 'Pilsch'. Das Chasdion wurde in der Regel nur von adligen oder reichen Leuten

Oneirocriticon was a Syrian Greek and that his text was an adaptation based on an Arabic original.¹⁵

Though the second of these conclusions is valid, the evidence collected by Dietrich does not help us identify the place where the *Oneirocriticon* was written, or the language spoken there. Regarding sandals from various hides as representing women belonging to different ethnicities, the Greek text does not reflect the reality of any particular place; it faithfully reflects its Arabic sources. In the Arabic dreambooks I have examined, the dream of possessing sandals made of cowhide is consistently interpreted as meaning a man will marry a non-Arab woman (امراة من العجم), which, for a Muslim man, was perfectly possible not only on the frontier, but throughout the Muslim world.¹⁶ Sandals of camelhide as representing an Arab woman is equally common.¹⁷ As for the reference to the *semantērion* in the *Oneirocriticon*, it does not necessarily indicate that the Greek text was written in Syria-Palestine, since sounding boards were used throughout the Byzantine Empire, as well as in lands where the Byzantine cultural influence was felt. They are known to have been in use in Kievan monasteries in 1091, and eleventh- and twelfth-century monastic *typika* record the use of sounding boards in monasteries in or near Constantinople, such as the Kecharitomene convent and the monastery of Euergetes. Church bells, introduced into Byzantium in the ninth century, did not eliminate the use of *semantēria*.¹⁸

getragen" (n. 299). Oberhelman translated it otherwise (p. 159): "If someone dreams that his caftan was made of cotton cloth, he will receive wealth from wicked men: for it is made from the wool of the *kynopotamos*." He reasons in nn. 429-30: "Sophocles translates *chasdion* as 'silk cloth.' But I take it in the modern Greek (*chases*) sense of 'cotton cloth'; this is supported by *erion* ('wool') later in the sentence"; "*Kynopotamos* is not known; Drexl equates the word with the Latin *fiber* ('beaver'), but *erion* casts doubt on this, unless *erion* is to be rendered as 'fleece' or 'skin'. Also, Achmet uses *kastōr* for beaver."

¹⁵ Dietrich, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, col. 883.

¹⁶ For the image of Byzantine women in Muslim sources, see N. M. el Cheikh Saliba, "Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1993, pp. 71-78.

¹⁷ Al-Dīnawari's interpretation of the sandals (نعل) (*Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 250b; repeated verbatim in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 145, and *al-Nābulusī*, vol. 2, p. 307) is the following: ان كانت من جلود البقر فهي من العجم (If [the sandal] is made of cowhide, she will be a non-Arab). In Ibn Shāhīn (no. 4641) this interpretation is given for a slipper: جلد الزموزة من جلد البقر فإنها امرأة عربية خصوصا ان البقر فإنها امرأة أعجمية وان كانت من جلد الغنم او المعز فإنها امرأة عربية خصوصا ان كان نعلها من جلد الجمال. (It is said that if the slipper is made of cowhide, indeed the woman will be a non-Arab; and if it is of sheep- or goathide she will be an Arab woman, especially if her sandal is from camelhide).

¹⁸ See *ODB*, s.v. "Bell," "Bell Tower," "Semantron."

Cotton and sugar are also mentioned in Greek texts of the first Christian centuries and were therefore known to the Mediterranean world long before the Islamic conquests, which took place some two and a half centuries before the *Oneirocriticon* was written.¹⁹ The word *kochla* is not a transliteration of an Arabic or Syriac equivalent, but belonged to the medieval Greek vocabulary: it occurs in yet another tenth-century text, *Basilica* 2.5.25 of Leo VI.²⁰ It is referred to in the *Oneirocriticon* as "the so-called *kochla*." Accompanying a word with the expression "so-called..." seems to have been the author's standard way of introducing vernacular words regarded as inappropriate for a text with literary aspirations.²¹ It is a way of apologizing for their use in the text and of informing his readers that he is perfectly aware of a word's lack of literary status but uses it for the sake of accuracy and clarity.²² The Arabic loan words that appear in the *Oneirocriticon* are much more numerous than the four identified by Dietrich. The question is whether they were coined by the Greek author of the *Oneirocriticon* or were already part of the vernacular language.

Brackertz found that, in choice of topic as well as in language, the

¹⁹ For citations of sugar and cotton in Greek authors of the 1st-3rd centuries, see Liddell-Scott, s.v. "σάκχαρ" and s.v. "βαμβάκοειδής." The Arabic word for cotton is *qumh*, which is very different from the Greek *bambax*. For a dismissal of the legend that the Arabs brought sugarcane to the lands they overran in the 7th and 8th centuries and for the appearance of Indian cotton in Asia and the Middle East in the early centuries of the Christian era, see A. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 26 and 34; see also Idem, "The Imperfect Transmission of Arab Agriculture into Christian Europe," *Kommunikation zwischen Orient und Okzident. Alltag und Sachkultur* (Vienna, 1994), pp. 199-212, which considers agricultural developments exclusively in Western Europe. For sugar, see also J. Stannard, "Byzantine Botanical Lexicography," *Episteme* 5 (1971), p. 175, and E. O. von Lippmann, *Geschichte des Zuckers* (Leipzig, 1890).

²⁰ The word *ή κόχλα* is not found in any Greek dictionary; the entry in Sophocles is *κόχλος*, -ου, ὁ, ἡ. The word occurs in *Basilica* 2. 5. 25 in the genitive: *τῆς ἐξ ἐγκαυστῆς ἐσκευασμένης κόχλου*, which, in the nominative, could be both *ή κόχλα* (vernacular) and *ή κόχλος* (learned); see the remarks by Drexl, "κόχλα bei Achmet," *Philologische Wochenschrift* 46:8/9 (1926), 240. The word also occurs in the 11th-century Greek translation of the work by al-Rāzī, *De pestilentia* (περὶ λοιμικῆς), published in *Alexandri Tralliani Medici Lib. XII, Rhazae de pestilentia libellus ex Syrorum lingua in Graecam translatus, Iacobi Goupyli in eosdem castigationes* (Paris, 1548), p. 255, l. 2; p. 258, l. 13.

²¹ He writes *εἶδος τὸ λεγόμενον κόχλα*. Cf. *ζύγιον τὸ λεγόμενον καμπανόν* (12, 16), *ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λεγομένου καμπανού* (13, 1), *τὰ λεγόμενα μανικέλια* (114, 6), *τὸ λεγόμενον σκαραμάγγιον* (114, 26), *τὰ λεγόμενα οὐσία* (170, 14), *τὸ λεγόμενον μαξιλλάριον* (173, 18), *καὶ ἡ ῥώξ ἥτοι ἡ λεγομένη ῥώγα* (231, 3).

²² The author of the *Oneirocriticon* also informs the readers that he is not ignorant of the learned language by using both the vernacular and the learned word for several items: *ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ ἥτοι τοῦ δίφρου αὐτοῦ* (11, 17-18), *χιτῶνα ἥτοι διπλοῖδα* (88, 5), *βουνούς ἥτοι τούμβας* (98, 14) *συνέχωσεν ἥτοι ἔσπειρεν* (108, 3), etc.

Oneirocriticon belongs well within the tradition of classicizing Byzantine literature, even though it includes forms and expressions from the New Testament and the vernacular language.²³ Drexel regularized much that seemed to him "irregular" in its vocabulary, grammar, and syntax, and this gives us a somewhat inaccurate impression of the text.²⁴ But the main reason for the conclusions of Koukoules and Brackertz was their conviction that the *Oneirocriticon* derived directly from the Greek text of Artemidoros. Drexel's classicizing choices in establishing a critical text preclude the possibility of any thorough linguistic or stylistic analysis unless a new edition is prepared, but one can make some provisional remarks.²⁵ In determining a text's level of style one looks for the following characteristics, here summarized by I. Ševčenko:

For [a working Byzantinist] a work in high style is one that uses periodic structure; its vocabulary is recondite, puristic and contains *hapax legomena* made up on a classicistic template; its verbal forms, especially its pluperfects, are for the most part Attic; its Scriptural quotations are rare or indirect and its classical ones, plentiful. In a work of middle style, periods are rarely attempted and fill-words and clichés, more abundant; it requires the use of a patristic lexicon; and its Scriptural quotations are more frequent than its classical ones. A work in low style uses largely paratactic structures; its vocabulary contains a fair number of words unattested in standard dictionaries or coming from languages other than Greek; its verbal forms are not Attic; its Scriptural quotations, more frequently than not, come from the New Testament and Psalter.²⁶

The most complicated structures are attempted, predictably, in the introductory chapter (Drexel 1, 1-14), but throughout the *Oneirocriticon* structures are paratactic, reflecting not only the linguistic ability of its author in Greek, but possibly also the structure of speech in Middle Arabic, the language in which his sources were written.²⁷

As for vocabulary, in discussing several hundred dream symbols, the *Oneirocriticon* mentions numerous objects that surrounded the dreamer in his

²³ Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, p. 18.

²⁴ Nock, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. 150, for example, found that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* "writes a literary Greek with some interesting loan words."

²⁵ The following examination is based on the existing critical text and its apparatus. I did not verify the readings under consideration in any additional manuscripts.

²⁶ I. Ševčenko, "Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose," *JÖB* 31 (1981), p. 291.

²⁷ Classical Arabic has a very finely tuned system of hypotaxis. However, the closer to middle Arabic one comes, the more paratactic the language. The linguistic level of the Arabic dreambooks I have examined is generally closer to middle than to classical Arabic.

everyday life that are rarely, if at all, mentioned in other sources of the period. This makes the text a mine of linguistic information especially pertinent to material culture. The otherwise unattested words are not necessarily the invention of the author, however; their rarity, or uniqueness, is due rather to the nature of the surviving sources.

Drexel appended to his edition a list of 136 *hapax legomena* that occur in the text and the critical apparatus.²⁸ The dictionaries of Dēmētrakos and Kriaras that have appeared since indicate that 46 of those words are also found in other texts.²⁹ The recent *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*, adds 19 more words to the list.³⁰ This means that only 71 words from Drexel's list are otherwise unattested. To these one should add at least 2 more words not listed by Drexel, and not in any dictionary,³¹ bringing the total to 73 *hapax* words.³² This count is not definitive: the dictionaries of Kriaras and Trapp are still in progress, and a number of Byzantine texts remain unpublished and consequently unavailable to lexicographers. But whatever the number of *hapax* words, their character is immediately recognizable. Most of them belong to the vernacular, referring to everyday objects that must have been part of standard contemporary parlance, not words invented by the author.

In addition to κόχλα, ζούπα, ζουλάπιον, φάρας and χάσδιον singled out by Dietrich, three more loan words from the Arabic occur in the *Oneirocriticon*,³³

²⁸ See Appendix 4.

²⁹ D. Dēmētrakos, *Mega lexikon tēs hellēnikēs glōssēs* (Athens, 1936-50). This dictionary includes words from ancient, medieval and modern texts. More specialized is the still incomplete E. Kriaras, *Lexiko tēs mesaiōnikēs hellēnikēs dēmōdous grammateias, 1100-1669*, 14 vols. (Thessaloniki, 1968-). Though the *Oneirocriticon* lies outside the time span covered by this dictionary, it is occasionally referred to in its entries.

³⁰ E. Trapp et al., *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*. 1. -2. Fasc. (α-δυσάχρεος) (Vienna, 1994-). The lemmata of words beginning with η were published in *JÖB* 35 (1985), pp. 149-170. I would like to thank Professor Trapp for kindly making available to me the unpublished lemmata containing references to the *Oneirocriticon* (δωρεαστικῶς and ff. in Appendix 4).

³¹ οὐσίον (170, 14) = *vestis talaris* (according to Drexel's index rerum et verborum. See, however, below, n. 34); ποιναλιστής (129, 18) = *punitor*.

³² Appendix 4 includes Drexel's list of *hapax legomena*, signaling the words that occur in additional texts according to the dictionaries of Dēmētrakos, Kriaras and Trapp.

³³ Four, if we include the word *charzanion* (171, 9; 205, 15), the etymology of which is problematic. According to Sophocles, s.v. "χαρζάνιον," it means either "strap," (as in the *Oneirocriticon*, Drexel 171, 8-11 and 205, 15-17), or "a kind of ornament." *Charzanion* also occurs in Constantine VII (attributed to), *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. Reiske, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1829-30), vol. 1, pp. 623, 12 and 624, 5-7. In his commentary on the text (vol. 2, p. 733), Reiske concludes that *charzanion* must denote some kind of female head ornament, and connects the Greek word with the Arabic *hirz* (amulet) or *kharaz* (something hung around the neck). In my

two of them in a part of the text attested only in *Vat. gr. 573*: οὐσίον (Drexl 170, 14 ff.);³⁴ ἀνακαράς (*Vat. gr. 573*, fol. 201v)³⁵ and ζαμάρα (*Vat. gr. 573*, fol. 201v).³⁶ Eight others (six, if we count only once the verbs and nouns that stem from the same foreign root) might have entered the medieval Greek vocabulary through Byzantium's contact with the Arabs, but are phonetically closer to the equivalent Persian word, suggesting that they should be considered loan words from Persian, not from Arabic. They are: ζατρικίζω (*zatrikizō*; 192, 28); ζατρίκιον (*zatrikion*; 192, 22);³⁷ καβάδιν (*kabadin*; 88, 5; 114, 26; 218, 12);³⁸ παλουδάκιν (*paloudakin*; 198, 4);³⁹ τζυκανίζω (*tzykanizō*; 112, 21

opinion, *charzanion* means "strap" in every text, including *De cerimoniis*. Its etymology is possibly Armenian, because John the Grammarian, patriarch of Constantinople (837-43), belonged to the family of Morocharzanioi, who were probably of Armenian origin; cf. Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn (Berlin-New York, 1973), p. 84, l. 93; also Du Cange, s.v. "χαρζάνιον."

³⁴ Drexl, *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. 258, index rerum et verborum, gives the meaning of this word as *vestis talaris*; Dietrich, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, col. 884, wonders about its etymology. I believe that either it is a loan word from the Arabic *washy* or, vice versa, the Arabic is a loan word from the Greek, but in any case the meaning of *housion* in Greek and *washy* in Arabic is the same, viz. "many-colored ornamentation, embroidery; embroidered or painted fabric." This meaning is also supported by the context of the word (Drexl 170, 15-17): ἐάν ἴδῃ τις ὅτι φορεῖ οὐσίον, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον πολυσύλλεκτον διὰ τὸ τοῦ χιτῶνος ἐκ βελόνης πολυσύνεκτον ἔργον (If someone dreams that he was wearing an *housion* he will find wealth gathered in abundance, because of the abundant needlework required for this <kind of> tunic).

³⁵ The full text reads as follows: εἰ δὲ ἔστιν ἀνακαράς, ἀναμφιβόλως, εἰς θάνατον κρίνεται ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἣν παίζουσιν ἀνακαράδες, θανατικὸν μέλλει γενέσθαι, καὶ ἀκουσθήσεται ἡ δὲ ζαμάρα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, εἰς ὕβρεις καὶ ἀτιμίας κρίνονται (If it is an *anarakas*, it is undoubtedly interpreted as death. Likewise, in the city where *anarakades* are played, there will be a plague, and it is going to become known. As for *zamara* and the rest, they are interpreted as insults and dishonesty). (From the chapter ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν περὶ ἀσμάτων, ὀρχημάτων, αὐλήσεως καὶ κιθάρας, fols. 201r ff. = Drexl 207, 14-26). *Anarakas* is the Arabic word *naqqāra* (a small drum having a hemispheric body of copper or wood). Kriaras, *Lexiko tēs mesaionikēs hellēnikēs dēmōdous grammateias*, cannot decide whether the word entered the Greek language from Arabic, medieval Latin (*nacara*) or Italian (*nacchera*). *Anarakas* occurs in many 14th-century texts. Its attestation in the 10th-century *Oneirocriticon* is the earliest that I know of and implies that a medieval Latin and Italian provenance of the word should be ruled out. Supporting an Arabic provenance is the prosthetic α- at its beginning, corresponding to the Arabic elision of the article together with the noun: *an-naqqāra*.

³⁶ From the Arabic *zammāra* or *zummāra* (a woodwind instrument consisting of two pipes). In Kriaras, *Lexiko tēs mesaionikēs hellēnikēs dēmōdous grammateias*, vol. 10, appendix *prosthēkes kai beltiōseis*, p. *81, the word is explained as "εἶδος μακριᾶς φλογέρας" and its etymology is given as coming from the Albanian *zamare* or Vlach *dzamāra*. Again, its attestation as early as the 10th century and its phonetical identity with the equivalent Arabic word prove that the Albanian and Vlach etymology should be excluded.

³⁷ The Arabic equivalent is *shaṭranj* (chess), an originally Indian, then Persian, and finally Arabic word.

³⁸ The Arabic equivalent is *qaba'* (an outer garment with full-length sleeves); see *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, vol. 2, p. 880. Various etymologies have been suggested for the word, including

ff.); τζυκάνιον (*tzykanion*; 112, 20 apparatus);⁴⁰ δουμάκιν (*doumakin*; 196, 6; 227, 10).⁴¹ The question is whether these loan words were borrowed to render Arabic words that did not exist in Greek, e.g., words for objects that were not known in the Byzantine world, or whether they were already familiar to Byzantine readers and referred to objects that were part of their surroundings.

Of the seven loan words from Arabic and eight from Persian that occur in the *Oneirocriticon*, only two, *housion* (a kind of garment) and *paloudakin* (a kind of sweet) are otherwise unattested. This indicates that at least fourteen out of the fifteen were well integrated into the Byzantine vocabulary. The context of the remaining two in the *Oneirocriticon* indicates that they were also known to its readers—both words are introduced with τὸ λεγόμενον or τὰ λεγόμενα ("the so-called"). Since the passages on the interpretation of both *housion* and *paloudakin* do not include descriptions of the objects designated by these two words, one can conclude that the reader was assumed to be familiar with them, since their appearance and properties justify the interpretation: εἰ δὲ τρώγει γλύκισμα σαρακηνικὸν τὸ λεγόμενον παλουδάκιν, εὐρήσει νόσον διὰ τὰ χρώματα καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀναλόγως τῆς βρώσεως (If he eats a Saracen sweet, the so-called *paloudakin*, he will find sickness

Persian and Slavic. For a full discussion, see P. B. Golden, "The Byzantine Greek Elements in the Rasūlī Hexaglot," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 5 (1985-87), pp. 95-96.

³⁹ From Middle Persian *pālūdāg* (پالودگ), from which both the Arabic *fālūdaj* and medieval Greek *paloudakin* derive. The Middle Persian *pālūdāg* is actually a passive participle of *pālūdan* (to strain, filter, purify). D. N. Mackenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (London, 1971), p. 64, gives its meaning as "starch jelly, plummy," while Latte, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. 420, n. 1, gave the meaning of this word as "süße Speise aus feinem Mehl, Honig und verschiedenen Gewürzen." The New Persian form is *pālūdāh* (پالوده); both New Persian and Arabic dictionaries interpret *pālūdāh* and *fālūdaj* as a "sweet made with honey"; it is a gelatinous sweet, similar to the Turkish delight more widely known in the Western world. Though the Greek form *paloudakin* only occurs in the *Oneirocriticon*, it is possible that the sweet meant is the same as the *palodaton* mentioned in the 12th-century vernacular poems by Ptochoprodromos: Γρανᾶτα, σαχαράτα τε καὶ τό τε παλωδάτον (Koraēs, *Atakta*, 5 vols. [Paris, 1828-35], vol. 1, p. 283; see also Koukoules, *Byzantinōn bios kai politismos*, 6 vols. [Athens, 1948-57], vol. 5, p. 120). The more recent edition of Ptochoprodromos by D. C. Hesseling and H. Pernot, "Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire," *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, n.s. 11:1 (1910), p. 60, verse III, 283b, omits this verse from the main text and includes it only in the critical apparatus.

⁴⁰ In Persian *chawgān* (چوگان) and Arabic *ṣawljān* (صولجان) = polo mallet. The Greek *tzykanion* is phonetically closer to the Persian *chawgān*.

⁴¹ The origin of the word (which means "tail") is Iranian, and it also occurs in Georgian and Armenian (though not in Arabic). It is unclear which language provided it as a loan word to Byzantine Greek. For a full discussion, see Golden, "Byzantine Greek Elements in the Rasūlī Hexaglot," p. 83.

commensurate with what he ate, because of the colors and the fire).⁴² The color usually interpreted as sickness in the *Oneirocriticon* is yellow.⁴³ This interpretation indicates that *paloudakin* is yellow and its preparation requires the use of fire; but the elliptical reference to these characteristics implies that the readers of the *Oneirocriticon* are already familiar with them. The reference to *housion* in the text leads to a similar conclusion: καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα οὐσία εἰς ἀνώτερον πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων πλοῦτον κρίνεται. ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι φορεῖ οὐσίον, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον πολυσύλλεκτον διὰ τὸ τοῦ χιτῶνος ἐκ βελόνης πολυσύνεκτον ἔργον (The so-called *housia* are interpreted as wealth greater than in any of the aforementioned items. If someone dreams that he is wearing an *housion*, he will find wealth accumulated in abundance because of the abundant needlework required for this <kind of> tunic).⁴⁴ The *Oneirocriticon* further interprets *housia* decorated with red dots, or colored in gold, blue and yellow. It is improbable that such a long passage (Drexl 170, 14-25) would be dedicated to an object unknown to both author and reader, especially when one considers that in other instances the author did omit interpretations found in his sources he thought too specifically Muslim. For example, the Arabic dreambooks begin with a chapter on the interpretation of godhead. The *Oneirocriticon* does not include such a chapter, probably because it would have been too complicated to disguise as Christian the Muslim interpretation of godhead and its properties. It is possible that he omitted the interpretation of objects that were known only in Muslim lands, but neither *paloudakin* nor *housion* was among them.

The Arabic sources of the *Oneirocriticon* obviously did not cause the

⁴² Drexl 198, 3-5. The interpretation of *fālūdaj* in Arabic dreambooks is similar to that of *paloudakin*; cf. al-Nābulusi, vol. 2, p. 165, s.v. فالودج في : فالودج : لا خير فيمن يتناول الفالودج في المنام او دخل عليه لانه ربما دل على مرض الفالج. (There is nothing good for whoever eats a *fālūdaj* in his dream or acquires it. For this probably indicates the sickness of hemiplegia [*fālīj*]). Other Arabic dreambooks state that the *fālūdaj* has the same interpretation as another sweet, the *khabiṣ*. The fresh dates used in the preparation of the *khabiṣ* are interpreted as follows (*al-Muntakhab*, p. 132; repeated almost verbatim in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 4383): والرطب منه مختلف فيه فكرهه بعضهم لما فيه من الصفرة وذكر انه يدل على المرض. (The fresh dates [of the *khabiṣ*] are interpreted differently. Some of the [dream interpreters] dislike them because they are yellow, and it is said that this is interpreted as sickness). The interpretation of *fālūdaj* as sickness is understandable even without the reasoning adduced in Arabic dreambooks, since in Arabic medicine it was often used in prescriptions for ulcers and coughs; see al-Kindī, *Medical Formulary*, ed. Levey, p. 311, no. 219.

⁴³ Drexl 115, 8-9; 116, 23-24; 117, 26, etc.

⁴⁴ Drexl 170, 14-17.

introduction of any neologisms into the Greek vocabulary. It is true that some of the Oriental loan words (*zatrikion*, *anakaras*, *zamara*) are possibly attested in Greek for the first time in the *Oneirocriticon*, while others occur in tenth-century texts such as *De cerimoniis*. Since our loan words from the Arabic belong to the vernacular, the problem of when they entered the Greek vocabulary is complicated by the nature of the sources. The vernacular was not written until the 12th century. Traces of it found in Byzantine texts before that date are either efforts to clarify a passage (especially in texts aiming at offering practical advice, such as military and technical treatises) or slips of the tongue. But the Arabic loan words referring to everyday objects were not introduced in the Greek language through literature but through contacts on a subliterary level and were not written unless they were well established in oral communication.⁴⁵ Therefore, the author of the *Oneirocriticon* did not invent new words, which implies that he did not introduce objects unknown to his Byzantine readers.

The presence of loan words from foreign languages in the *Oneirocriticon* is easily accounted for without taking into consideration the Arabic provenance of the Greek text. The Byzantine vocabulary included many loan words from a variety of languages, many more than philologists and lexicographers will ever be able to count, because, though they were current in oral communication, they were avoided by authors striving for high style. They come from the languages of almost every culture that the Byzantines came in contact with, including Latin. They occur in texts not only when the author did not know any better, but also when he did, but wanted to be clearly and immediately understood. They are found not only in practical manuals on court ceremonial, warfare, medicine and, in our case, dream interpretation, but also in legal texts, such as the tenth-century *Book of the Eparch*.⁴⁶

A search for learned words in the *Oneirocriticon* yields poor results. In its

⁴⁵ For the analogous example of a loan word from Greek into Slavonic, see I. Ševčenko, "To Call a Spade a Spade, or the Etymology of *Rogalije*," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 20 (1996), pp. 607-26.

⁴⁶ The *Book of the Eparch* includes regulations on the activities of Constantinopolitan guilds. Its enumeration of Syrian textiles includes loan words from the Arabic (*chareria*, *sōphoria*, *audia*, *phouphoulia*, *thalassai*, *chamia*, *bagdadikia*). A couple of them are otherwise unattested, but there is no reason to doubt that these were common words in the 10th century. See the commentary of J. Nicole, *Le livre du Prefet* (Geneva, 1893), p. 29; rpt. in Dujčev, *To eparchikon biblion* (London, 1970). The most recent edition of the *Book of the Eparch* by J. Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* (Vienna, 1991), p. 94, §5. 2, does not make any comment on these particular words; see, however, Koder's remarks on the language and style of the *Book of the Eparch*, pp. 58-64.

241 pages there are only two words — *κάρα* (head)⁴⁷ and *φάσγανον* (sword)⁴⁸ — that clearly belong to the realm of learned literature and especially poetry. Their presence in the *Oneirocriticon*, however, should not be surprising, since they both occur in ancient texts that were among the staples of a Byzantine elementary education.⁴⁹ A third word, *ἡγεμονικόν* (intellect),⁵⁰ a term from ancient Stoic philosophy, was further developed by Christian theologians, can be found in Byzantine lives of saints,⁵¹ and is also explained in the tenth-century *Suda Lexicon*.

Frequently, two words are used for the same object. One word is (or attempts to be) learned, the other not. A list of these instances would include: *ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ ἦτοι τοῦ δίφρου αὐτοῦ* (11, 17-8)· *ἐπὶ ἵππῳ τοῦ Φαραῶ ἦτοι σελλαρίῳ* (11, 20)· *οἱ βραχίονες καὶ αἱ κνήμαι αὐτῶν ἦτοι οἱ μῦες* (44, 8)· *περὶ λωβῶν ἦτοι κελεφῶν* (65, 7-8)· *χιτῶνα ἦτοι διπλοῖδα* (88, 5)· *καβάδι ἦτοι σκαραμάγγιν* (88, 5-6)· *πίθηκον ἦτοι μιμῶ* (90, 26)· *βουνοὺς ἦτοι τούμβας* (98, 14)· *συνέχωσεν ἦτοι ἔσπειρεν* (108, 13)· *πρὸς τὴν εὐχὴν τῆς αὐγῆς ἦτοι τὸ περιόρθριον* (111, 28)· *ἐλαύνει τὴν σφαῖραν ἦτοι τζυκανίζει* (112, 21)· *θώρακα ἦτοι λωρίκιον* (113, 28)· *ἀναβόλιον ἦτοι σάβανον* (115, 5)· *περὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ κάλυμμα ἦτοι περισκέλισμα* (115, 17)· *σποδιὰν ἦτοι στάκτην* (119, 12)· *τὸ ὄχημα αὐτοῦ ἦτοι ὁ δίφρος*

⁴⁷ Drex1 234, 2-4: *πολλάκις γὰρ [ὁ ταῶν] καὶ εἰς βασιλέα μικρὸν κρίνεται διὰ τὸ κόσμιον καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ πτεροῦ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κάρας λόφον* (The peacock is frequently also interpreted as a minor king because of the beauty and dignity of its plumage and the tuft on its head).

⁴⁸ Drex1 223, 1: *εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι φασγάνῳ ἐπληξεν αὐτὴν [= τὴν ἄρκτον] ...* (If he dreams that he wounded the bear with a sword...). For the occurrence of *phasganon* in a Greek-Arabic-Coptic *scala*, see H. Munier, *La scala copte 44 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Transcription et vocabulaire*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1930), p. 117, fol. 57v. *Φάσγανον* appears in the same list as vernacular terms for arms and armor, such as *κληβάνιν* [*sic*], *λουρίκην* [*sic*], *μανικέλια*, *χαλκοτουβία*, *κούκουρον*.

⁴⁹ A rank-and-file Byzantine author would have read two books from the *Iliad*, Hesiod, some Pindar, three tragedies of Sophocles and three of Euripides, three comedies of Aristophanes, some Demosthenes, some Aelius Aristides, and the eulogy of St. Basil by Gregory of Nazianzus. See A. Dain, "À propos de l'étude des poètes anciens à Byzance," *Studi in onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli* (Florence, 1956), pp. 195-201. The word *κάρα* occurs in Sophocles (*Antigone*, *Oedipus Rex*, etc), as well as in Homer (in its Ionian form, *κάρη*). *Φάσγανον* is used in the *Iliad* (see Liddell-Scott, s.v. "*κάρα*," "*φάσγανον*"). Both words are explained in Byzantine dictionaries, such as the *Suda* (for *κάρα* it only has *κάρη*, *κάρητος* without giving a synonym) and the *Etymologicum Magnum*.

⁵⁰ Drex1 36, 16: *διότι ἡ διάκρισις τῆς εὐοσμίας καὶ τῆς δυσωδίας διὰ τῆς ρινός ἐστι τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ* (Because the intellect can distinguish between good and bad odors through the nose).

⁵¹ For example, in the 10th century life of Basil the Younger; cf. A. N. Veselovskij, "Razyskanija v oblasti russkogo duchovnogo sticha," *Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk* 46 (1889-90), p. 70, l. 7.

αὐτοῦ (122, 16)· *ὁ ἥλιος ἦτοι ὁ δίσκος* (127, 26)· *εἶδε τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἦτοι ἐν τύπῳ γραμμάτων* (132, 9-10)· *ἐβράχη ὁ τόπος ἐξωθεν τοῦ ἀέρος ἦτοι ἄνευ βροχῆς δι' ἑτέρου εἶδους* (133, 29-134, 1)· *ᾠκιμον ἦτοι βασιλικόν* (158, 14)· *τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ ἐρίου κάστορος ἦτοι χάσδια λωρωτά* (170, 11-12)· *βέλη ἦτοι σαγίτας* (204, 7)· *θώρακα ἦτοι λωρίκιον* (204, 21)· *περὶ βήλων καὶ καλυμμάτων ἦτοι ταπήτων* (214, 5-6)· *ἐπικαλύμμασι τισιν ἦγουν διαπετάσμασιν* (214, 20)· *περὶ κλώσεως ἦτοι νήσεως ἀτράκτου* (215, 20-21)· *δεσμῶν σιδηρῶν ἦτοι κουρκούμων* (221, 9-10)· *ὄφιν μέγιστον ἦτοι δράκοντα* (228, 11-12)· *ἡ ῥῶξ ἦτοι ἡ λεγομένη ῥῶγα*⁵² (231, 3).

In only three cases is *ἦγουν-ἦτοι* used to introduce explanations: *εἰς τὸν μέγιστον ναὸν εἰς τὸ Μέκκε*, *ἦγουν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ* (29, 20) (in the great temple in Mecca, that is, the tent of Abraham);⁵³ *οἱ ὠμοπλάται εἰς τὴν γνησίαν τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνάγονται τοῦ ἀνδρός*, *ἦτοι τὴν μητέρα τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ* (50, 5) (the shoulder blades refer to the legitimate one from among the wives of a man, that is, the mother of his children); *ιερέα ἦτοι προσευχίτην* (92, 4) (a priest, that is, a person performing prayers). In these cases *ἦγουν-ἦτοι* explain notions peculiar to the Muslim faith—the Great Mosque of Mecca, polygamy, and the leading of prayer by an imam.

A number of these glosses are words common in biblical or ecclesiastical literature: *διπλοῖδα* (a kind of cloak; Job 20:14; Psalms 108:29; etc); *περιόρθριον* (dawn; in the context of the *Oneirocriticon*, morning prayer); *σάβανον* (a kind of garment); *δίφρος* (chariot; Job 29:7; Proverbs 9:14; etc); *δίσκος* (disk, i.e. the sun disk); *διαπετάσμασιν* (coverings); *δράκοντα* (large serpent; Psalms 73:13, 14; 90:13; 103:26; 148:7).⁵⁴ Others belong to technical language: *τζυκανίζει* (to play polo); *λωρίκιον* (cuirass); *χάσδια λωρωτά* (felt garment with stripes); *σαγίτας* (arrows); *κουρκούμων* (muzzles). At least two of them seem to explain too literal, and therefore infelicitous or

⁵² Drex1 (*Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. 260, index rerum et verborum) gives the meaning of *rhōx* as *animal reptile*; see, however, Koukoules, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. 291, stating that *rhōx* is not an *animal reptile*, but a kind of poisonous spider called *rhax* by the ancient Greeks and *rōga* in the modern Greek dialects of Bithynia and Saranta Ekklesiis in Thrace and *rōba* on Cyprus and Kos.

⁵³ The Great Mosque in Mecca is called "the tent of Abraham" because, according to the Qur'ān and Muslim tradition, Abraham and Ishmael rebuilt the Ka'ba (originally established by Adam) and called mankind to make the pilgrimage to it. A few meters away from the Black Stone that is housed in the Ka'ba is the *Maqām Ibrāhīm* ("the standing place of Abraham"), a stone with the indentation of a footprint which, according to tradition, is the footprint of Abraham, impressed in the stone during the rebuilding of the Ka'ba.

⁵⁴ For references to texts, see Lampe, s.v. "*περιόρθριον*," "*σάβανον*," "*δίσκος*," and "*διαπέτασμα*."

incomprehensible, translations from the Arabic. These two instances are ἐν ἀληθείᾳ and ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀέρος. The meaning of ἐν ἀληθείᾳ in the phrase εἶδε τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, ἥτοι ἐν τύπῳ γραμμάτων is obscure, and I have been unable to locate a parallel Arabic passage that could clarify it.⁵⁵ The problematic ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀέρος (outside of the air) in the phrase ἐβράχη ὁ τόπος ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀέρος ἥτοι ἄνευ βροχῆς δι' ἑτέρου εἶδους (the place got wet *outside of the air*, that is without rain <but> in some other way) might be the Greek author's too literal rendition of the Arabic خارجا عن الهواء (khārijan 'an al-hawā') or خارج الهواء (khārij al-hawā') which would mean "beside the climate"; khārij or khārijan 'an means "beside", "apart from," as well as "outside of"; al-hawā' means both "air" and "climate, or atmosphere."⁵⁶

The synonym offered for "muscles" in the phrase, οἱ βραχίονες καὶ αἱ κνήμαι αὐτῶν ἥτοι οἱ μῦες (the arms and their knēmai [= legs, calves of the legs], i. e., muscles)⁵⁷ is also problematic. The meaning "muscle" for the word knēmē does not appear in any dictionary of ancient, Byzantine or modern Greek. However, the lemma on knēmē from the *Etymologicum Magnum* (12th century, but based on earlier compilations) reads as follows: ΚΝΗΜΗ: Παρὰ τὸ κινῶ κινήσω, κινήμη· καὶ συγκοπῇ, κνήμη, οἶονεὶ τὰ τῆς κινήσεως αἵτια, τὰ ὀπισθεν τοῦ σκέλους. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἡ ἰγνύη· μῶν δὲ, παρὰ τὸ σαρκῶδες καὶ νευρῶδες... (Knēmē ... is called ... "a muscle" because of its muscular and sinewy quality).⁵⁸ It seems that the Greek author supplied a

⁵⁵ Oberhelman, *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, p. 171, circumvents the problem by translating "he looked up and saw the stars arranged in the form of letters," which omits "ἐν ἀληθείᾳ." Brackertz, who generally is a much more careful translator, renders the phrase as "[er] schaue die Sterne in ihrer wahren Gestalt oder in Form von Schriftzeichen." This translation presupposes two emendations to Drexl's text that are not warranted by the manuscript tradition: ἐν ἀληθείᾳ to ἐν ἀληθείᾳ and ἥτοι (that is) to ἥ (or). The text possibly makes a reference to the Arabic 'ilm al-hurūf (the science of letters), which is closely connected with astrology, as it is based on arithmomancy, the knowledge of the natural properties of the letters according to alchemy ('ilm al-khawāṣṣ) and their astrological conjunctions (qirānāt); see *El²*, s.v. "Hurūf." Alternatively, the Greek phrase could have originated in a faulty reading given by the Arabic manuscript that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* had in front of him. The intended Arabic phrase could have been رأى النجوم كدلائل بالطريق (he saw the stars as signs [guiding] his way). If the last word, طريق (way, road) is miswritten or misread as صديق (truthful), then the Arabic phrase given above could result in a Greek translation such as the one we see in the *Oneirocriticon*: εἶδε τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.

⁵⁶ There seems to be a lacuna in the text. In order to make good sense, the text should read: "If the place got wet for a reason besides the climate," which in Arabic would be something like ان كان المكان ممطرا لاجل خارج الهواء. Could it be that the word لاجل, or an equivalent, like من اجل or بسبب, "for a reason," was missing from the Arabic text used by the Greek author?

⁵⁷ Drexl 44, 8.

gloss on knēmē that he had found in a dictionary containing an entry similar to that recorded in the *Etymologicum Magnum*. The author's possible acquaintance with the *lemmata* of the lexicographical tradition that accumulated in the *Etymologicum Magnum* might also have caused his use of the word πρόβατον (sheep) in the following phrase: εἰ δὲ εὖρη τις ἔριον τὸ ἀπὸ κουρᾶς προβάτων, εὐρήσει πλούτον πιστὸν καὶ ἰσχυρὸν ἀπὸ μεγίστων ἀνδρῶν διὰ τὸ τοῦ προβάτου κέρας (If someone finds wool from the shearing of sheep, he will find reliable and mighty wealth from very great men, because of the sheep's horns).⁵⁹ Πρόβατα do not have horns. But the *Etymologicum Magnum* clarifies that point with πολλάκις κατὰ κοινοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν βοσκημάτων εἴρηται ἡ λέξις (The word is often said in general of all kinds of cattle).⁶⁰

Some examples of the use of ὁ, ἡ, τὸ λεγόμενον (the so-called) before a word to show the author's awareness that it belongs to everyday parlance are: ζύγιον ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον καμπανὸν (a balance or the so-called steelyard; Drexl 12, 16); ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λεγομένου καμπανοῦ (likewise regarding the so-called steelyard; Drexl 13, 1); εἶδος τὸ λεγόμενον κόχλα (a product called kohl; Drexl 33, 18); ἐνεδύσατο τὸ λεγόμενον κλιβάνιον μονομερές (he wore the so-called klibanion monomeres;⁶¹ Drexl 114, 1-2); τὰ λεγόμενα μανικέλια (the so-called manikelia;⁶² Drexl 114, 7); καβάδι τὸ λεγόμενον σκαραμάγγιον (kabadi, the so-called skaramaggion;⁶³ Drexl 114, 26); οἶνον ἀπὸ σαχάριτος τὸ λεγόμενον ζουλάπιν (wine made of sugar, the so-called julep;⁶⁴ Drexl 150, 21-22); καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα οὐσία (and the so-called housia;

⁵⁸ *Etymologicum Magnum*, ed. T. Gaisford (Oxford, 1848; rpt. Amsterdam, 1962), s.v. "κνήμη."

⁵⁹ Drexl 172, 3-4.

⁶⁰ Such is the use of the word in Homer (also explicated in the old scholia to the *Iliad*; see *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia Vetera)*, ed. H. Erbse, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1974), p. 538: scholia to Ξ 124), Hesiod, and the Septuagint; see Liddell-Scott, s.v. "πρόβατον."

⁶¹ The meaning of klibanion is given by Drexl as *vestimenti genus* but is in fact a kind of breast plate. See Koukoules, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. 291: "Τὸ κλιβάνιον τὸ γενικῶς ὡς vestimenti genus χαρακτηριζόμενον εἶναι εἶδος θώρακος. Περὶ τούτου παραβλητέα τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Du Cange ἐν λ. κλίβανον καὶ κλιβανοφόρος λεγόμενα ὡς καὶ οἱ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων ποιημάτων χρυσοκλιβανιασμένοι." An exact definition is given in E. McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1995), p. 369: "klivanion: sleeveless, waist-length cuirass, usually of scale armor."

⁶² The manikelia were arm-guards made of thick cotton or coarse silk that covered the lower arm from the elbow down, as well as the back of the hand. See McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, p. 69.

⁶³ A kind of garment; cf. above, n. 38.

⁶⁴ Julep in English (and the Persian and Arabic terms from which the word originated) can signify either a soft drink such as rosewater, or an alcoholic drink. In the context of the *Oneirocriticon* the meaning of the word is evidently the latter one. For recipes on how to prepare alcoholic

Drexl 170, 14); τὸ λεγόμενον μαξιλλάριον (the so-called pillow; Drexl, 173, 18); γλύκισμα σαρακηνικὸν τὸ λεγόμενον παλουδάκιν (a Saracen sweet, the so-called *paloudakin*; Drexl 198, 4); ἡ λεγομένη ῥῶγα (the so-called *rōga*;⁶⁵ Drexl 231, 5).

The tendency to give both a learned and a vernacular word for the same thing can also be observed in other Byzantine technical manuals of the tenth century, such as the agricultural treatise *Geōponika*⁶⁶ and the manual on war tactics attributed to the emperor Nikephoros Phocas.⁶⁷ A third Byzantine manual of the tenth century, the *Poliorkētika*, which discusses siege engines using more elevated language than that of the *Oneirocriticon*, is introduced with a warning to the reader that the style of the text that follows is neither purist nor ornate, because the author deliberately chose to emphasize the meaning rather than the form of his text, following the example of several antique writers.⁶⁸ Such an introduction serves as both a declaration that the author is capable of writing in a higher style than that of the text at hand and an acknowledgment that the majority of his readers, whom he must accommodate because of the practical nature of his work, would not have been able to understand a more complicated language.

Besides choice of vocabulary and grammatical usage,⁶⁹ an author's level of sophistication is also revealed in the kind of literature with which he is familiar. The *Oneirocriticon* contains no references to works other than the Bible; even though it is directly quoted only twice and not quite verbatim, biblical vocabulary and forms of expression permeate the entire text. The two direct scriptural quotations are introduced with a phrase signaling that their source is biblical: καθό που γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις εὐαγγελίοις, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἀγαπῶντά

zoulapia, see *Paris. gr.* 2419, fol. 154v (CCAG, vol. 8:1, p. 47).

⁶⁵ A kind of spider; cf. above, n. 52.

⁶⁶ *Geoponica*, ed. Beckh, II. 27 (title): περὶ σιτοβολίου ἥτοι ὠρείου· IV. 14 (title) ὥστε τὸν αὐτὸν βότριν ἔχειν διαφόρους ῥάγας (τουτέστι κόκκους)· IV. 15.8 τινὲς δὲ εἰς σίραιον, τουτέστιν εἰς ἔψημα· IV. 15.13 ἐξαίθριάσας τουτέστι διαψύξας, etc.

⁶⁷ Στρατηγική· Ἐκθεσις καὶ Σύνταξις Νικηφόρου Δεσπότη (for the text, see McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*): καὶ σανδάλια ἤγουν μουζάκια, εἴτε τὰ λεγόμενα ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ τζερβούλια (I, 22-23); ὀφείλει τὸ στόμα τῆς παρατάξεως, ἤγουν τὸ μέτωπον (III, 18-19); καὶ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ὄρδινος, ἤγουν τὸ στόμα τῆς παρατάξεως (III, 60-1); etc.

⁶⁸ For the text, see R. Schneider, "Griechische Poliorketiker," *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, philol.-hist. Klasse, n. F. 11 (1909), pp. 8-10 (200, 14-204, 4). For a new edition of the text based on an older manuscript, see D. Sullivan, *Siegecraft* (Washington, D.C., 2001).

⁶⁹ For instances of grammatical solecisms in the *Oneirocriticon*, see *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. Drexl, pp. 265-69, index grammaticus.

με ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου ἐλευσόμεθα καὶ μονὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ποιήσομεν⁷⁰ (... as is written in the Holy Gospels: "To the one who loves Me, My Father and I will come and tarry with him" [John 14:23]);⁷¹ ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ὁ πάλαι νεκρὸς ἀνέζησε ..., τοῦτο εἰς σῶμα τοῦ νεκροῦ κρίνεται, πληροφορούμενον ἐκ τῆς θείας γραφῆς λεγούσης, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἔστι νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ ζώντων⁷² (If someone dreams that a person who is already dead returns to life ... this is to be interpreted as the dead man's salvation, being confirmed by the Holy Writ: "He is not the God of the dead, but of the living" [Matthew 22:32; Mark 12:27; Luke 20:38]).⁷³ Neither of the two passages copies the corresponding quotations verbatim from the New Testament, suggesting that the author most likely quoted both of them from memory.

The echoes of the Old and especially the New Testament in the author's choice of vocabulary and expression are many. Drexl identifies three instances where the phrasing of the New Testament has clearly influenced the author of the *Oneirocriticon*.⁷⁴ A further example of biblical influence is the frequent use of the word μυστήριον (secret),⁷⁵ as well as the wording of phrases like: εἰς μέγιστον κριτὴν κολληθήσεται (he will devote himself to a great judge);⁷⁶ στρατεῖαν νέαν ἐξ ἐτέρων κτᾶται γλωσσῶν (he will obtain a new army <made up of soldiers> from other nations);⁷⁷ οὕρησεν αἷμα ἐπ' ὄψει τῆς

⁷⁰ Drexl 2, 2.

⁷¹ The quotation is slightly changed from John 14:23: ἐὰν τις ἀγαπᾷ με τὸν λόγον μου τηρήσει, καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου ἀγαπήσει αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλευσόμεθα καὶ μονὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ποιήσομεθα ("If a man loves me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him").

⁷² Drexl 83, 18.

⁷³ The word order is slightly different from that in the New Testament; cf. Matthew 22:32: Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ, καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ· οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ ζώντων; Mark 12:27: οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ ζώντων; Luke 20:38: θεὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ ζώντων· πάντες γὰρ αὐτῷ ζῶσι.

⁷⁴ Drexl 83, 26: οὗτος εἰς μετάνοιαν ἤξει καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖθεν κτίζει ἑαυτοῦ μονάς. Cf. John 14:2: ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου μοναὶ πολλάι εἰσι; Drexl 144, 21: ἀπέχει τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ. Cf. Matthew 6:2: ἀμὴν λέγω ἡμῖν, ἀπέχουσι τῶν μισθῶν αὐτῶν (repeated in Matthew 6:5 and 6:16); Drexl 173, 4: ὅτι οὐπω ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς εὐπραγίας αὐτοῦ. Cf. John 7:30: ὅτι οὐπω ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ (repeated in John 8:20) and John 13:1: εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἤλθεν αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα...

⁷⁵ Already observed by Nock in his review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. 150.

⁷⁶ Drexl 132, 16. Cf. Matthew 19:5: κολληθήσεται τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ; Luke 15:15: πορευθεὶς ἐκολληθὲν ἐνὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης; Acts 10:28: ὡς ἀθέμιτόν ἐστι ἀνδρὶ Ἰουδαίῳ κολλᾶσθαι ἀλλοφύλῳ; Acts 17:34: τινὲς δὲ ἄνδρες κολληθέντες αὐτῷ ἐπίστευσαν; etc.

⁷⁷ Drexl 23, 20. For γλώσσα in the sense of "people, nation," cf. Revelation 6:9: ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους; Revelation 7:9: ὄχλος πολὺς... ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους

γῆς (he urinated blood on the face of the earth);⁷⁸ ἡ γυνὴ τῆς χαρᾶς ἔσται (the woman will be pleasant);⁷⁹ πόδες ὀξεῖς αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ ἀγρεῦσαι ἄνδρα (her feet will be swift in chasing a man).⁸⁰ These examples are not references to the Scriptures, but were triggered by his close familiarity with the Bible and other religious literature.

The influence of biblical texts is evident in the grammar, as well. The author uses classical grammatical constructions current in New Testament Greek, such as passive verbs accompanied by nouns in the accusative⁸¹ and subjects in the neuter plural construed with verbs in the third-person singular (Attic syntax). Examples of the first are: εἰ μὲν ἔστι βασιλεὺς, παρασκευασθήσεται τὰ ἄρματα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ (18, 18-19) (If he is king, he will make preparations in his weaponry and army against his enemies); ἐὰν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι τὸν ἑνα ὀφθαλμὸν ἐτυφλώθη (33, 6-7) (If someone dreams that he was blinded in one eye...); ἐὰν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐτραυματίσθη τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ (40, 5) (If someone dreams that he was wounded in his tongue...); ἐὰν τις ἴδῃ περικεκαλυμμένην κόρην πρὸς ὄψον (76, 24) (If someone dreams of a maiden covered in the face...); ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἐκόπη τὰ σκέλη καὶ τοὺς πόδας (69, 7) (If someone dreams, that he was amputated at the thighs or legs...) etc.⁸² This use of the accusative occasionally extends to sentences without a passive verb: ἐὰν δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἰδροῖ τὰς μασχάλας (27, 19) (If he dreams that he was sweating in the armpits...); αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπαθὴς μένει τὴν ὄρασιν (33, 12) (But he himself remains unharmed regarding his vision).

Attic syntax only occasionally occurs in the New Testament,⁸³ and not at all in modern Greek, but the author of the *Oneirocriticon* was probably inspired

καὶ φυλῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν; also Revelation 10:11; 11:9; 13:7; 14:6; 17:5.

⁷⁸ Drexl 30, 24. Cf. Genesis 10:5: καὶ καλύψει τὴν ὄψιν τῆς γῆς; Genesis 10:15: καὶ ἐκάλυπεν τὴν ὄψιν τῆς γῆς; etc.

⁷⁹ Drexl 115, 7. Cf. Hebrews 12:11: χαρὰς εἶναι (qualitative genitive) = it is pleasant.

⁸⁰ Drexl 60, 23-24. Cf. Romans 3:15 (from Isaiah 59:75; Proverbs 1:16): ὀξεῖς οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι αἷμα.

⁸¹ F. Blass, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, trans. H. St. John Thackeray (London and New York, 1898), §34, 6. Biblical examples of the phenomenon include: δεδεμένος τοὺς πόδας (John 11:44); διεφθαρμένοι τὸν νοῦν (1 Timothy 6:5); περαντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας, λελουμένοι τὸ σῶμα (Hebrews 10:22).

⁸² This rule is not followed consistently; cf. ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις ὅτι τὰ σκέλη αὐτοῦ ἐτζακίσθησαν ἢ ἀπεκόπη ὁ πούς αὐτοῦ ... (68, 11-12).

⁸³ See F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. R. W. Funk (Chicago, 1961), pp. 73-74 (§133).

to use it by an almost equivalent phenomenon in Arabic⁸⁴ (but not in Syriac⁸⁵). Several examples of a subject in the plural construed with a verb in the singular can be found in the *Oneirocriticon*: τὰ αἰδοῖα αὐτοῦ ἀπεκόπη (his genitals were cut off; Drexl 58, 11);⁸⁶ διότι τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀγωγός ἐστι τοῦ σπέρματος (because the genitals are the conduit of sperm; Drexl 58, 27); μακρονοσήσει τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ (his children will suffer a long sickness; Drexl 59, 2); ἐπρήσθη ἡ ἐψύγη τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ (his knees were burnt or frozen; Drexl 60, 16); οὐκ ἀρέσει τὰ δόγματα αὐτοῦ τῷ λαῷ (his opinions will not be to the people's liking; Drexl 65, 12); φανερωθήσεται τὰ μυστήρια αὐτοῦ (his secrets will be revealed; Drexl 69, 19);⁸⁷ διὰ φιλονεικίας ζημιωθήσεται τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ (he will suffer monetary damage because of a dispute; Drexl 92, 20); τὰ οἰκήματα αὐτοῦ ἐπλατύνθη καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθη καὶ πλεῖον ἐφωτίσθη (his buildings became wider and bigger and better lit; Drexl 101, 19-20); ὅτι τεθεμελίωται τὰ βασίλεια (the foundations for the imperial palace were laid; Drexl 103, 4);⁸⁸ τὰ γοῦν φύλλα τῶν δένδρων εἰς τὴν διάθεσιν κρίνεται τῶν ἀνθρώπων (the leaves of the trees are interpreted as the disposition of men; Drexl 107, 6-7); εἰ μὲν ἐφύτρωσε τὰ δένδρα (if the trees sprouted; Drexl 108, 11); τὰ ἄρματα ἀφοβίαν ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν σημαίνει (weapons signify not fearing the enemy; Drexl 113, 13); ἐβράχη τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ (his clothes became wet; Drexl 146, 8); εἰς ἐνδοξότερα καὶ λαμπρότερα ἀποβήσεται αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα (things will turn out for him even more gloriously and illustriously; Drexl 180, 24); ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀποβήσεται αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα (things will turn out for him in the same way; Drexl 180, 27-181, 1); καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἵππων εἰς ἐλάττονα εὐγένειαν καὶ δόξαν ἐκρίθη (common horses are interpreted as lesser nobility and glory; Drexl 181, 8-9).⁸⁹

The language of the *Oneirocriticon* is occasionally tinted with peculiarities

⁸⁴ In Arabic when the verb precedes a subject in the third person, the verb always remains in the singular, even if the subject is in the plural; see R. Blachère and M. Gauderoy-Demombynes, *Grammaire de l'arabe classique* (Paris, 1975), pp. 300 ff. (§ 247).

⁸⁵ In Syriac a plural subject requires a plural verb; see T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, trans. J. A. Crichton (London, 1904; rpt. Winona Lake, 2000), p. 255 (§321).

⁸⁶ However, cf. ἐθλάσθησαν τὰ αἰδοῖα (58, 14) and ὅτι ἀπεκόπησαν τὰ αἰδοῖα αὐτοῦ (58, 26).

⁸⁷ However, cf. ἐφάνησαν τὰ κρυπτά (Drexl 68, 19).

⁸⁸ However, cf. διετάξατο κτισθῆναι νέα βασίλεια ..., εἰ μὲν ἐτελειώθησαν ... (103, 2-4).

⁸⁹ Attic syntax can also be found in other Byzantine dreambooks which, like the *Oneirocriticon*, were written in a language close to the vernacular, but were not translations of Arabic originals.

that do not occur either in the Old or the New Testament, nor do they conform to the rules of syntax and grammar in what is considered regular Greek. These peculiarities should therefore be attributed to the influence exercised on the *Oneirocriticon* by the language of its source. Deciding in which language this source was written can help us understand the process of disguising Islamic dream interpretation as Christian. Although Islamic works on dream interpretation in Arabic form the ultimate source of the *Oneirocriticon*, it is not immediately clear whether the Byzantine author translated and at the same time adapted Arabic Islamic material to which he had direct access or simply translated a Christian source that was, in its turn, based on Islamic interpretations, unaware of its Islamic origin. The languages of the Christian Orient in which a Christianized version of an Islamic dreambook serving as the immediate source for the Greek *Oneirocriticon* could have been written are Armenian, Georgian, Coptic or Ethiopic, Syriac, and Arabic.⁹⁰ All, with the exception of the last one, were exclusively used for the literary expression of Christians, and if the source of the *Oneirocriticon* were written in any one among them besides Arabic, the Byzantine author would have been translating from an already Christianized text. However, the occasional peculiarities of grammar, syntax, and vocabulary in the Greek text indicate that its source was indeed in Arabic, since they closely render equivalent Arabic expressions that do not exist in any other Middle Eastern language, including Syriac, which is the language of the Christian Middle East most akin to Arabic. The resulting Greek, where it is influenced by the wording of the Arabic, is awkward and sometimes even unintelligible. Some examples follow.

⁹⁰ The Armenian tradition of dream interpretation has not been examined in any scholarly publication that I know of. No such works are mentioned in R. W. Thomson, "Let Now the Astrologers Stand Up: The Armenian Christian Reaction to Astrology and Divination," *DOP* 46 (1992), pp. 305-12; rpt. in idem, *Studies in Armenian Literature and Christianity* (Aldershot, Hampshire and Brookfield, Vt., 1994), no. 11; dream interpretation as a method of divination practiced in Armenia is mentioned on p. 308 and n. 36. Contemporary scholarship does not do justice to the rich Armenian tradition of dream interpretation; dreambooks translated from the Arabic, as well as dreambooks ascribed to Ibn Sirin, were apparently circulating in Armenia (see Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 280-81), but no work on dream interpretation in Armenian, Coptic or Ethiopic is mentioned in K. Brockelmann, et al., *Geschichte der christlichen Literaturen des Orients* (Leipzig, 1907). No Georgian work on dream interpretation is mentioned in P. M. Tarchnišvili, J. Assfalg, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Vatican City, 1955). Nothing on dreambooks is mentioned in E. Khintibidzé, "Byzantine-Georgian Literary Contacts," *Bedi Karthlisa: Revue de Kartvelologie* 36 (1978), pp. 275-86. For an overview of the early Christian position on dream interpretation, including Greek, Latin, and a brief mention of Coptic and Syriac Christian works, see Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 230-42, who concludes that the consistently negative or mistrustful position of the church prevented the composition of dream manuals.

Chapter 117 of the *Oneirocriticon* opens with the phrase (Drex1 69, 2-3): τὰ σκέλη καὶ οἱ πόδες κίονές εἰσι τοῦ σώματος καὶ χωρὶς αὐτῶν πίπτει τὸ σῶμα τιμωρούμενον ἐν τῷ ἔλκεσθαι (The legs and the feet are the pillars of the body; without them the body falls and is condemned to creep).

The verbs of punishment in classical Greek are never construed with a preposition.⁹¹ In modern Greek, which is probably closer to what the author of the *Oneirocriticon* spoke in everyday life, the verbs of punishment are construed with the preposition *eis>se*. The combination *timōroumenos en* is definitely not correct Greek. In Arabic, however, the verb *hakama*, ("to condemn," "to punish") is construed with a preposition followed by the penalty inflicted: *hakama bi*. One of the possible translations of the preposition *bi* in Greek is *en*.

The *Oneirocriticon* contains the following narration of a dream (Drex1 148, 18-21): Εἶδον κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι πάντες οἱ κέραμοι τῆς πόλεως ἄνευ ὕετοῦ ἔρρεον ἔνθολον καὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο τὸ ὕδωρ ἄνευ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνθρώπων (I dreamt that all the roof tiles of the city were streaming with turbid <water>, though there was no rain, and that everybody was collecting this water, except for me and my people).

The word ἔνθολον does not fit very well into the Greek sentence. Instead of an adjective in the accusative case one would normally expect an adverb. The anomaly of the Greek text is explicable, however, if we assume that it was translated from the Arabic. Arabic does not have proper adverbs; instead, it employs adverbial accusatives.⁹² Syriac does not have a proper equivalent of the Greek accusative⁹³ and Syriac adverbs are normally formed with an adjective and the suffix *-ith*, or, more rarely, a word compounded with a preposition.⁹⁴

⁹¹ The verbs of punishment are usually construed with the genitive of the punishment inflicted: τιμῶ τινι φυγῆς (I condemn someone to exile); ἔκριναν αὐτὸν θανάτου (they condemned him to death).

⁹² The adverbial accusative "amply makes up for the want of adverbs in Arabic"; see C. P. Caspari, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed., trans. W. Wright (Cambridge and New York, 1979), vol. 2, pp. 109 ff., § 43-44; vol. 1, pp. 288 ff., § 364. This phenomenon was called *compliment circonstanciel de manière* (e.g., قَتَلَ مُتَعَمِّدًا) in R. Blachère and M. Gaudesfroy-Demombynes, *Grammaire de l'arabe classique*, p. 294, §238a; cf. also pp. 207-8, §134, "noms au cas direct de valeur adverbiale."

⁹³ Syriac has no cases marked with terminations; the nominative and the oblique cases of Greek and Latin are recognized by the context or are expressed by the constructive state, by the influence of a transitive verb, or by some particle; cf. G. Phillips, *A Syriac Grammar* (Cambridge and London, 1866), p. 53.

⁹⁴ On the formation of adverbs in Syriac, see T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, pp. 98-101; also Phillips, *Syriac Grammar*, pp. 132-33, 177.

The irregularity of the Greek text in this passage proves that it was translated from Arabic and not from Syriac.

In chapter 169 of the *Oneirocriticon* we read the passage (Drexl 132, 15-20): εὖν ἴδη τις, ὅτι ὑπὸ ἀστέρων ὁδηγούμενος ἀποδημεῖ διὰ τε ξηρᾶς εἴτε θαλάσσης κατευοδοῦται, εἰς μέγιστον κριτὴν καὶ δίκαιον κολληθήσεται καὶ εὐρήσει χάριν παρ' αὐτοῦ. εἰ δὲ ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο κατὰ πλάνην ἀκατευοδώτερον, εἰς ἄνθρωπον ψευδοκριτὴν ἥξει καὶ θλιβήσεται παρ' αὐτοῦ (If someone dreams that, guided by the stars, he had a successful journey by land or sea, he will devote himself to⁹⁵ a great and fair judge and will find favor with him. If his journey became more difficult because of an error, however, he will go to a false judge and will be grieved by him). The second half of the excerpt includes an obvious mistake: εἰ δὲ ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο κατὰ πλάνην ἀκατευοδώτερον (If his journey became more difficult because of an error, however...). According to the rules of Greek syntax, the case, gender, and number of the predicate should agree with those of the subject. In our example, the predicate is in the accusative case while its subject is in the nominative. In Arabic the verb صار (*ṣāra* = to become; *egeneto* in the Greek text) is construed with the predicate in the accusative case, even though its subject is in the nominative. Again the irregular syntax of the Greek text suggests a slavish adherence to the syntax of an Arabic model. Syriac does not have an equivalent to the Greek accusative case. If we postulate that the *Oneirocriticon* was translated from Syriac, we would not be able to account for the accusative case of the predicate in Greek.

Chapter 218 of the *Oneirocriticon* contains the phrase (Drexl 171, 8-9): ὁμοίως εὖν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔτυπέ τινα μαγκλάβια ἢ χαρζάνια ... (Likewise, if the king himself beat someone with whips or straps). In this phrase not only the object of the verb *typtō* (to beat) but also the instrument with which the action of the verb is carried out is in the accusative

⁹⁵ The Greek κολληθήσεται (he will devote himself to) could be attributed to the influence of biblical language on the vocabulary of the Greek author, since κολλάσθαι (to devote myself to) occurs in the New Testament (e.g., Matthew 19:5 κολληθήσεται τῇ γυναίκὶ αὐτοῦ; Luke 15:15 πορευθεὶς ἐκολλήθη ἐνὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης; Acts 10:28 ὡς ἀθέμιτόν ἐστι ἀνδρὶ Ἰουδαίῳ κολλᾶσθαι ... ἄλλοφύλῳ; Acts 17:34 τινὲς δὲ ἄνδρες κολληθέντες αὐτῷ ἐπίστευσαν). In the New Testament, however, this verb is consistently accompanied by its object in the dative, while in the *Oneirocriticon* it is followed by the preposition εἰς + accusative. The phrasing in the *Oneirocriticon* could possibly reflect a close rendering of the Arabic verb تعلق (*ta'allaqa*) which is regularly followed by the preposition *bi* (possibly rendered in Greek as εἰς) and means "to be devoted to." The verb *ta'allaqa* is form V of the root علق (*'aliqa*), the primary meanings of which are to hang, to be suspended, to cling, to stick, to adhere to, the same as the literal meanings of the verb κολλάσθαι in Greek.

case. But the instrument in Greek is never expressed in the accusative; it is always expressed either with a dative or with a preposition and an oblique case, as is done throughout chapter 218, with the exception of the phrase quoted above.⁹⁶ Though the Arabic verb *ḍaraba* (to strike) is usually accompanied by the object of the verb in the accusative and the instrument of striking prefixed by the preposition *bi* (with) (e.g., ضربت زيدا بسوط = I hit Zayd with a whip), it is also possible to construe *ḍaraba* with two accusatives, one expressing the object and one the instrument (ضربت زيدا سوطا = I hit Zayd with a whip⁹⁷). It is therefore possible to account for the irregular instrumental accusative of the Greek text if we assume that the Greek author was translating from the Arabic and following closely the syntax of the Arabic source. However, no explanation can be provided if we postulate that he was translating from a Syriac source. Syriac does not have a proper accusative and expresses the instrument by prefixing a *lomadh* to the noun.

In the *Oneirocriticon*, dreaming of a pleasant smell is consistently interpreted as gaining an excellent reputation, while dreaming of an offensive smell signifies losing one.⁹⁸ The connection between this symbol and its meaning does not come from the ancient oneirocritic tradition—Artemidoros says nothing about dreaming of perfumes and smells—and seems arbitrary. It becomes obvious, however, once we realize that the Arabic expression سمعة عطرة (*sum'at a'atira*), which actually means "excellent reputation" but can be literally translated as a "fragrant reputation," must have given rise to the interpretation in Arabic dreambooks of a fragrant smell as indicating a good reputation. Reliance on puns and the alternative meanings of words for interpreting dreams is a method mentioned in ancient Greek, Jewish, Islamic and Byzantine texts on dream interpretation.

⁹⁶ Drexl 171, 3: ἐτύφθη βουνεύροις (He was beaten with straps of raw ox-hide); Drexl 171, 67: ὥρισε τυφθῆναι τινα βουνεύροις (He commanded that someone be beaten with straps of raw ox-hide); Drexl 171, 10: ἔτυπέ τινα ῥάβδῳ (He beat someone with a stick); Drexl 171, 13: μετὰ σπάθης ἔδωκε τινὶ (He gave someone [a blow] with a sword).

⁹⁷ See Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. ضرب (col. 1777).

⁹⁸ εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι καπνοῦ ἐπλήσθη ὁ οἶκος ... εἰ δὲ ὁ καπνὸς εὐώδης ἦν, λόγοις γλυκέσι τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ παρέξει ἐτέροις, εὐρήσει δὲ καὶ φήμην ἀνάλογον τῆς τοῦ καπνοῦ εὐωδίας καὶ τῆς ἡδύτητος (121, 23-26). εἰ δὲ εἰς δυσώδη πηλὸν περιπατεῖ, βαρυτέραν θλίψιν καὶ φήμην κακὴν λάβει διὰ τὴν δυσωδίαν (134, 8-10). εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι εὐρε δένδρον κίτρον, εὐρήσει ἄνδρα εὐγενῆ, πλούσιον, εὐφημον διὰ τὴν εὐωδίαν καὶ τὸ εὐκαρπον (155, 25-26). εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔφαγε σκόρδον ἢ κρόμμυον ἢ πράσον ... φήμην κακὴν ἔξει διὰ τὴν δυσωδίαν αὐτῶν (160, 8-10). εὖν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἔσθιε ρεφάνους... κακόφημος ἔσται ἀνὰ μέσον λαοῦ καὶ μισητός διὰ τὸ τῆς ἐρεῦγης δύσσομον (162, 8-10). εἰ δὲ (ἴδῃ ποδόρτια) δυσωδίαν ἔχοντα, φήμην κακὴν εὐρήσει διὰ τὸ δυσῶδες ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ (176, 6-8).

Besides the examples indicating that Arabic and not Syriac was the language from which the author was translating, others conform to patterns common to most Semitic languages. For instance, in the phrase παλαίσας ἐὰν ἔπτωσεν ἕτερον, τιμήσει τὸν πεσόντα (If, while wrestling, he made his opponent fall, he will honor his fallen opponent),⁹⁹ a verbal form otherwise unattested in the Greek language was concocted from the stem of the perfect tense of the verb πίπτω (to fall)¹⁰⁰ and used in the sense of "to make someone fall." Such a grammatical twist was probably instigated by the mechanism of producing verbs from a root according to a pattern that is typical of all Semitic languages. Form I of the root سقط (s-q-ṭ) means "to fall"; form IV means "to cause someone to fall." The spelling of the third person singular in the imperfect is identical in both forms (يسقط), though in each case the word is vocalized differently. Instead of ἔπτωσεν the correct Greek verb would have been ἀνέτρεψεν or κατέριπεν (which is close to the Modern Greek ἔριξε), but it seems that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* was unable to think of an alternative to πίπτω, the primary meaning of the Arabic root s-q-ṭ, and since it was inappropriate for his translation, he resorted to ἔπτωσεν.¹⁰¹

The *Oneirocriticon* includes at least one passage where the words at the end of each colon conform to a rhythmical pattern. This phenomenon of literary prose has been broadly defined by S. Skimina¹⁰² and has been studied mainly

⁹⁹ Drexl 72, 18.

¹⁰⁰ In the perfect πέπτωκα. The stem πτω- is used in other derivatives of πίπτω, such as πτώσις, πτώμα.

¹⁰¹ A similar way of thinking may have resulted in the use of βασιλεύω in the following passages: βασιλεύσει μίαν ἐξ αὐτῶν (110, 16) (He will make one of them queen); εἰ μὲν ἔχει υἱόν, βασιλεύσει αὐτόν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἕτερον βασιλεύσει (175, 6-7) (If he has a son, he will make him king; if he does not have a son, he will make someone else king). The Arabic equivalent of this verb is ملك which in form I means "to reign" and in form IV "to make someone reign." The third person singular in the imperfect of both forms is spelled يملك. The primary meaning of βασιλεύω (the only possible in classical literature) is "to reign"; however, the meaning "to make someone king" occurs at least three times in patristic Greek texts (Basil of Seleucia, Ephraim the Syrian, and John of Nikiou). They all lived in areas where Semitic languages were spoken, and especially the works of Ephraim were originally written in Syriac and then translated into Greek. For references to these texts, see Lampe, s.v. "βασιλεύω".

¹⁰² See S. Skimina, *L'état actuel des études sur le rythme de la prose grecque II* (Lwow, 1930), pp. 5-6: "Un texte, divisé en unités logiques, présente à la fin de chaque phrase ou de chaque proposition une clause qui se distingue au point de vue rythmique du reste du texte. C'est le propre du rythme de la prose artistique, ou plutôt d'une tendance souvent inconsciente de chaque écrivain et que les théoriciens ont remarqué et condité depuis longtemps." The most recent and comprehensive publication on the subject is Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen*

in Byzantine authors of the high style, such as Synesios,¹⁰³ Procopios of Caesarea,¹⁰⁴ and Agathias.¹⁰⁵ Each author prefers a different rhythmical pattern. As to their variety, Skimina enumerated eighteen different types belonging to three different forms that are applied to the last two to six syllables of a colon or semi-colon.¹⁰⁶ The four examples of rhythmic phrases in the *Oneirocriticon* could be extended to comprise the last twelve to fifteen syllables at the end of the colons where they appear (the phrases that present rhythmical patterns are italicized):¹⁰⁷

πολύτροπός ἐστιν ἡ τῶν δένδρων κρίσις πολυσχεδής¹⁰⁸ γὰρ ἐστιν ἡ τῶν δενδροκάρπων φύσις. τὰ γοῦν φύλλα τῶν δένδρων εἰς τὴν διάθεσιν κρίνεται τῶν ἀνθρώπων· τὰ γὰρ εὐθαλῇ καὶ εὐτραφῇ εὐθύτητα γνώμης διασημαίνουσιν, τὰ δὲ ἀσθενῇ καὶ ρωδῇ καὶ μεμαραμμένα γνώμης διακρίνουσιν ἀσθενεῖς τρόπους.

The interpretation of trees is complex, since fruit-bearing trees by nature have many component parts. The leaves of the trees are interpreted as the disposition of men; those that are thriving and luxuriant indicate straightness of intent, but those that are declining and falling off and withering away signify the weakness of one's intent.

The rhythmical patterns discernible in the above excerpt can be analyzed as follows:

xxx~ // xxxx~ (twelve syllables, caesura after the 6th: ~~~~ // ~~~~)¹⁰⁹

xxxx~ // xxxx~ (fifteen syllables, caesura after the 7th: ~~~~ // ~~~~)

xxxxx~ // xx~ (twelve syllables, caesura after the 8th: ~~~~~ // ~~~)

xxxx~ // xxx~ (twelve syllables, caesura after the 7th: ~~~~~ // ~~~)

Literatur der Byzantiner (Vienna, 1981), including study of several authors from the Middle Byzantine period.

¹⁰³ N. Terzaghi, "Le clausole ritmiche negli opuscoli di Sinesio," *Didaskaleion* 1 (1912), pp. 205-319.

¹⁰⁴ H. B. Dewing, "The Accentual Cursus in Byzantine Greek Prose with Especial Reference to Procopius of Caesarea," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 14 (1910), pp. 415-66; A. W. De Groot, *Untersuchungen zum byzantinischen Prosarhythmus* (Groningen, 1918).

¹⁰⁵ G. Franke, *Quaestiones Agathianae* (Bratislava, 1914). For remarks on later Byzantine authors, see W. Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus*, pp. 47-152.

¹⁰⁶ Skimina, *L'état actuel*, p. 9; see also Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁷ Drexl 107, 5-12.

¹⁰⁸ Corrected by Charitonides, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. 233, to πολυσχιδής.

¹⁰⁹ The regular caesura in a Byzantine dodecasyllabic verse is after the fifth or the seventh syllable; cf. P. Maas, "Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber," *BZ* 11 (1903), pp. 278-323.

Every colon or semi-colon is preceded by a rhythmic phrase in two parts. The first part ends with a dactyl (---) and the second part with a trochee (---). The trochee of the first rhythmic phrase in the quotation (κρίσις) rhymes with the trochee of the rhythmic phrase that immediately follows it (φύσις) (*homoioleuton*). The last rhythmic phrase in the quotation constitutes a regular Byzantine dodecasyllabic verse with the caesura after the seventh syllable.¹¹⁰ Given that this is the only instance of colons ending with rhythmic patterns that I was able to identify in the *Oneirocriticon*, it might well be accidental. Or, if it is intentional, its rarity indicates that the author could not produce it with ease, so even in this case it does not necessarily reflect the author's familiarity with texts of the high style. The occurrence of rhythmic prose at the end of colons has been observed in texts read by the educated but not erudite Byzantine public; they include the chronicles of Theophanes and George the Monk and the writings of St. John of the Ladder.¹¹¹ Rhythmic patterns extending longer than the last six syllables of a colon also occur in the New Testament.¹¹²

Our author's work, though far from erudite, betrays a man with a Byzantine elementary education, familiar with such basic texts as Homer,¹¹³ and possibly

¹¹⁰ The Byzantine dreambook attributed to Patriarch Nikephoros is written in Byzantine dodecasyllabic verses, but the dodecasyllable of the *Oneirocriticon* cannot be found there, which indicates that it was neither lifted nor copied from somewhere else; see Nikephoros, ed. Guidorizzi, v. 56: κοπέντα δένδρα πτώσιν ἀνδρῶν μνηύει (repeated verbatim in v. 111 of the dreambook attributed to Patriarch Germanos, ed. Drexel). The interpretation of trees in the remaining Byzantine dreambooks do not coincide with the rhythmic passage of the *Oneirocriticon*, either: Nikephoros, ed. Guidorizzi, v. 78: Ξηρῶν φανέντων δένδρων ἐν κενοῖς πόνοι or κενοὶ οἱ κόποι. Daniel, ed. Drexel, vv. 121-123 and 127: Δένδρον καρποφόρον ἰδεῖν κέρδος σημαίνει./Δένδρα ξηρὰ ἰδεῖν ἀποτυχίαν σημαίνει, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ζημίαν καὶ δούλω κέρδος/Δένδρα ἐκρίζωμένα ἰδεῖν ἢ κατατέμνειν πολέμους καὶ πτώσιν κτηνῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων δηλοῖ/...Δένδρον ἀνθοῦντα ἰδεῖν πᾶσι καλὸν ἐστίν. 312: κλάδον ἀπὸ δένδρου κλάσαι φιλίαν ἀπώσασθαι <δηλοῖ>. Anonymous dreambook from *Paris. gr.* 2511, ed. Drexel, vv. 55-57: Δένδρα ἰδεῖν καρποφόρα εἰσοδὸν σημαίνει, ξηρὰ δὲ ἀποτυχίαν./ Δένδρα κοπτόμενα ἰδεῖν ἐλευθέρους μὲν ζημίαν, δούλοις δὲ κέρδος δηλοῖ/Δένδρα ἰδεῖν ἐκρίζουμένα πόλεμον καὶ πτώσιν ἀνθρώπων σημαίνει. Manuel Paleologos, ed. Delatte, chap. 14: Τὰ μέγιστα δένδρα εἰς εὐγενοὺς [*sic*] ἀνδρας κρίνεται καὶ γενναίους καὶ ἡ πτώσις αὐτῶν θάνατον ἐμφαίνει.

¹¹¹ See Skimina, *L'état actuel*, p. 24 (summarizing information originally found elsewhere). For elements of poetry, including rhythm, in the work of St. John of the Ladder, see J. Duffy, "Embellishing the Steps: Elements of Presentation and Style in the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus," *DOP* 53 (1999), pp. 1-17.

¹¹² Matthew 16:17-19; Matthew 28: 18-20; Luke 11:2-5; John 1:1-8; John 6:26-59; Romans 3:24-26; etc. For an analysis, see K. Mētsakēs, *Byzantinē hymnographia apo tēn epochē tēs Kainēs Diathēkēs heōs tēn Eikonomachia* (Athens, 1986), pp. 41-42.

¹¹³ It is even possible that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* had read some patristic texts that contain words such as αἰρεσιάρχης ("heresiarch"; Drexel 8, 21) and λογομάχος ("contender

with access to philological tools such as dictionaries, as is evident from his gloss on the word κνήμη; he may have dabbled in learned literature, though he was far from having mastered it. His readings from the Bible and especially, if not exclusively, the New Testament must have been much more extensive, since this is the most salient textual influence on his work, evident in the quotations, language and expressions employed. He also seems to have been familiar with ecclesiastical literature.

His Greek is influenced by Arabic, the language of his model, but this is not an unusual fault among translators. The Arabic translation of Artemidoros by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq is a pertinent example.¹¹⁴ Before deciding which language—Greek or Arabic—the author of the *Oneirocriticon* appears to have known better, it is important to keep in mind that too slavish a translation (reflecting word by word the language of the prototype and therefore resulting in solecisms in the language into which one translates) can be a choice made not because the translator has not mastered the language into which he is translating, but because he is unsure about the meaning of words in the language from which he is translating. This problem can be compounded when translating from a language such as Arabic, which, like Greek, has a literary idiom rather different from its spoken vernacular. Mastering the intricacies of classical Arabic required special schooling even for a native speaker, which individuals received in varying degrees. Among the four examples of too literal renderings from Arabic into Greek resulting in irregular Greek expressions, three are slavish renderings of grammatical phenomena that occur in literary Arabic, but which modern dialects tend to do away with, suggesting that at least some of the solecisms in the Greek translation might have been caused by the author's unease with classical Arabic.

One instance could be interpreted as an indication that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* was a native speaker of Greek who had learnt Arabic as a

about words, quibbler" and also "contender against the Logos", i.e. Arian; Drexel, 8, 21). The latter word was also used by Gregory of Nazianzus (see Lampe, s.v. "λογομάχος"), who was characterized as "the Christian Demosthenes" and was by far the most widely read patristic author in Byzantium.

¹¹⁴ Ḥunayn must have had native fluency in Arabic, because Arabic was the vernacular of his home town, al-Ḥira in Iraq. At the same time, he belonged to the Syrian Nestorian church, where Syriac was the language of the liturgy and of high Christian education. He translated from Greek into both Arabic and Syriac, and his predilection for Syriac, as opposed to Arabic, should not be considered as a sign of greater fluency in Syriac. As Ḥunayn himself explained in his writings, compared with Syriac or Greek or Persian, Arabic in his time lacked an adequate scientific vocabulary, which he and his students and colleagues helped foster with their translations. For further comments and references, see *EL*², s.v. "Ḥunayn b. Ishāq al-'Ibādī."

second language. The following passage from the *Oneirocriticon* includes an expression that is incomprehensible in Greek:¹¹⁵ 'Εάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι αἱ ρῖνες αὐτοῦ ἐφράγησαν καὶ οὐκ ὁσφραίνεται, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλεύς, νοεῖτω, ὅτι κινδυνεύσει ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀναφέρων ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πρῶτος τὰς κοσμικὰς διοικήσεις, διότι ἡ διάκρισις τῆς εὐοσμίας καὶ τῆς δυσωδίας διὰ τῆς ρινὸς ἐστὶ τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ (If someone dreams that his nostrils were obstructed and he could not smell, if he is king, he should know that the chief among those who report to him about secular administration¹¹⁶ will risk his life [?] because the intellect can distinguish between good and bad odors through the nose). The meaning of the phrase κινδυνεύσει ἐν αὐτῷ (rendered in our translation as "he will risk his life") is unclear. The combination κινδυνεύω ἐν (to risk in) does not appear in Greek dictionaries, and contemporary translators disagree as to how it should be understood.¹¹⁷ Once the Arabic provenance of the Greek text is taken into consideration, however, κινδυνεύσει ἐν αὐτῷ can be explained as too literal a rendering of the Arabic *خاطر بنفسه* (*khātara bi-nafsihi*) or *جازف بنفسه* (*jāzafa bi-nafsihi*) which is an expression meaning "to risk one's life," an expression the Greek author seems not to have known, since he translated each word literally and came up with "to risk in oneself."¹¹⁸

It is impossible to ascertain where the *Oneirocriticon* was composed. Though the profile of its author (a tenth-century Greek who had learnt Arabic and was conversant with biblical and ecclesiastical literature) seems to point to the monastic milieu of Sinai and Palestine, any suggestion that this was the world where the author belonged would be a conclusion hastily drawn. Not only monks living in Muslim lands but also former prisoners of war, traveling merchants, and residents of the eastern frontier of the empire all had the opportunity to learn Arabic. Biblical and ecclesiastical readings interested both men of religion and secular individuals. Even Constantinople cannot be excluded as a possibility, especially if the *Oneirocriticon* was compiled for an emperor, as suggested earlier. Unless further evidence appears it is unlikely we will ever know anything more definitive about the identity of the *Oneirocriticon's* author or the date and locale of its composition.

¹¹⁵ Drexl 36, 12-16.

¹¹⁶ It appears that the phrase ὁ ἀναφέρων ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πρῶτος τὰς κοσμικὰς διοικήσεις renders an office that did not exist in the Byzantine court (vizier, wali?).

¹¹⁷ Oberhelman, *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, p. 107, translates it as "will fall into danger along with him." Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, p. 51, renders it as "in Ungnade bei ihm fallen wird."

¹¹⁸ *khātara* = to risk = κινδυνεύσει; *bi* = in = ἐν; *nafsihi* = himself = αὐτῷ (ἐαυτῷ).

CHAPTER THREE

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION, TRANSLATIONS, AND EDITIONS

When Drexl published the critical edition of the *Oneirocriticon*, he knew of sixteen Greek manuscripts and based his text on eight of them. To these one can add another seven that contain parts and versions of this work, some long some short. I made no systematic effort to identify all of its extant manuscripts and therefore a few more manuscripts containing at least parts of the *Oneirocriticon* may have escaped my attention. When I set out to reexamine the manuscript tradition, my objective was not to establish a foundation for a new critical edition but to circumvent the limitations imposed by the existing one that make it difficult to use for investigating problems such as the identity and linguistic ability of the Greek author and the exact relationship of the Greek text to equivalent Arabic works. As grateful as one ought to be for the existing critical edition, especially considering the complicated and contaminated manuscript tradition of the work in question, it has also to be acknowledged that Drexl's text is, like all scholarly publications, very much a product of its time. As a result, its usefulness for my purposes was often compromised, not by the limitations of the editor's philological expertise, but by his adherence to criteria that today, after eighty more years of scholarship, seem anachronistic.

Drexl's text is regarded as inadequate, mainly because at the beginning of the twentieth century, the editorial technique adopted for Byzantine texts was the same as that applied to classical Greek texts: the existing manuscripts were classified into families of older and better (closer to the archetype) or *recentiores et deteriores*. They were subsequently arranged in a stemma and the choice of the different readings was often made mechanically, dictated by the stemma. Since then scholars have become aware that Byzantine scribes did not copy all kinds of texts with the same reverence.¹ For texts such as the Old and the New Testament, the writings of the Fathers of the Church and the canon of ancient authors every effort was made to ensure that the text copied was as close to the archetype as possible, often by collation and correction on the basis of more than one manuscript. *Volksliteratur*, on the other hand, along with scientific

¹ Cf. H.G. Beck, "Überlieferungsgeschichte der byzantinischen Literatur," *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, ed. H. Hunger et al., vol. 1 (Zurich, 1961), pp. 425-510.

and pseudo-scientific texts destined for practical consultation, was treated in a less formal way. The scribe, who in many cases was copying for his own use, felt free to deviate from his model at will by adding, subtracting, or paraphrasing, depending on what he judged to be appropriate for the future user's purposes. This "irreverent" attitude accounts for the confused and contaminated tradition of Byzantine texts on medicine, pharmacology, alchemy, astronomy, astrology, dream interpretation, and other forms of divination. The different attitude of the scribes toward different kinds of texts makes it not only inappropriate but also impossible to adopt the criteria developed for classical philology to the editing of Byzantine texts of the "unrevered" category. The weaknesses in Drexl's critical edition of the *Oneirocriticon* well illustrate this problem.

In the following pages I will try to demonstrate the importance of the newly surfaced data, including extant Arabic texts on dream interpretation, for textual criticism of the *Oneirocriticon*, and the need for a new critical edition. I will begin by presenting the seven Greek manuscripts that were unknown to Drexl. Discussion of the remaining sixteen will be limited to observations not made in Drexl's publications and resulting from my own examination of the relevant manuscripts. The Latin versions of the *Oneirocriticon* will also be discussed, as their importance in shaping Western medieval tradition on dream interpretation can hardly be overestimated. The problems of Drexl's edition will be pointed out, and the guidelines along which a new critical edition can be planned will be indicated.

Greek Manuscripts

Paris. Suppl. gr. 690. 11th century, parchment, 258 fols., 24 cm × 19 cm, anthology of texts.²

Paris. Suppl. gr. 690 is a collection of 94 texts representing a wide variety of authors and literary genres. It has been in the Bibliothèque Nationale since 1859, but the only adequate description of it was not published until 1950.³ It is important for the manuscript tradition of numerous Greek works. It is a *de luxe* volume, though it has no illuminations and its ornamentation is simple,

² For a detailed description of the manuscript and a report on its contents, see G. Rochefort, "Une anthologie grecque du XIe siècle," pp. 3-17.

³ *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690* was brought from Mount Athos to Paris by Minas Minoides in 1842 and was obtained by the Bibliothèque Nationale upon his death in 1859; see G. Rochefort, "Une anthologie grecque du XIe siècle."

consisting of titles and initials written in gold ink. According to G. Rochefort, it must have been written between 1075 and 1085.

Fols. 123v-132v comprise a collection of short texts on dream interpretation that was discussed by D. Gigli in 1981;⁴ it includes an abridged version of the *Oneirocriticon* on fols. 125-129, which constitutes its oldest known surviving version.⁵

The abridgment in the Paris anthology bears the title "Ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων" (From the Indians, Persians and Egyptians); no author is indicated.⁶ The distinction between the dream interpretations of the Indians, Persians and Egyptians is made only in the title and does not appear in the chapter headings, as it does in Drexl's text. Moreover, the titles and the order of the various paragraphs are in several instances very different from the critical edition, and some of the paragraphs are missing altogether. The interpretations given are schematic and comparable to those in the dreambook of Daniel. Gigli observes that "a compendium of this type would correspond to a popular dissemination, in which schematic treatises are easier to use and to consult" and points to passages from the abridgment where the epitomist admits that his work is not meant for the professional dream interpreter (fol. 125r, col. 1): Περὶ γὰρ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὰ κρίσεως ποικίλης οὔσης ἐσιωπήσαμεν, τῷ ὄνειροκρίτῃ τὴν ταύτης κρίσιν παραχωρήσαντες (We have been silent on the subject of the difference between the kinds [of dreams] and their various interpretations, ceding the judgment about this to the dream interpreter).⁷

Gigli collected all the instances where the text of *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690* implies the possibility of new variants, or contains notes and interpretations that are absent from the other manuscripts of the *Oneirocriticon*.⁸ In particular, he identified a number of variants in *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690* that confirmed readings that were rejected by Drexl and were only included in the apparatus to the critical edition, or that offer a better text than the other Greek manuscripts

⁴ D. Gigli, "Gli onirocritici del cod. *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690*," *Prometheus* 4 (1981), pp. 65-86, esp. 79-86, and 173-88.

⁵ Drexl incorrectly considered *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr. 111* of the 13th century to be the oldest surviving Greek manuscript of the text.

⁶ Gigli, "Gli onirocritici del cod. *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690*," p. 85, suggested that the lack of author's name and the "generic" title of the work indicate that the epitomist distanced himself from his model. However, further evidence from the Greek and Latin manuscript tradition indicates that the epitomist simply copied the title of the work as he found it in his model.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-85.

known to him.⁹ A further instance shows that Drexl was correct to insert in his main text an interpretation not attested by the Greek manuscripts but found in the Latin translation of Leo Tuscus.¹⁰ With reference to the two main branches in the manuscript tradition of the *Oneirocriticon* distinguished by Drexl, *x* (= *codd. meliores*) and *y* (= *codd. deteriores*), Gigli noted that the abridgment includes readings that belong to both branches. He therefore suggested that the epitomist based his abridgment either on one single model with contaminated readings from both branches of the manuscript tradition as described by Drexl, or on a number of different models belonging to both the *x* and the *y* branches of the tradition.

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Second, additional evidence from *Vat. gr. 573* and the twelfth-century Latin adaptation of Pascalis Romanus also leads to the conclusion that the Greek archetype was longer than Drexl's critical edition.¹⁶

The Greek archetype was an adaptation of Arabic material, the foreign character of which left clear traces in some of its passages. The abridgment in *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690*, on the other hand, provides a text that is not only shorter, but also purged of its exotic details, so it has lost much of its foreign flavor. References to concepts that would have been unfamiliar and possibly irreconcilable to a Byzantine reader were eliminated. For example, the epitomist eliminated the numerous allusions to polygamy that can still be found throughout the critical edition;¹⁷ he chose to retain the interpretation of the five fingers as representing acts of piety, though their interpretation as the five daily prayers, an Islamic religious duty, was eliminated.¹⁸ Further on, only three of the planets are given a specific interpretation; the remaining four, which, in the critical

¹⁶ See also the introductory note to Appendix 2 and the interpretation of eating honey discussed in chapter 5.

¹⁷ There is, however, one exception. In the interpretation of ribs (fol. 126r, col. 1) a reference to polygamy was retained, probably because the epitomist failed to understand the meaning of the term γνήσιαι γυναῖκες (legitimate wives), which makes sense only in the context of Islamic law, with which he was unfamiliar. Γνήσιαι γυναῖκες must correspond to the women whom it is lawful for one to marry according to Islam, while αἱ ἐκ γένους συγγενεῖς (blood relatives) must be the women that a Muslim is prohibited from marrying because of their degree of kinship to him (see Qur'an 4:23-24). The interpretation of ribs in the abridgment reads as follows: αἱ πλευραὶ γυναῖκας σημαίνουσιν, αἱ μὲν ἄνω μέγιστα γνησίας, αἱ δὲ κάτω γυναῖκας συγγενεῖς (The ribs signify women; the upper, larger ribs legitimate wives, and the bottom ribs women who are relatives). Cf. Drexl 55, 5-8: αἱ πλευραὶ εἰσιν αἱ γυναῖκες· αἱ μὲν ἄνω, αἱ μέγιστα, γνήσιαι γυναῖκες εἰσιν, αἱ δὲ κάτω αἱ ἐκ γένους εἰσὶν συγγενεῖς (The ribs are the women; the upper, larger ribs are the legitimate wives, and the bottom ones are the relatives from the same family). The Arabic dreambooks I have checked all agree that "a rib is a woman, because she was created from a rib" (Ibn Qutayba from Jerusalem, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 30a). The creation of Eve from the rib of Adam as narrated in Genesis 2:21-23 was known to Muslims through religious traditions and theological commentaries; see, e.g., Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* (Cairo, 1935), p. 7. I have been unable to find an Arabic dreambook that differentiates between upper and lower ribs, though I believe that this differentiation was made in the Arabic source of the Greek passage. Artemidoros does not write anything about dreaming of ribs.

¹⁸ *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690*, fol. 125v, col. 2: οἱ δάκτυλοι εἰς τὰ ἔργα κρίνονται τῆς πίστεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. (The fingers are interpreted as a person's acts of faith). Cf. Drexl 45, 11 ff: Αἱ χεῖρες καὶ οἱ δάκτυλοι εἰς τὰ ἔργα τῆς πίστεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων διακρίνονται ... καὶ πρῶτος ὁ μέγας τῶν δακτύλων κρίνεται εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ ὁρθροῦ, δεύτερος ἦτοι ὁ λιχανὸς εἰς τῆς τρίτης ὥρας τὴν εὐχὴν κρίνεται, τρίτος ὁ μέσος τῆς ἑκτης ὥρας, ὁ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἦτοι ὁ τέταρτος τῆς ἐνάτης ὥρας, πέμπτος ὁ ἐλάχιστος τῆς ἑσπερινῆς εὐχῆς (The hands and fingers signify a person's acts of faith The thumb signifies the morning prayer; the forefinger, the prayer of the third hour; the middle finger, the prayer of the sixth hour; the ring finger, the prayer of the ninth hour; the little finger, the evening prayer). For further discussion on the interpretation of fingers, see chapter 7.

edition, correspond to officials not of the Byzantine but of the caliphal court, are given a more general interpretation.¹⁹ *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690* also omits the name of a "Saracen" sweet that is interpreted as sickness because of its color, leaving the shortened interpretation somewhat obscure.²⁰ Further abbreviated interpretations that occur in *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690* are similarly obscured by the omission of details indispensable for understanding the passage.²¹

It is impossible to know when the abridgment was made. The text in *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690* was not created ad hoc. A model for it already existed, as is obvious from scribal errors.²² The only secure *terminus ante quem* for the

¹⁹ *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690*, fol. 127r, col. 2: ὁ ἥλιος εἰς πρόσωπον κρίνεται τοῦ βασιλέως, ἡ σελήνη εἰς τὸ δεύτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πρόσωπον. Ἡ Ἀφροδίτη εἰς τὸ τῆς αὐγούστης λογίζεται. Οἱ λοιποὶ πλανῆται εἰς τοὺς μεγιστάνας (The sun is interpreted as the person of the king, the moon as the second most important person after the king. Venus is reckoned as the queen. The rest of the planets as noblemen). Cf. Drexl 129, 8 and 129, 12-18: ὁ ἥλιος εἰς μέγαν βασιλέα κρίνεται Καὶ ἡ σελήνη, ὡς εἴρηται, εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ δευτέρου ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη εἰς πρόσωπον τῆς Αὐγούστης· καὶ ὁ Ἑρμῆς εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ πρώτου τῶν γραφέων τοῦ βασιλέως κρίνεται καὶ ὁ Ἄρης εἰς τὸν πρῶτον πολεμιστὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς εἰς τὸν πρῶτον τοῦ πλοῦτου καὶ τῆς διοικήσεως τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ὁ Κρόνος εἰς <τὸν> πρῶτον ποιναστὴν καὶ παιδευτὴν διακρίνεται (The sun is interpreted as a great king The moon, as was mentioned, is the person who is second in authority after the king, and Venus is the queen. Mercury is interpreted as the chief among the scribes of the king, Mars as the chief warrior of the king, Jupiter as the one in charge of the wealth, administration and gold of the king, and Saturn is interpreted as the chief punisher and chastiser). For further discussion on the interpretation of the sun, the moon and the stars, see chapter 5.

²⁰ *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690*, fol. 128r, col. 2: ἡ βρώσις τῶν φοινίκων ἀγαθὸν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ μέλιτος καὶ τοῦ σάχαρ. τὸ δὲ γλύκισμα νόσον διὰ τὸ χρῶμα (Eating dates, as well as honey and sugar, is a good thing, but a sweetmeat signifies sickness because of its color). Cf. Drexl 198, 3-5: εἰ δὲ τρώγει γλύκισμα σαρακηνικὸν τὸ λεγόμενον παλουδάκιν, εὐρήσει νόσον διὰ τὰ χρώματα καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀναλόγως τῆς βρώσεως (If he is eating the Saracen sweetmeat called *paloudakin*, he will find sickness commensurate with what he ate because of the colors and the fire). In the abridgment, note that νόσον in the accusative is an inconsistency in syntax, probably carelessly carried over from its model.

²¹ E.g., *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690*, fol. 128r, col. 1: τὰ ποδόρτια εἰς μισθοποίησιν πτωχῶν κρίνονται, ἀναλόγως τῆς εὐωδίας ἢ δυσωδίας αὐτῶν (Slippers are interpreted as giving charity to the poor, depending on their pleasant or foul smell). Cf. Drexl 176, 5-8: εἰς τὴν εὐωδίαν εἰς τὴν εὐωδίαν εἰς τὴν εὐωδίαν εἰς τὴν εὐωδίαν, ὅτι περιεβάλετο ποδόρτια νέα εὐωδίαν ἔχοντα, μισθοποιήσει πτωχοῖς ἐκ τῆς ὑπάρξεως αὐτοῦ, εἰ δὲ δυσωδίαν ἔχοντα, φήμην κακὴν εὐρήσει διὰ τὸ δυσώδες ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ (If someone dreams that he was wearing new slippers that had a pleasant smell, he will give charity to the poor out of his own fortune. If they had a foul smell, he will earn a bad reputation on account of his charity because of the foul smell). Also *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690*, fol. 128v, col. 1: ὁ ἰστός τῳ μὲν τούτου συνήθως κέρδος σημαίνει, ἀφάνεια τῳ δὲ ἀνάστασιν (The loom is usually a sign of profit, but invisibility is a sign of resurrection). Cf. Drexl 215, 9-10: εἰς τὴν εὐωδίαν εἰς τὴν εὐωδίαν εἰς τὴν εὐωδίαν, ὅτι ὑφαίνει ἐν οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ συνήθως, εὐρήσει ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτοῦ κέρδος ἀνάλογον τοῦ ἔργου τῆς ἀνατάσεως (If someone dreams that he was weaving in his house, if he usually does this, he will find profit in his work in proportion to the amount of work stretched out on the loom).

²² Changing a preposition in the first part of a composite verb in *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690*, fol.

composition of this model remains 1075-85, the date of *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690.

Vat. gr. 573.²³ 14th and 15th century, paper, 380 fols., 22 cm × 14 cm., anthology of 31 miscellaneous texts, put together from 7 parts of various manuscripts in 7 different hands.

The *Oneirocriticon* is found on fols. 120r-213v, which belongs to part 5 of the manuscript (fols. 46-214).²⁴ The watermarks of this part suggest that it was written in the fifteenth century.²⁵ It is followed by a prayer that was pronounced before asking for a dream to be interpreted, a list of the days and hours most auspicious for dreams, and an anonymous lunar dreambook (fols. 213v-214v).²⁶ The scribe copied the text of the *Oneirocriticon* from a model with numerous lacunae. He therefore left a number of pages blank in his copy, apparently hoping to find a model that preserved the missing passages so he could complete the text later.

The text of the *Oneirocriticon* as it stands in *Vat. gr.* 573 cannot be put into either of the two families of texts identified by Drexel in his critical edition ($x = \text{codd. meliores}$; $y = \text{codd. deteriores}$). It contains readings that indicate its affinity with both families, though examples putting it close to the y family are more numerous.²⁷ *Vat. gr.* 573 contains a few interpretations that are absent

126v, col. 2: εἰς τὴν ἱερέα ἴδῃ ἐστολισμένον ἐν τινὶ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἱερέα προέρχεσθαι instead of εἰσέρχεσθαι. Cf. Drexel 103, 26-27: εἰς τὴν ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν ἱερεὺς ἐστολισμένος ἐν τόπῳ, οὐ οὐκ ἦν τύπος εἰσέρχεσθαι αὐτόν ... Transposition of words in *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690, fol. 128r, col. 1: τὸ καμελαύκιον ἦτοι εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τὸν δεσπύζοντα τοῦ ὁρώντος ἀνάγεται instead of τὸ καμελαύκιον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἦτοι τὸν δεσπύζοντα τοῦ ὁρώντος ἀνάγεται. Cf. Drexel 168, 15-17: εἰς τὴν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι φορεῖ καμελαύκιον ... τοῦτο εἰς τὴν ὑπερέχουσαν αὐτοῦ κρίνεται κεφαλὴν. The abridgment must have been in circulation long enough for the word πίστιν to change into πικρίαν (*Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690, fol. 127r, col. 1; see Gigli, "Gli onirocritici del cod. *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690," p. 83).

²³ This report is based on my examination of fols. 120r-214v in microfilm, and on the description of the manuscript by R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, vol. 2 [codd. 330-603], (Rome, 1937), pp. 469-77.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 477.

²⁵ The watermarks are discussed *ibid.*

²⁶ For the prayer and the lunar dreambook in *Vat. gr.* 573, see also the description of the Oxford *Baroccianus* 206 (13th-14th century), fol. 232 in *CCAG*, vol. 9, p. 24. The *incipit* and *desinit* of this section of *Baroccianus* 206 seem to indicate that its text might coincide with that of *Vat. gr.* 573, but I have not examined the *Baroccianus* and cannot be sure.

²⁷ Examples from the first ten pages of the critical edition that show *Vat. gr.* 573 to belong to y : *Vat. gr.* 573 has πυκτὸς for πυκνὸς (2, 16); ἐνηλλαγμένη for εὐαγγελιζομένη (2, 1); Βαραάμ for Βαράμ (2, 26); βλέπων for προβλέπων (5, 6); τοῦ λαοῦ προσεύχεται ἢ ὑπερεύχεται for τοῦ λαοῦ ὑπερεύχεται (9, 13); πλουσίας for προστασίας (10, 2); φανερωθήσεται for φωραθήσεται

from Drexel's text and can be as long as half a manuscript page. The longest additions are the following:

1. *Vat. gr.* 573, fols. 162v-163r, to be added after Drexel 105, 11, ρμθ' Περὶ ἱερέων (chapter 159, "On Priests"). In *Vat. gr.* 573 the excerpt is titled Περὶ ἱερέων καὶ μοναχῶν. ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν (On Priests and Monks, from the Indians):

Γυνὴ εἰάν ἴδῃ ὅτι ἐγένετο ἱερεὺς καὶ συνελειτούργει ἱερεῖ, ταχὺ ἀποθανεῖται, καὶ σωθήσεται. εἰάν τις ἴδῃ ὅτι συνάντησε τινὰ μοναχὸν φορῶντα σταυρὸν ὑπογεγραμμένον ὡς μεγαλόσχημον, εἰ μὲν ὠμίλησεν αὐτῷ γλυκεῖα καὶ χρηστά, ἰδοὺ κρατεῖται οὕτως· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοῦναντίον. εἰ δὲ ἔτυπεν αὐτόν ὁ τοιοῦτος μοναχὸς, εὐρήσει χάριν ὁ ἰδὼν, εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, παρὰ ἀγίου. ὁ γὰρ μοναχὸς ὁ σεσημειωμένος εἰς ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ κρίνεται. καὶ ἅπερ τυφθῇ ἐξ ἐκείνου, δωρεὰ ἐστὶ ἀγίου τινός. Εἰ δὲ ἔστι μοναχὸς ἐκτὸς σημείου σταυροῦ ὑπογεγραμμένου ἢ μεγαλοσχήματος μόνου ῥασοφόρου, εἰ μὲν ἔστι γέρον, εἰς καιρὸν κακὸν κρίνεται. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁμιλεῖ αὐτῷ καλῶς καὶ εὐτάκτως, ἢ ἐδίδου αὐτῷ τι δόμα, ὡς πρὸς τὸ δόμα, μέλλει εὐρεῖν, ἀναλόγως τοῦ δόματος καὶ τοῦ πράγματος, μεμετρημένον καλόν. εἰ δὲ ἔστιν ὁ μοναχὸς νέος, καὶ ἐπολέμει καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς τὸν γέροντα εἰς νόσημα ἀνίατον μέλλει ἐμπεσεῖν. εἰ δὲ ἔκρουεν οὗτος τὸν μεγαλόσχημον, μέλλει οὗτος δώσειν θυσίαν καὶ παράκλησιν πρὸς ἄγιον τινὰ ὁ ἰδὼν ἀναλόγως τοῦ δαρμοῦ. εἰ δὲ ἔδαιρε τὸν νέον, ζημιωθήσεται παρ' ἐχθροῦ.

If a woman dreams that she became a priest and performed the liturgy together with a priest, she will die and be saved. If someone dreams that he met a monk wearing the sign of the cross like monks of the higher order [do, and] if [the monk] talked to [the dreamer] in sweet and kind words, let the dreamer hold on to them. If not, the opposite. If this monk beat him, the dreamer's soul will receive the grace of a saint, for a monk wearing the cross is interpreted as a man of God. And whatever beating the dreamer suffered from the monk is a spiritual benefit from a saint. If the monk did not wear the sign of the cross, and did not have the long habit of monks of the higher order, but was only wearing his cassock, if he was old, this is interpreted as a bad circumstance. If he talked to the dreamer in a nice and orderly manner, or gave him something, the dreamer will obtain something moderately good, commensurate with the [monk's] gift. If the monk was young and fought with the dreamer, the dreamer will fall ill with an incurable sickness, as if he were an old man. If the dreamer beat the monk with the long habit of the higher order, he will make an offering and address a request to a saint commensurate with the blows. If he beat the young [monk], he will be harmed by an enemy.

2. *Vat. gr.* 573, fol. 183v, to be added after Drexel 157, 28, at the end of σ' Ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ μόνον περὶ ὁπώρας παντοίας (chapter 200, "From the Persians Alone, on All Kinds of Fruit"):

(11, 23). In the same pages there are only three examples that indicate the affinity of *Vat. gr.* 573 with x : *Vat. gr.* 573 has βασιλέως for φαραώ (4, 12); ἀγαπηθήσεται for ἀγαθοποιηθήσεται (9, 13); εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐτελείωσε (11, 7).

Περὶ κασάνων: τὰ κάστανα, εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας κρίνονται· ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις ὅτι ἔτρωγε κάστανα χλωρά, γινωσκέτω ὅτι ἡμέρας καλὰς μέλλει διαδραμεῖν· ἐὰν γοῦν εἰσὶ πολλά, ἔστω ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ πλείων· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὀλίγη· εἰ δὲ ἦν ξηρά, ἡμέραι κακαὶ εἰσὶ καὶ στεναί. εἰ δὲ εἶδεν τινὰ ἡ ἐδίδου αὐτῷ, ἔτεραι ἡμέραι ἢ καλαὶ ἢ κακαὶ εἰσὶν ὡς πρὸς τὰ κάστανα. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ σκωλήκια τοῦ μεταξίου, εἰς ἡμέρας κρίνονται. ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις ὅτι ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων καρπῶν εἴτε ἀμύγδαλα ἀπὸ βασιλέως, εἰ μὲν εἰσὶ χλωρά, εἴτε μῆνας εἴτε ἡμέρας κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τούτων, μέλλει διαβιβάσειν καιρὸν καλόν. εἰ δὲ εἰσὶ ξηρά, γινωσκέτω ὅτι μέλλει ἀποθανεῖν ὡς εἴρηται εἰς τοσοῦτον καιρὸν κατὰ τὸ μέτρον.

On chestnuts: chestnuts are interpreted as days and nights. If someone dreams that he was eating fresh chestnuts, let him know that he is about to go through good days. If they are many, his life will be longer. If they were dry, the days will be bad and dire. If he dreamt of someone or gave him [chestnuts (?)],²⁸ these are other days, either good or bad, depending on the [kind of] chestnuts. Likewise, silk worms are interpreted as days. If someone dreams that he received such fruits or almonds from a king, if they are fresh he will have good times for months or days commensurate to the number [of the nuts]. If they are dry, let him know that he will die, as was said, in a period of time commensurate [with the number of nuts].

3. *Vat. gr. 573*, fol. 209v, to be added after Drexl 230, 21, in σπβ "Ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων περὶ σφηκῶν καὶ μελισσῶν ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων (chapter 282, "From the Indians, Persians and Egyptians on Wasps and Wild and Domesticated Bees"):

ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις ὅτι εὗρεν μέλι μετὰ κηρίου αὐτοῦ, εὐρήσει ἀνάλογον τοῦ μέλιτος πλοῦτον. πλὴν δέ, μετὰ βίας ὀλίγης. εἰ δὲ εὗρε μέλι καὶ ἔφαγεν αὐτό, γινωσκέτω ὅτι διασυντόμως θέλει ἰδεῖν τὸ μέλλον αὐτοῦ, κὰν τε καλόν, εἴτε ἐναντίον. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ ὅτι εὗρεν ἢ ἤρεν ἢ ἔφερον αὐτῷ μέλι ἐψητὸν ἢτοι γλύκισμα μετὰ ἄρρωμάτων, εὐρήσει θλίψιν καὶ στενοχωρίαν, ἀναλόγως τοῦ γλυκίσματος. εἰ δὲ ἐκτὸς ἄρρωμάτων ἐστίν, ἐλαττοτέρα ἢ κρίσις ἐστὶ τῆς θλίψεως καὶ στενοχωρίας. ὁμοίως ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις ὅτι εὗρε κηρία σβεστά μικρά καὶ ἀπῆρεν αὐτὰ, γινωσκέτω ὁ τοιοῦτος, ὅτι διασυντόμως μέλλει ἀποθανεῖν. εἰ δὲ εἰσὶν ἀπτόμενα, εὐρήσει χαρὰν καὶ ἀγαλλίασιν, ἀναλόγως τῶν κηρίων. πλὴν ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ. εἰ δὲ μὴ, τούναντίον. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ ὅτι ἔσχε λαμπάδας, αἱ λαμπάδες, εἰς καιροὺς κρίνονται, καὶ ἄρχοντας. εἰ δὲ σβεσταὶ εἰσὶν, εἰς μῆνας τόσους, ἀναλόγως τῶν λαμπάδων, μέλλει ἀποθανεῖν.

If someone dreams that he found honey with its honeycomb, he will find wealth commensurate with the honey, though through the use of some violence. If he

²⁸ There seems to be a lacuna in this part of the Greek text.

found honey and ate it, let him know that he will soon meet with his future, whether good or bad. If he dreamt that he found or took or was brought baked honey, that is, a dessert with spices, he will find sorrow and trouble commensurate with the dessert. If it was without spices, the interpretation of sorrow and trouble is more moderate. Likewise, if someone dreams that he found small, extinguished candles and took them, let such a person know that he will soon die. If they were lit, he will find joy and delight commensurate with the candles. Save for the smoke [*sic*]. If not, the opposite [?].²⁹ If he sees that he had torches, the torches are interpreted as time and noblemen. If they were extinguished, he will die in as many months as there are torches.

4. *Vat. gr. 573*, fol. 201r-v, to be added after Drexl 207, 26, in σνβ' "Ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν περὶ ὁσμῶν καὶ ὀρχημάτων, αὐλήσεως καὶ κιθάρας (chapter 252, "From the Persians on Songs and Dances, Playing the Flute and the Cithara"):

ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις ὅτι ἔκρουε βούκινα εἰς αὐλὴν τινός, ἦτοι εἰς κάστρον, γινωσκέτω εἰς ὄντινα παίζουσι τὰ τοιαῦτα, μέλλει ἀποθανεῖν ἢ κινδυνεύσειν ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ, ἢ καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν ἐμβληθήσεται. εἰ δὲ εἰς πόλεμον ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις ἐκείνη, στενοχωρηθήσεται παρ' ἐχθρῶν. εἰ δὲ ἔστιν ἀνακαράς, ἀναμφιβόλως, εἰς θάνατον κρίνεται. ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἣν παίζουσιν ἀνακαράδες, θανατικὸν μέλλει γενέσθαι, καὶ ἀκουσθήσεται. ἡ δὲ ζαμάρα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, εἰς ὕβρεις καὶ ἀτιμίας κρίνονται.

If someone dreams that he was sounding horns in someone's court, that is, in a castle, let him know that the person for whom such instruments were played will die, or his life and glory will be endangered, or he will be thrown into prison. If that city is at war, the enemy will bring it to dire straits. If the instrument is an *anakaras*,³⁰ it is undoubtedly interpreted as death. Likewise, in a city where *anakarades* are played, a plague will take place and will be heard. The *zamara*³¹ and the other [instruments] are interpreted as offense and dishonesty.

Three additional interpretations are not unique to *Vat. gr. 573*, but are also found in *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690*. Right after the paragraph on the interpretation of crabs and other crustaceans (Drexl, chap. 300) and before the last paragraph on the theory of dream interpretation (Drexl, chap. 301), two brief interpretations are inserted: Περὶ ψύλλων καὶ φθειρῶν (On Lice and Fleas) and περὶ ἁλατος (On Salt). These interpretations also appear at the very end of the relevant passage in *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690* (fol. 129r, col. 1): Αἱ ψύλλαι εἰς ἐχθροὺς πτωχοὺς κρίνονται. Ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ ὀλίγοι φθειρες. Οἱ δὲ

²⁹ Possible lacuna in the Greek text.

³⁰ A small drum having a hemispheric body of copper or wood.

³¹ A wind instrument consisting of two pipes.

πολλοὶ πλοῦτον δηλοῦσι. Τὸ δὲ ἄλλας καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς πλοῦτον ἡδὺν ἐκρίθη (Lice are interpreted as poor enemies. A few fleas [are interpreted] likewise, while many fleas indicate wealth. Salt is also interpreted as pleasant wealth).

Vat. gr. 573 contains none of the other interpretations found in *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690*, but absent from Drexl. It is impossible to know whether the brief interpretations on lice, fleas and salt at the end of the *Oneirocriticon* were added by the scribe of *Vat. gr. 573* who, as is indicated by the blank spaces left at various places in the manuscript, was looking out for a copy that would allow him to fill in the lacunae in his text, or whether it already existed in his model. But whoever made this addition seems to have had both a long and an abridged version of the *Oneirocriticon* at hand, but not to have compared the two very carefully, probably because he did not expect to find anything new in the abridgment. Possibly, after a brief examination of the two texts, he only spotted the three additional interpretations that appear at the very end of the abridgment under a separate heading. Since finding the other additions to the abridgment requires a thorough and careful examination of the two texts in their entirety, he added to the text that he was copying only those extra interpretations that were easy to spot.

Bononiensis (Bibliothecae Universitatis) 3632. 14 December 1440, paper, 475 fols., 29.6 cm × 21.9 cm. A number of epistolary formulae appear on the first six folia; most of the rest of the first half of the manuscript (up to fol. 266) contains an assortment of medical texts. The second half is an anthology of texts pertaining to the occult sciences: astronomy (including a glossary on the Arabic names of the signs of the zodiac on fols. 327v-329), magic, and geomancy.³² The *Oneirocriticon* is on fols. 442r-467r.

This manuscript contains only part of the *Oneirocriticon*. The sequence of chapters differs greatly from the one in Drexl's critical edition,³³ but is the

³² For descriptions of *Bononiensis (Bibl. Univ.)* 3632, see Chester Charlton McCown, *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 21-25; also A. Olivieri and N. Festa, "Indice dei codici greci delle Biblioteche Universitaria e Comunale di Bologna," *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 3 (1895), pp. 442-56; rpt. C. Samberger and D. Raffin, eds., *Catalogi codicum graecorum qui in minoribus bibliothecis italicis asservantur in duo volumina collati et novissimis additamentis aucti* (Leipzig, 1965). A description of the contents from fol. 266 onward can be found in *CCAG*, vol. 4, pp. 39-46.

³³ On the index of chapters on fol. 442 is written: α πρόλογος τοῦ σπρίμ τοῦ ονηρωκρίτου· β ἐκ τὸν ἡνδῶν σκέψις κρίσεως ὀνειράτων· γ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τὸν ἡνδῶν περὶ κρίσεως ὀνείρων· δ ἐκ τὸν ἡνδῶν περὶ νεφελῶν· ε περὶ ἀνέμων· ς περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστέρων· περὶ βροχῆς· η περὶ πυλοῦ καὶ δισωδίας· θ διήγησις ὀνειράτος· ι διήγησις ἐτέρας· ια περὶ θερμὸν ὑδατῶν· ιβ περὶ ποτηρίου· ιγ περὶ πλήθους· ιδ περὶ ἀναστασεως· ιε περὶ παραδίσου.

same as that in *Paris. gr. 2419*, which allows us to conclude that the two manuscripts belong to the same branch of the manuscript tradition.

The *Bononiensis* is the only illustrated manuscript among the Greek manuscripts of the *Oneirocriticon* that I have examined. The portraits of the four dream interpreters mentioned in the text (Syrbacham, Baram, Tarphan and Sēreim), each labeled with his name, appear on fol. 443v, between the table of contents and the beginning of the text. Other parts of the manuscript containing different texts are also illustrated with analogous portraits of authors. The organization of the pictorial composition on fol. 443v and a comparison with the other portraits in the manuscript indicate that this illustration was not conceived to accompany the text of the *Oneirocriticon*; rather, it was borrowed from the illustrations of some other text, and the figures were relabeled to make it relevant to the context of the *Oneirocriticon*.

British Library *Additicius* 8240.³⁴ 17th century, paper, 149 fols., 15 × 9 cm., written in various hands. The manuscript contains an assortment of dreambooks. It was put together from a number of different manuscripts, and contains a collection of various texts. It once belonged (as no. 421) to Frederic North, fifth Earl of Guilford (1766-1827),³⁵ and before him to the eighteenth-century Phanariot intellectual Nikolaos Karatzas.³⁶

The volume, as it is bound today, contains a wide variety of texts ranging from a description of the Holy Land combined with a number of *gnomologia*, to a treatise on meter in ancient Greek poetry, and an exposition of the doctrinal differences between the Orthodox and the Latins. It also contains three texts

ις περὶ γεέννης· ιζ περὶ ἀγγέλων· ιη περὶ προφητῶν ἀποστολῶν καὶ διδασκαλῶν· ιθ περὶ πίστει· κ περὶ κρητῶν, etc.

³⁴ The most comprehensive description of the manuscript and its contents can be found in *CCAG*, vol. 9:2, pp. 28-29. Its description in *List of Additions Made to the Collections in the British Museum in the Year 1831* (London, 1833), p. 6, is inadequate. My information is either found in the relevant manuscript catalogues or is based on my examination of the manuscript.

³⁵ Frederick North, fifth Earl of Guilford, was a well known philhellene and chancellor of the Ionian University of Corfu. Upon his death in 1827 his various collections, including his collection of manuscripts, were bequeathed to the Ionian University, but were recovered by his executors, because the university failed to comply with certain conditions set down in the bequest. Some of the Guilford manuscripts ended up in the British Museum as *Add. 8240*, 20016-17, 20036-7, 27430-1; see *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 14, p. 610. On the manuscripts owned by Frederic North, see also B. Mpompou-Stamatē, "Hē bibliothēkē Guilford stēn Kerkyra (1824-1830)," *Ho Eranistēs* 20 (1995), pp. 97-162; and M. Paizē-Anagnostopoulou, "Hē bibliothēkē tou N. Karatza kai to cheirographo *Paris. Suppl. gr. 1375*," *Hellēnika* 49:1 (1999), pp. 69-70.

³⁶ See G. Papazoglou, "Cheirographa tou Nikolaou Karatza eis tēn bibliothēkēn tou Brettanikou Mouseiou (allote cheirographa Guilford)," *EEBS* 49 (1994-98), pp. 247-48.

on dream interpretation,³⁷ one of which, on fols. 124v-126v, is an excerpt from the *Oneirocriticon* (fol. 124v inc.: 'Εκ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων περὶ διαφόρων εἰδῶν. 'Εάν ἴδῃ τις ὅτι ἀπεπλύθη καὶ ἔβαλεν ἱμάτια...; fol. 126v des.: τέξει θυγατέρα). This excerpt corresponds to Drexl 203, 27-205, 26 (chapter 247).³⁸ Compared with the text in Drexl's critical edition, the excerpt in *Additicius* 8240 presents frequent variant readings. These variants link BL *Additicius* 8240 to Rigault's edition of 1603 and its source, *Paris. gr.* 2538.

The excerpt from the *Oneirocriticon* is immediately followed by two sentences that do not appear in Drexl's edition and seem to belong to another text:

τῆς ἀγάπης ἴδιον φησὶ τῶν τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ζηλούντων, μίαν ἀποδεῖξαι γνώμην. τῶν νοητῶν διαβάς, τὴν οὐσίαν ὁ νοῦς ἀνόητος γίνεται, θεῶ προσβάλλων ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ὅτι κατ' οὐσίαν, καὶ γνῶσιν, καὶ νόησιν, διὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαπῶμεν τὰ πάθη, ὡς διὰ τὴν ὀδύνην, τὴν ἀρετὴν, φεύγωμεν [sic].

He says that a characteristic of love is that those who strive for it produce a uniform opinion.

The mind, after going beyond the essence of mental things, becomes mindless with regard to God, applying above all <essence> that as far as essence, knowledge and understanding are concerned, we are fond of passions because of pleasure, as we avoid virtue because of pain.

It has been impossible to locate these sentences in any of the texts available through the electronic database of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.³⁹ They seem to belong to a philosophical or patristic work. A possible explanation for copying these lines as if they also belonged to the *Oneirocriticon* is that in one of the ancestors of BL *Additicius* 8240, the excerpts from the *Oneirocriticon* must have appeared just before the text to which these two sentences belong.⁴⁰ The end of the excerpt from the *Oneirocriticon* as it appears in BL *Additicius* 8240 must have come at the end of a verso page, and the two unidentified

³⁷ Besides the excerpt from the *Oneirocriticon*, the texts on dream interpretation from BL *Additicius* 8240 are: fols. 31v (olim 347)-32v: Διάλεξις, ἥτοι ἐρμηνεία περὶ τῶν ὀνείρων τῆς σελήνης; fol. 120 (olim 49)-124r: Νικηφόρου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὀνειροκριτικὸν κατὰ ἀλφάβητον διὰ στίχων.

³⁸ The text in BL *Additicius* 8240 presents slight variations from Drexl's text. For example, its incipit in Drexl reads: 'Εάν ἴδῃ τις ὅτι ἀπεπλύθη καὶ ἔβαλε νέα ἱμάτια ...

³⁹ *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* [computer file]. CD ROM no. D. (Irvine, Calif., 1992).

⁴⁰ The *Oneirocriticon* (or excerpts from it) were copied together with patristic and philosophical works in *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690, *Vat. gr.* 573, *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 162, *Athos, Ivion* 4285.165.

sentences copied at the very beginning of a recto page. At a later time a certain number of folia containing the end of the *Oneirocriticon* (or its excerpts) and the beginning of the unidentified text, including its title, must have become separated from the manuscript. A scribe copying from this ancestor of BL *Additicius* 8240 must have joined the two excerpts without noticing that some folia were missing and under the misapprehension that both belonged to the same text, since they ran from one page to the next with no new title in between.

Among the interpretations of a lance found in Drexl 205, 8-9 and Drexl 205, 9-10, a phrase that looks like a marginal note which crept into the main text has been inserted. This phrase is placed in the manuscript within parentheses and reads as follows: ἀνὴρ ἐπιφθονος μέγα κακὸν εἶδεν [sic]. καὶ γάτων [sic] εἶναι κεκλήρωται, ἀπαραίτητον τὸ δυστύχημα, καὶ θανάτῳ μόλις παυσόμενον (An enviable man although [εἰ δὲ] /dreamt of [εἶδεν] a great evil and ... allotted the misfortune to be inevitable and would hardly stop by death).⁴¹

Petropolitanus Bibl. Acad. scient. graec. 161 (olim Instituti Archaeolog. Constantinopol.). 1731-1740, paper, 41 fols., 14.5 cm × 10.2 cm. Various texts, most of them on divination.

This manuscript possibly preserves excerpts from a vernacular paraphrase of the *Oneirocriticon* in fols. 35-39v. According to the description of the manuscript in the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*,⁴² these folia contain a dreambook titled 'Εκ τοῦ ὀνειροκρίτου τοῦ Ταραφάν τοῦ σοφοῦ (From the dreambook of Taraphan the Wise). Inc.: 'Εάν ἴδῃς τινὰς ὅπως ἀναστηθῇ νεκρὸς - des.[fol. 39]: μετὰ ἀφεντίας κινήσει καὶ μὲ διαφορὰν. Τέλος. I have not been able to examine this manuscript.

Zagora (Bibliothēkē Zagoras, Thessaly) 89.⁴⁴ 1594, paper, 245 fols., 19 cm ×

⁴¹ The passage is so corrupt that an accurate translation is impossible.

⁴² CCAG, vol. 12, p. 48. The manuscript is also described in I. N. Lebedeva, *Opisanie rukopisnogo otdela biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR*, vol. 5 (Leningrad, 1973), p. 153, but there the text is only designated as "interpretation of dreams."

⁴³ Ταραφαντου' in CCAG, vol. 12, p. 48. Ταρφάν is the name of the Egyptian dream interpreter mentioned in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 3, 13).

⁴⁴ Described in K. I. Dyobouniotēs, "Katalogos tōn kōdikōn tēs bibliothēkēs tēs Zagoras," *Neos Hellenomnēmōn* 13 (1916), pp. 451-52; rpt. as a separate volume (Athens, 1920); it is projected that it will shortly be reprinted again in J. Declerck, J. Noret, C. de Vocht, eds., *Catalogi manuscriptorum graecorum qui in periodico "Neos Hellenomnemon" olim publici iuris facti*,

13 cm. *Oneirocriticon* (fols. 4r-154v), *Physiologos* (fols. 155r-237v), collection of oracles (fols. 238r ff.). Incipit (fol. 4r): βιβλίον ὄνειροκριτικὸν ὅπερ συνῆξε καὶ συνέταξε ἀρχά. ἔτει ὁ Ἑσειρήμ ὁ ὄνειροκρίτης τοῦ πρωτοσυμβούλου Μαμοῦν.

The date ἀρχά (1601) obviously resulted from a misreading of the name Ἀχμέτ.⁴⁵ A note on fol. 154r informs the reader that the text was copied in the year 6875 (of the world era = 1367 of the Christian era): Ἐγράφη τὸ παρὸν βιβλιαρίδιον τὸ καλούμενον Ὀνειροκριτικὸν κατὰ τὸ ἐν Θηβύλαις καὶ ἐδόθη τῷ ὀσιωτάτῳ ἐν μοναχοῖς κυρίῳ Γρηγορίῳ τῷ Χρυσοχόου, τῷ ἐκ Τρίκκης τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐν τῷ ζωοῦ. Οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες εὖχεσθαι μοι ἐν Κυρίῳ τῷ γράψαντι (The present booklet called *Oneirocriticon* was copied according to [the copy] in Thēbylai⁴⁶ and was given to the most devout among monks master Gregory Chrysochoou from Trikkē in Thessaly in the year 6875. You who read it pray to the Lord for me who wrote it).

The manuscript also contains a second text. It is a vernacular version of the *Physiologos*, with the title (fol. 155r): Φυσιολογία νέα τὴν ὁποίαν τὴν ἔκαμεν ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων τὰ βιβλία καὶ ἔχει τῶν χερσαίων ζώων καὶ τῶν θαλασσίων εἰς φράσιν κοινὴν (New *Physiologos* which was composed by the Damascene from the books of the old philosophers; it contains [information] on the land and sea animals expressed in the vernacular). The *Physiologos* is accompanied by a note on fol. 241r that gives the year 7102 of the world era (1594 of the Christian era): Καὶ ἐγράφη τὸ παρὸν ἐν ἔτει ζρβ' (The present was written in the year 7102).

The manuscript is all written in the same hand. The note giving the year 1367 must have been copied from the model used by the scribe of the Zagora manuscript, as was the poem that precedes it (fols. 153v-154r); this poem, which gives biographical details on the scribe of the model, is designated as στίχοι οὗς εὗρον ἐν τῷ ἀνθιβολαίῳ τοῦ ὄνειροκρίτου (Verses that I found in the model of the dreambook).⁴⁷ Zagora 89 belonged to the eighteenth-century patriarch of Constantinople Kallinikos III, who donated it to the school

adhuc usui sunt (Brussels, 1981-). For the most recent developments in the collection of the library of Zagora, see J.-M. Olivier, *Repertoire des catalogues et de bibliothèques de manuscrits grecs de Marcel Richard* (Turnhout, 1995), p. 851.

⁴⁵ I assume that the scribe of Zagora 89, who copied the manuscript in the year 1594, understood the date 1601 to be of the world era, that is 3906 B.C. (!).

⁴⁶ Thēbylai (Little Thebes?) is not known to me from anywhere else.

⁴⁷ "Verses that I found in the model of the dreambook."

of the town, according to a note on fol. 4r.⁴⁸ The dream symbols in the manuscript are presented in loosely alphabetical order, which still reflects the original thematic arrangement. For example, the sequence of the dream symbols that begin with "α" is ἀνάστασις, ἄγγελοι, ἀληφῆ [sic], ἀναδενδράς, αἰδοῖα, αἶμα καὶ ἔλκος, ἄνεμοι, ἀστέρες, ἄκανθα, ἀμφίσις, ἄμαξα etc. I know of no other manuscript of the *Oneirocriticon* where the dream symbols have been rearranged in alphabetical order.⁴⁹

Marc. gr. 299. 10th century, parchment, 196 fols., 30.2 cm × 24 cm, collection of texts on the occult sciences, mainly alchemy.⁵⁰ This manuscript is the oldest known surviving Greek alchemical codex and was part of Cardinal Bessarion's bequest to the Bibliotheca Marciana (*olim* 440).

The current binding includes at the beginning of the volume a number of flyleaves covered with writing by later hands. On one of these flyleaves (currently numbered 5r) one can read, in a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century handwriting, the introductory chapter from the abridgment surviving in *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690, dedicated to the theoretical principles of dream interpretation. This text corresponds approximately to part of chapter 301 in the critical edition of the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 240, 8-241, 14).

The manuscripts known to Drexl are presented here in the order in which he discussed them in the introduction to his critical edition; the first eight manuscripts were those he actually used and have a place in his stemma. The purpose of presenting them is to give a schematic picture of the problems inherent in the fragmentary character of the Greek manuscript tradition and to provide a

⁴⁸ On the interest of Kallinikos in the school of Zagora, see A. Chrysobergēs, *Ho patriarchēs Kōnstantinoupolēōs Kallinikos ho tritos ho ek Zagoras (1757)* (Zagora, 1995), esp. pp. 131 ff.

⁴⁹ I would like to thank Mr. Theodoros Roussis, the librarian of the Zagora Public Library, for allowing me to examine the manuscript. Microfilms of manuscripts from peripheral Greek libraries are kept in the National Library in Athens; however, no reproduction of Zagora 89 exists there.

⁵⁰ The most recent description of the manuscript can be found in E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti*, vol. 1: *Thesaurus Antiquus, Codices 1-299* (Rome, 1981), pp. 427-33. For an older but more detailed description of the manuscript by O. Lagercrantz, see *CMAG*, vol. 2, pp. 1-22. The manuscript has been dated to the end of the 11th century by Mioni, to the 11th century by Lagercrantz-Zanetti, the 12th century by Morelli, and the 10th-11th century by Berthelot (for references to the corresponding publications, see Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci*, p. 427). I am following the date given by H. D. Saffrey in R. Halleux, *Les alchimistes grecs I: Papyrus de Leyde, Papyrus de Stockholm. Recettes* (Paris, 1981), p. xiv. After an examination of a microfilm of Marc. gr. 299, Professor Boris Fonkič was also in favor of a 10th-century date. I would like to thank Professor Fonkič for his advice.

quick reference to the Greek manuscripts. I added my own comments on the manuscripts that I have examined. More information on each manuscript can be found in Drexl's dissertation, as well as in the relevant library catalogues.⁵¹

Vindob. philos. et philol. gr. 111 (= R).⁵² 13th century, parchment. Contains only the *Oneirocriticon*. Compared to Drexl's edition, the text is considerably abbreviated. From chapter 30 and on, there are several lacunae, which can be as long as one, two, or three pages.

Vindob. philos. et philol. gr. 162 (= S). End of the 14th century, paper. Contains prophecies and excerpts from Anastasios Sinaites, Maximos Homologetes, Ioannes Peditasimos, etc. Some chapters, especially the long ones, have lacunae.

Vindob. philos. et philol. gr. 287 (= T).⁵³ End of the 14th century and 15th-16th centuries, paper. Collection of astrological texts. Contains only parts of the *Oneirocriticon*.

Vindob. philos. et philol. gr. 297 (= V). 16th century, paper. Contains only the *Oneirocriticon*. Possibly copied by Ἰωάννης ἱερεὺς ὁ εὐλογημένος ὁ [οἰ]κονόμος ἄρτης.⁵⁴ In 1562 this manuscript was acquired by J. Sambucus.⁵⁵ He made it available to J. Loewenklau, who based the 1577 translation of the *Oneirocriticon*, the *Apomasaris apotelesmata*, upon it. The manuscript lacks the first folia, where the title and possibly the name of the author would have appeared, but the name Apomasaros was added by a later hand right after the interpretations of the first dream symbol, the resurrection of the dead, according to the Indians, Persians and Egyptians.⁵⁶ This note on the manuscript must have been the source for the title of the translation.

Leidens. Voss. 49 (= L).⁵⁷ End of 15th century, paper. Contains only the *Oneirocriticon*; has several lacunae, the most extensive being one page long.

⁵¹ See Drexl, *Achmets Traumbuch*. References to library catalogues can be found in this publication, as well as in the prolegomena to the critical edition of the *Oneirocriticon*. My references are limited to library catalogues that superseded the ones mentioned by Drexl.

⁵² The four Viennese manuscripts are described in Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, pp. 222, 265, 386, 392.

⁵³ For a description of this manuscript, see also CCAG, vol. 6, pp. 51-53.

⁵⁴ See Drexl, *Achmets Traumbuch*, p. 14.

⁵⁵ Bought in Salerno for eleven ducats. See Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, p. 392.

⁵⁶ Drexl, *Achmets Traumbuch*, p. 5.

⁵⁷ Described in K. A. de Meyier, *Codices Manuscripti 6: Codices Vossiani graeci et miscellanei* (Leiden, 1955), p. 157.

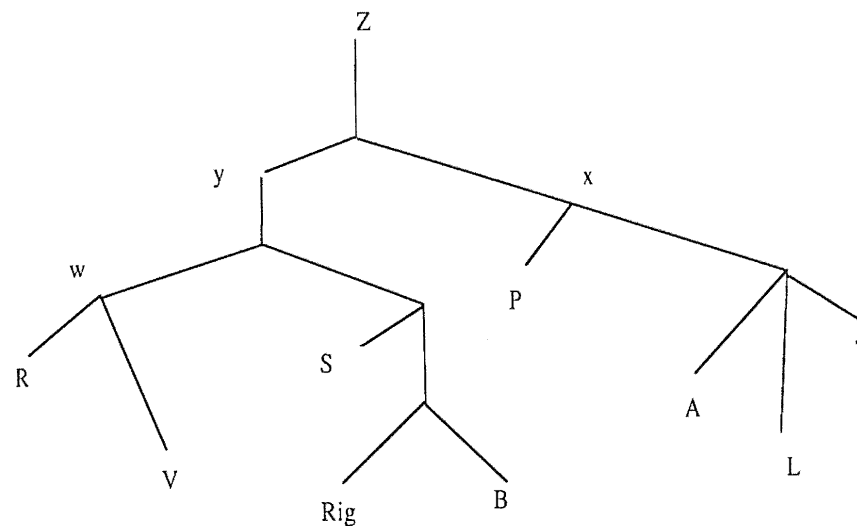
The last folio substitutes chapters with interpretations lifted from the dreambook attributed to Manuel Paleologos. Compared with the edition of this text by Delatte according to its version in *Paris. gr.* 2419 (where it is also copied immediately after a version of the *Oneirocriticon*), the excerpts in *Leidensis* are very few and appear in no particular order.

Paris. gr. 2511 (= P).⁵⁸ End of 14th century, paper. Anthology of texts. Contains only parts of the *Oneirocriticon*. The text is partly a paraphrase.

Ambros. gr. 592 (= A). 15th century, paper. Anthology of various texts. Contains part of the *Oneirocriticon* (about 27 pages).

Berol. gr. 171 (= B). 16th century, paper. Contains only the *Oneirocriticon*. The text in this manuscript is very close to *Paris. gr.* 2538, used by Rigault for the *editio princeps*. The two manuscripts have the same lacunae, but the Berlin manuscript is not a direct copy of *Paris. gr.* 2538.⁵⁹

These manuscripts were arranged by Drexl into the following stemma:



⁵⁸ Described in detail in CCAG, vol. 8:4, pp. 70-72.

⁵⁹ F. Drexl, "Die Berliner Achmethandschrift," *BZ* 24 (1924), pp. 307-12.

The manuscripts that Drexl knew of, but did not examine are:

Paris. gr. 2538. 16th (15th?) century, paper. Contains only the *Oneirocriticon*, copied by Georgios Grammatikos.⁶⁰ Rigault based the 1603 edition on this manuscript. The text has several lacunae.⁶¹

Paris. gr. 2427. 16th century, paper. Contains only the *Oneirocriticon*, chaps. 1-70. Attributes the text to Apomasaros, because it is definitely a direct copy of *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 297 (the source for Loewenklau's translation); *Paris. gr.* 2427 has the exact same lacunae as *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 297 and even cuts the missing words in the middle in exactly the same way as they appear in the Vienna manuscript. It has several blank pages at the end, probably intended for copying the complete text from the Vienna manuscript, an intention that was never carried out.

Paris. gr. 2419.⁶² 15th century, paper. Collection of astrological texts copied by Georgios Midiates,⁶³ which contains part of the *Oneirocriticon*.

Borbon. gr. 356 (III.E.34).⁶⁴ 15th century, paper. Contains only the *Oneirocriticon*. The first folia are missing. The text begins with a chapter numbered 15 and entitled ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων περὶ τριχῶν καὶ ὑπῆνης καὶ μασχαλῶν καὶ ἥβης. Περὶ γενείων (From the Persians and Egyptians on Hair and Mustaches and Armpit <Hair> and Pubic <Hair>. On Beards) which corresponds to Drexl's chapter 42 (27, 11 ff.). The manuscript contains a complete text of the *Oneirocriticon*,⁶⁵ though several phrases or paragraphs

⁶⁰ See H. Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1989), no. 104.

⁶¹ See Ruelle, "La clef des songes d'Achmet Abou-Mazar," pp. 305-12, who identified the manuscript as Rigault's source and listed some of the lacunae. Beyond the description of this manuscript given by Drexl, further descriptions have been published by H. Lebègue, *CMAG*, vol. 1, p. 62; by F. Cumont, *CCAG*, vol. 8:1, p. 20; see also A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, vol. 1, p. 446; and idem, "Le lexique de botanique de *Paris. gr.* 2419," *Serta leodensia* (Liège-Paris, 1930), p. 59.

⁶² Detailed description in *CCAG*, vol. 8:1, pp. 20-63.

⁶³ See Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, vol. 2, no. 87 (with bibliography).

⁶⁴ Described in S. Cirillo, *Codices graeci manuscripti regiae bibliothecae Borbonicae*, vol. 2 (Naples, 1832), pp. 469-70. The newer catalogues by G. Pierleoni, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Neapolitanae* (Rome, 1962), and E. Mioni, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Neapolitanae*, vol. 1:1 (Rome, 1992), cover only manuscripts II.A.1 to II.C.38 and do not include a description of this manuscript.

⁶⁵ According to Drexl, *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. xiii, the manuscript contains only chapters 15-192, but this is a mistake; the error was generated by the different method of numbering the chapters followed in *Borbon. gr.* 356, where the same subject when treated according to the Indians, Persians, and Egyptians is only numbered once, whereas in the critical edition it can be

are missing from various chapters. Moreover, the sequence of chapters does not coincide with either Drexl or Rigault or *Paris. gr.* 2419 and *Bononiensis* (*Bibl. Univ.*) 3632. Finally, the contents of the chapters themselves are also different from Drexl's text.⁶⁶

Cantabrig. gr. 1386 (O 8.11, 6102). 15th-16th century, paper. The greatest portion of the manuscript is taken up by Actuarius, *De Urinis*. The only parts of the *Oneirocriticon* are an index of chapters (incomplete) and part of chapter 1.

Athos, Iviron 4285.165. 15th century, paper. Anthology of nineteen texts belonging to various authors and literary genres. Contains only five chapters of the *Oneirocriticon* (= Drexl, chapters 221-26).

Hierosol. (of the patriarchate) *gr.* 220. 17th century, paper. Collection of texts on divination. Vernacular paraphrase of the *Oneirocriticon*.

Hierosol. (of St. Sabbas) *gr.* 555. Dated 26 April 1685. Paper. Most of the manuscript is taken up by a vernacular paraphrase of the *Oneirocriticon*, accompanied by three very brief βροντολόγια.⁶⁷

Translations

Among the several translations of the *Oneirocriticon* that were made at different times and into different languages, two medieval renderings from Greek into Latin are the most important for textual criticism. They were both made during

numbered as many as three times. The concluding chapter in *Borbon. gr.* 356 is numbered 193, but its contents correspond to Drexl's chapter 201.

⁶⁶ To give an illustration of the problem, the contents of the first folia in *Borbon. gr.* 356 and their corresponding passages from Drexl's edition are: [ιε] ἐκ τῶν περσῶν καὶ αἰγυπτίων περὶ τριχῶν καὶ ὑπῆνης καὶ μασχαλῶν καὶ ἥβης. Περὶ γενείων (= Drexl 27, 11-27, 25 = μβ. Despite the title in *Borbon. gr.* 356, nothing on beards is included); ις περὶ τριχῶν τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος (= Drexl μγ); ἐκ τῶν περσῶν καὶ αἰγυπτίων ὁμόφωνα περὶ τριχῶν τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος (= Drexl μδ); περὶ τριχῶν γυναικός (= Drexl 217, 8 ff. = σξε); ιη ἐκ τῶν ἰνδῶν περὶ ἀλειψῆς (= Drexl 18, 5-15 = κγ); ἐκ τῶν περσῶν περὶ ἀλείψεως (= Drexl 18, 16-22 = κ); ἐκ τῶν αἰγυπτίων ὁμοίως (= Drexl κε); ἐρώτησις (= Drexl 15, 17-24 = ιθ); ἐρώτησις ἄλλη (= Drexl 16, 1-10 = κ, though narrated in the first person); ιθ ἐκ τῶν ἰνδῶν περὶ μόσχου συνθέτου εὐοσμίας (includes Drexl κς and κς under the same title); κ περὶ θυμιατηρίων καὶ καπνίσεων (= Drexl 20, 1-8 = κη); ὁμοίως (= Drexl 20, 9-19 = λ); κα περὶ κουράς (= Drexl 20, 20-26 = λ); ἐκ τῶν περσῶν περὶ κουράς (= Drexl 21, 1-8 = λα, to which is added Drexl 16, 21-24, to which is added Drexl 17, 16-19); κβ ἐκ τῶν ἰνδῶν περὶ γενειάδος (= Drexl 22, 25-23 = λδ, to which is added Drexl 16, 19-21 and 16, 24-17, 2); περὶ τριχῶν (= Drexl 23, 10-16 = λε).

⁶⁷ Neither of the two Jerusalem manuscripts is included in K. W. Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates of Jerusalem Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1949-50* (Washington, D.C., 1953).

the reign of Manuel Komnenos (1143-80), an emperor with a very keen interest in the occult sciences. The two translations were made almost simultaneously and can be dated with accuracy.

The earliest Latin translation is not complete. Excerpts of the *Oneirocriticon* were translated by Pascalis Romanus and incorporated into his book *Liber Thesauri Occulti*, a work on dream interpretation that, according to its title, was published in Constantinople in 1165.⁶⁸ The only information we have on Pascalis Romanus is furnished by his own prefaces to the four works of his that have survived. All four are translations or adaptations of Greek texts.⁶⁹ Through these prefaces we can verify his presence in Constantinople from 1158 to 1169. It is not known whether he was a Greek born in Rome or a Roman who became acquainted with the Greek world late in life or a Roman born and raised among Greeks.⁷⁰ Most recently T. Ricklin has argued that he had connections with the Venetian society of Constantinople.⁷¹ He was a low-ranking clergyman and had some knowledge of medicine, though not enough to qualify as a proper physician.⁷²

The *Liber Thesauri Occulti* is divided into three books. The first book discusses the nature of sleep and dreams based on ancient and medieval sources of a scientific, philosophical and literary character.⁷³ It also contains some infrequent and unacknowledged borrowings from the *Oneirocriticon*.⁷⁴ The remaining two books are a *clef des songes* entirely composed of passages from Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* translated from Greek into Latin.⁷⁵ The interpretations are arranged thematically, inspired by, but not exactly copying, the organization of the material found in the two Greek works. The arrangement of the interpretations in the *Liber Thesauri Occulti* was devised by Pascalis Romanus himself.⁷⁶

⁶⁸ Edited with an introduction by Collin-Roset, "Le *Liber Thesauri Occulti*." For a detailed discussion of the work and its sources (mainly concentrating on its philosophical aspects concerning the nature of dreams) in connection with 12th-century Byzantine philosophical pursuits, see Ricklin, *Der Traum der Philosophie*, pp. 247-322.

⁶⁹ Their titles are *Disputatio Judeorum contra sanctum Anastasium*, *Liber thesauri occulti*, *Cyranides*, *Ystoria Beate Virginis Mariae*. For more on these works, see Collin-Roset, "Le *Liber Thesauri Occulti*," pp. 113-17; and Ricklin, *Der Traum der Philosophie*, pp. 248-50.

⁷⁰ Collin-Roset, "Le *Liber Thesauri Occulti*," p. 112.

⁷¹ Ricklin, *Der Traum der Philosophie*, p. 322.

⁷² Collin-Roset, "Le *Liber Thesauri Occulti*," pp. 112-13.

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 125-31.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 130.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 131.

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 138-139.

The *Liber Thesauri Occulti* is from Pascalis Romanus's own pen up to book III, chapter 2. The remainder (book III, chapters 3-15) reproduces word for word the Latin translation of the *Oneirocriticon* by Leo Tuscus, which was finished in 1176.⁷⁷ The editor of the *Liber Thesauri Occulti*, Simone Collin-Roset, concludes: "We therefore definitively accept that the dreambook by Pascalis Romanus remained unfinished; that he abandoned it in 1165, or a little later, in order to translate the *Cyranides* ...; and that at least ten years later, a scribe attempted to supplement it by attaching to it [the text of] Achmet translated by Leo Tuscus."⁷⁸

Collin-Roset carefully noted the source of each interpretation given in books II and III of the *Liber Thesauri Occulti* and quoted the corresponding passage in either Artemidoros or Achmet. For that purpose, however, she did not use the Greek text of either work, but only their Latin translations.⁷⁹ Out of hundreds of interpretations she lists eighteen which she was unable to identify in the works of Artemidoros and Achmet. Collin-Roset then proceeded to compare the eighteen additional interpretations of Pascalis Romanus with the only French translation of an Arabic dreambook available to her, Pierre Vattier's seventeenth-century translation of a twelfth-century author, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Naṣr al-Shirāzī (or al-Shayzarī) al-Nabarāwī.⁸⁰ She managed to match two of the eighteen interpretations with passages from Vattier's translation. Remarking that nothing in the works of Pascalis Romanus shows that he knew Arabic, she concluded that he possibly used Greek translations of Arabic treatises that have not survived, or he found some of these interpretations in the popular

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 135.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 139.

⁷⁹ "... nous avons cité Artémidore d'après la traduction de Cornarius reproduite par N. Rigault, et Achmet d'après celle de Leo Tuscus contenue dans le manuscrit d'Oxford [Bodl. Digby 103] où l'on trouve également le *Liber thesauri occulti* et, en cas de nécessité celui du manuscrit 337 de Carpentras. En cas de lacune de la traduction de Leo Tuscus, nous avons eu recours à celle de J. Leunclavius, reproduite et complétée par N. Rigault" (Collin-Roset, *ibid.*, p. 125). A direct reference to Drexl's critical edition is only given once (p. 140). The combined texts of Leo Tuscus, Leunclavius, and Rigault are still different from Drexl's, which explains why Collin-Roset was unable to identify a few passages.

⁸⁰ *L'onirocritique musulman, ou la doctrine et l'interprétation des songes selon les arabes, par Gabdorrhachman fils de Nasar. De la traduction de P. Vattier ... sur le manuscrit arabe du "recueil de ce qui se peut dire de meilleur sur l'interprétation des songes" (Paris, 1664).* This book is extremely rare today. I have been unable to locate a copy in any American library. There is one in the British Library and another in the Bibliothèque Nationale; see also A. Fischer, "Die Quite als Vorzeichen bei Persern und Arabern und das Traumbuch des 'Abd-al-Ranī an-Nābulusi," pp. 305-6. The Arab author was a physician to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbi; see Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 354-55, no. 116.

tradition of the Mediterranean, which was likely to have been influenced, even to a limited degree, by its equivalent Arabic tradition.⁸¹

A direct comparison of the additional interpretations in Pascalis Romanus listed by Collin-Roset with the Greek texts in their most recent critical editions reveals that eight of the eighteen, including the two matched by passages in the dreambook of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr, can be found in either the *Oneirocriticon* or Artemidoros.⁸² A ninth interpretation corresponds to a passage from *Vat. gr. 573*, which is missing from the critical edition of the *Oneirocriticon*. Where did the remaining nine come from? At least the ones that do not represent Pascalis Romanus's own understanding of passages from Artemidoros⁸³ were probably in the version of the *Oneirocriticon* that Pascalis Romanus used for the compilation of the *Liber Thesauri Occulti*, which must have been longer than Drexl's text.

Our examination of the abridgment from *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690*, and the text found in *Vat. gr. 573*, already furnished proof for the existence of a version of the *Oneirocriticon* which was longer than the text published by Drexl. Examination of the *Liber Thesauri Occulti* corroborates this conclusion by showing that the model of Pascalis Romanus was, at least in part, closer to the Paris abridgment than Drexl's text is. The introductory chapter to book II of the *Liber Thesauri Occulti*, which immediately precedes the interpretations, is very close to the introductory chapter of the Paris abridgment that includes remarks on the theory of dream interpretation found in the last chapter of Drexl's edition. Moreover, two passages of the Paris abridgment identified by Gigli as missing from Drexl's text can be found in the introduction to book II by Pascalis Romanus.⁸⁴ Therefore, both the order of presentation and passages from the *Liber Thesauri Occulti* confirm that the particularities of the Paris abridgment were extant in its model and should not be attributed to the epitomist.

The *Liber Thesauri Occulti* is not only the earliest translation of Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* into Latin;⁸⁵ it also furnishes important textual evidence about the form and content of a more extensive version of the *Oneirocriticon*. It should therefore be used in any future critical edition of the Greek text.

⁸¹ Collin-Roset, "Le *Liber Thesauri Occulti*," p. 137.

⁸² See Appendix 2.

⁸³ This might be the case with nos. 3, 13 and 18 (see Appendix 2).

⁸⁴ For the outcome of dreams in twenty units of time (e.g., twenty years, twenty months, twenty weeks, twenty days, or twenty hours) and the significance of pearls and black clothes for those who wear them regularly, see Appendix 1.

⁸⁵ Collin-Roset, "Le *Liber Thesauri Occulti*," p. 131.

The earliest complete translation of the *Oneirocriticon* was made in 1176, seven years after the one by Pascalis Romanus. The translator was Leo Tuscus, who is known to us from other sources as well.⁸⁶ He and his brother Hugo Etherianus, to whom the preface to the translation of the *Oneirocriticon* is addressed, were natives of Pisa. They both came to Constantinople to seek a career during the reign of Manuel Komnenos, since this emperor was known for employing Latins in his services. Hugo, Leo's older brother, was a layman with a thorough theological education and author of several theological treatises that won him a cardinal's hat shortly before the end of his life in 1182. He arrived in Constantinople before 1166 and soon caught the attention of the emperor, who consulted him on doctrinal questions and ordered him to write his long, three-book treatise on the procession of the Holy Ghost. This treatise, written in collaboration with his brother Leo,⁸⁷ was Hugo's most important work and was frequently mentioned by later Greek theologians.

Leo was an interpreter in the imperial chancery. Besides the *Oneirocriticon* he also translated the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom and wrote a theological treatise, *De haeresibus et praevaricationibus Graecorum*. In his preface to the translation of the *Oneirocriticon*, he gives the reason for undertaking this work.⁸⁸ Hugo had dreamt that the emperor Manuel was riding on the bronze horse of the statue that surmounts the column called Augustiana in Constantinople. He was surrounded by several erudite Latins and was reading a booklet in Latin. In the dream Manuel singled Hugo out for special attention, after Hugo had interrupted his reading. The meaning of this dream remained obscure for the two brothers until 1166, when Manuel ended by decree the theological controversy over the inferiority of the Son to the Father started by Demetrios of Lampe. Manuel's decision was influenced, according to Leo, by reading Hugo's booklet, *De Filii Hominis Minoritate ad Patrem Deum*. It was the outcome of Hugo's dream that gave Leo the idea of translating the *Oneirocriticon* into Latin.⁸⁹ Based on a reference to Manuel's campaign against the

⁸⁶ The facts presented here on the lives and works of Leo Tuscus and his brother Hugo Etherianus are taken from A. Dondaine, "Hugues Étherien et Léon Toscan," *AHDLM* 27 (1952), pp. 67-134.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁸⁸ The full text of the introduction was published by Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, pp. 217-18 and *idem*, "Leo Tuscus," pp. 45-47.

⁸⁹ In a recent article, Schreiner hypothesized, "Der Anlaß zur Übersetzung des berühmten Traumbuchs des Achmet, den Leo schildert, wirkt eher wie eine Parodie, aber die Form scheint dem Kaiser doch geschmeichelt zu haben: Hugo, der Bruder, hatte im Traum Kaiser Manuel gesehen, wie er in der Übersetzung des Buches las"; see P. Schreiner, "Der Austausch von

Turks, Haskins dated the translation of the *Oneirocriticon* by Leo Tuscus to 1176.⁹⁰

Several manuscripts of Leo Tuscus's Latin translation are known,⁹¹ but no critical edition has ever been published. The oldest manuscript that survives, Digby 103 in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, is from the twelfth century; it is also our oldest manuscript for Pascalis Romanus's *Liber Thesauri Occulti*.⁹²

In addition to the twelfth-century translations of Pascalis Romanus and Leo Tuscus, a third translation of the *Oneirocriticon* into Latin was made by J. Loewenklaus, and published in 1577. Loewenklaus's translation attributed the original text to Apomasar. In the 1603 edition of the *Oneirocriticon*, Rigault reprinted Loewenklaus's translation opposite the Greek text, supplementing it with his own Latin rendering of the passages that were missing from Loewenklaus's Greek manuscript but that existed in Rigault's Parisian source.

The evidence collected so far indicates that the translations of the *Oneirocriticon* into the vernacular European languages were all based on these three Latin renderings of the work. They can therefore be divided into three groups, depending on which Latin translation provided their source. The first and most recent group is represented only by printed texts; it comprises translations made from Loewenklaus's 1577 edition. The members of this group can be easily identified, since they all attribute the work to Apomasar.⁹³

Of the members of the second group, those based on the translation of Leo Tuscus, none mentions an author's name. Following Leo Tuscus's translation, their title refers to the alleged Indian, Persian and Egyptian sources used for

Motiven und Ideen," in *Europa Medievale e mondo Bizantino. Contatti effettivi e possibilità di studi comparati*, ed. G. Arnaldi and G. Cavallo (Rome, 1995), p. 3. Schreiner does not explain why he considers the motive for the translation to function as a parody. The book that Manuel was reading in Hugo's dream was in any case most likely to have been the latter's *De Filii Homini Minoritate*, rather than a translation of the *Oneirocriticon*.

⁹⁰ Haskins, "Leo Tuscus," pp. 45-47.

⁹¹ *Wolfenbüttel* 2917; Bodleian *Digby* 103; modern copy in *Ashmolean* 179; BL *Harleian* 4025; *Bibliotheca Casanatense*, C. vi. 5 (new no. 1178); the printed catalogue of this library, M. Ceresi et al., *Catalogo dei Manoscritti della Biblioteca Casanatense*, 5 vols. (Rome, 1949-58), only covers manuscripts 1-500 and does not include the old C.vi.5; *Vat. lat.* 4094; *BN lat.* 7337; *Vindobon.* 5221; *Marburgensis* B 21; listed in Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 2, pp. 292-93; Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, p. 217; Achmetis *Oneirocriticon*, ed. Drexler, p. ix. A further list of extant manuscripts in N. F. Palmer and K. Speckenbach, *Träume und Kräuter. Studien zur Petroneller "Circa Instans" Handschrift und zu den deutschen Traumbüchern des Mittelalters* (Cologne and Vienna, 1990), p. 125.

⁹² On the importance of this manuscript, see Ricklin, *Der Traum der Philosophie*, pp. 307-22.

⁹³ For the German members of this group, see Palmer and Speckenbach, *Träume und Kräuter*, p. 127. The first French translation from Loewenklaus's Latin appeared in 1581.

the composition of the Greek original, or it echoes Leo's designation of the work from its content as "De somniis et oraculis."⁹⁴ The earliest of them is possibly the thirteenth-century BN *français* 1553.⁹⁵ The earliest printed one is also the earliest printed version of the *Oneirocriticon* in any language: an Italian translation of Leo Tuscus's text that appeared in Venice in 1525 under the title, *Expositione degli Insonni secondo la Interpretatione de Indi, Persi, ed Egyptii, tradutta da Greco in Latino per Leone Toschano, ed al presente data in luce per il Tricasso Mantuano ad Alessandro Bichorio Patricio Pavese*. Several reprints were made, as well as a French translation from the Italian, which first appeared in 1552.⁹⁶

The third group seems to have been based on both Pascalis Romanus and Leo Tuscus. The oldest representative of this group is possibly the Anglo-Norman dreambook preserved in Berlin Q. 968 of the Staatsbibliothek preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin.⁹⁷ While this manuscript is from the middle of the fourteenth century, the translation itself is older, possibly from the end of the thirteenth century.⁹⁸ The translation is anonymous;⁹⁹ it was made for an aristocratic lady, Alice de Courtenay or, as the name was later deciphered, Alice de

⁹⁴ For example, the French translation is called "Exposition et signification des songes" [sic].

⁹⁵ Three French and two Czech manuscripts are known. See W. Suchier, "Altfranzösische Traumbücher," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 67 (1906-07), 129-67. The text of BN *français* 1317 was published by Berriot, *Expositions et significations des songes*. Berriot's introduction repeats information from secondary literature (sometimes with mistakes). His edition of the text is supplemented with readings from Berlin Q. 968 (whose text is based both on Leo Tuscus and Pascalis Romanus, which Berriot seems to be unaware of), BN *français* 29492, *Carpentras latin* 337, the 1581 printed French edition of Denis Du Val, and the Latin translation that accompanied Rigault's Greek text in the 1603 edition. However, Berriot does not discuss the connection between the texts used, nor does he give a *stemma codicum*. I have been unable to consult the more recent critical edition by M. G. Glover, "Critical Edition of the Middle French Version of Achmet ibn Sirin's Oneiromancy."

⁹⁶ Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 2, p. 297, mentioned an anonymous Latin dreambook titled *Expositio somniorum* from BN *latin* 16610, which he dated to the 12th-13th century. According to Thorndike's report, this work had been influenced by the Latin translation of the *Oneirocriticon* by Leo Tuscus and until then had remained unpublished. Thorndike's information on the text is repeated by Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," p. 283. The dreambook in question is in fact a copy of Pascalis Romanus's *Liber thesauri occulti*, known to and utilized by Collin-Roset, the editor of the text; see Collin-Roset, "Le Liber Thesauri Occulti," pp. 118-19.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁹⁸ Berriot, *Expositions et significations des songes*, p. 42.

⁹⁹ The manuscripts of this dreambook give no information on the identity of the translator. However, Suchier identified him as the Carmelite monk Jean Golein; see Suchier, "Altfranzösische Traumbücher," p. 133.

Couty.¹⁰⁰ Its title reads *solom [= selon] ceo qe Daniel le Prophete le fist*, which gives the false impression that the work is yet another recension of the dreambook of Daniel, versions of which existed in Arabic, Greek, Latin and a number of European vernacular languages. It seems that this translation generated a whole group of dreambooks attributed to Daniel. The connection of the *Oneirocriticon* to a branch of the vernacular tradition of Daniel's dreambook has so far been ignored by contemporary research.¹⁰¹

Besides its versions in Latin and other European languages that could be characterized as translations, the *Oneirocriticon* served as a source for the compilation of original treatises on dreams. Establishing which Latin or vernacular version furnished the immediate source for each author requires further research, but the contents of two treatises indicate the author's familiarity with the interpretations contained in the *Oneirocriticon*. The first is William of Aragon's *De prognosticatione sompniorum*.¹⁰² According to the editor of the text, William seems to have known the *Oneirocriticon* by way of Leo Tuscus's Latin translation.¹⁰³ The fifteenth-century author Venancius of Moerbeke based part of his treatise on prognostications (*De presagiis futurorum libellus*) on William's work.¹⁰⁴ The second is the treatise on dreams by the Milanese physician, mathematician, and philosopher Girolamo Cardano (1501-

¹⁰⁰ For the reading "Alice de Courtenay," see Steinschneider, "Ibn Shahin und Ibn Sirin," p. 239; Berriot, *Expositions et significacions des songes*, p. 42, reads "Alice de Couty."

¹⁰¹ The recent publication of S. Fischer, *The Complete Medieval Dreambook: A Multilingual, Alphabetical "Somnia Danielis" Collation* (Bern and Frankfurt-am-Main, 1982), fails to mention anything on the subject. Speckenbach in his study of medieval German dream books, *Träume und Kräuter*, does not connect the "Dritte Überlieferungsgruppe" (pp. 133-35) of the dream book of Daniel with similar passages from the Greek *Oneirocriticon*, though he is aware of the *Oneirocriticon* in ten Latin, three Old French and two Czech manuscripts (pp. 125-27). For an additional Slavonic manuscript, see chapter 1, n. 20.

¹⁰² R. Pack, "De prognosticatione sompniorum Libellus Guillelmo de Aragonia adscriptus," *AHDLMA* 33 (1966), pp. 237-93; Spanish translation, *Arnaldus de Villanova, De la interpretacion de los sueños* (Madrid, 1975); see also R. Pack, "Addenda to an Article on William of Aragon," *AHDLMA* 35 (1968), pp. 297-99. About the attribution of William's work to Arnald of Villanova, a 13th-century physician who interpreted dreams for the kings of Aragon and Sicily, see Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 2, pp. 301-2.

¹⁰³ Pack, "De prognosticatione sompniorum," p. 247. Given that Pack detects a possible influence of Artemidoros on the work of William, and that Artemidoros, except for the utilization of his work in the 12th-century *Liber thesauri occulti* by Pascalis Romanus, was translated into Latin for the first time in 1539, the sources of William's possible acquaintance with Artemidoros should be investigated.

¹⁰⁴ See R. Pack, "A Treatise on Prognostications by Venancius of Moerbeke," *AHDLMA* 43 (1976), pp. 311-22.

76), whose *Somniorum Synesiorum omnis generis insomnia explicantes, Libri IV*, was published in 1562.¹⁰⁵

Each translation was also, to a greater or lesser extent, an adaptation which further removed the new product from the original text. The problems in the manuscript tradition of all Latin or vernacular renderings are the same as for the Greek manuscript tradition: no two manuscripts preserve an identical text. Modern scholarly works mention, but do not sufficiently explore, the relationship between the Greek *Oneirocriticon* and its renderings into other European languages, as well as the influence of the *Oneirocriticon* on original works in these languages.¹⁰⁶ Much remains to be done in this field of research, as well as on the subject of the relationship of the body of Byzantine dream interpretation to its counterparts in the rest of medieval Europe.¹⁰⁷

Editions

The *editio princeps* of the Greek text appeared in Paris in 1603.¹⁰⁸ The volume comprised the Greek text and Latin translation of Artemidoros, Achmet, Astrampsycho and Nikephoros.¹⁰⁹ In his preface to Achmet, the editor N. Rigault noted that he consulted two Greek manuscripts from the collection of the Bibliothèque du Roi, without giving their call numbers. Rigault's text reproduces faithfully the text of *Paris. gr. 2538* of the fifteenth or the sixteenth

¹⁰⁵ See Fahd, "L'oniromancie orientale," pp. 350-51; for a number of passages establishing the relationship between Cardano and the *Oneirocriticon*, see O. Gotthardt, *Über die Traumbücher des Mittelalters*, pp. 11-13.

¹⁰⁶ Some remarks in Fahd, "L'oniromancie orientale," pp. 347-74; also E. Ploss, "Byzantinische Traumsymbolik und Krimhilds Falkentraum," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 39 (1958), pp. 218-26 and Gotthardt, *Über die Traumbücher des Mittelalters*.

¹⁰⁷ The main handicap of recent researchers seems to be their inability to read Greek. Both Collin-Roset and Berriot, the editors of a Latin and a French version of the *Oneirocriticon* respectively, did not use Drexl's critical edition but relied instead on the Latin translation that accompanies Rigault's text for their comparisons. Let us hope that the recent English and German translations of Drexl's text will help remedy the situation, though no real textual study can be undertaken without the Greek text. A partial French translation has been prepared by Anne-Marie Vincent-Bernardi, "L' *Oneirocriticon* d'Achmet: Traduction et commentaire," 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., Université Aix-Marseille I, 2000.

¹⁰⁸ It appeared in the same year from two print shops: "ex officina Claudii Morelli" and "apud Marcum Orry." The *National Union Catalog* (pre-1956), vol. 22 (1968), only records the Orry printing (NA 0439075). More copies of the second than of the first printing seem to be available in university libraries in the United States. In the printing "ex officina Claudii Morelli," pp. 27-30 of the *Oneirocriticon* are repeated between pages 274 and 275. This defect is absent from the Orry printing. Otherwise, the two are identical.

¹⁰⁹ *Artemidori Daldiani et Achmetis Sereimi f. Oneirocritica. Astrampsychi et Nicephori versus etiam Oneirocritici. Nicolai Rigaulti ad Artemidorum Notae* (Paris, 1603).

century that is still today at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The second manuscript that Rigault claims to have consulted was identified by Ruelle as *Paris. gr.* 2427.¹¹⁰ However, this manuscript was acquired by the Bibliothèque du Roi much later, in 1719. Ruelle's identification should therefore be rejected.¹¹¹ Drexel assumed that the second manuscript mentioned by Ruelle, possibly copied from *Paris. gr.* 2538, has been lost, but it is possible that this second manuscript never existed.

Deciding whether Rigault had used one or two manuscripts for his edition has implications for the importance that should be assigned to the readings of the *editio princeps*. If we accept that only one manuscript was used, then all discrepancies from *Paris. gr.* 2538 should be attributed to Rigault's own intervention. If we grant that two manuscripts were used, we should treat the *editio princeps* as an indirect source for the readings of a manuscript that is no longer extant. Rigault does not seem to have been very thorough in his search for Greek manuscripts to prepare his edition of the *Oneirocriticon*: *Paris. gr.* 2511 and 2419, which contain excerpts from Achmet, including the beginning of the text in which Rigault was interested, were already in the Bibliothèque du Roi in 1594, but Rigault did not use them,¹¹² nor does he claim to have used the second manuscript for the reconstruction of the text; he only claims to have consulted it to establish the identity of the author—to no avail, since the second manuscript was, like the first, missing its beginning pages. We know that in the early days of printing, editors sometimes tried to disguise the inadequacy of their work by making false claims about the sources of their texts.¹¹³ Rigault would not have been the first editor to base his text on a single manuscript, while announcing that he had consulted two.¹¹⁴ It is certainly improbable that a manuscript disappeared from the royal collection of France, especially one whose presence there is otherwise unrecorded and whose disappearance cannot be accounted for.

The Greek text in Rigault's edition was accompanied by Loewenklau's Latin translation, published in 1577. Loewenklau had based his translation on *Vindob.*

¹¹⁰ Ruelle, "La clef des songes d'Achmet Abou-Mazar," p. 306.

¹¹¹ Drexel, "Die Berliner Achmethandschrift," p. 312.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, n. 3.

¹¹³ For the practices of editors and printers in the first centuries of printing, see A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1975), p. 162.

¹¹⁴ Robotel, who edited the text of Aelian the Tactician in 1552, pretended that he had found in the Marciana two "satis vetusta exemplaria"; in reality, all he had used was a copy (ἀπόγραφον) of *Marc. gr.* 516 (14th century). See Dain, *ibid.*

philos. et philol. gr. 297, the text of which has several lacunae, when compared with *Paris. gr.* 2538. The parts missing from Loewenklau's text were supplemented by Rigault's own Latin translation. Since both the Viennese and the Paris codex lacked the first folio, Rigault substituted the first two missing chapters by translating back into Latin the Italian translation of Leo Tuscus's text, which had been available in print since 1525.

Rigault's edition has a number of drawbacks, including its reliance on only one or two manuscripts.¹¹⁵ However, the plans of later scholars to improve on Rigault did not soon materialize.¹¹⁶ In 1894, C.-E. Ruelle in a brief article compared Rigault's text with *Paris. gr.* 2511 and *Paris. gr.* 2419. As a result, he made a number of emendations to Rigault's text, listed a few of its lacunae and called for a new critical edition.¹¹⁷ The call was taken up by Drexel, who laid the foundation for a new critical edition in his dissertation of 1909,¹¹⁸ and published the final product in 1925.¹¹⁹

Drexel inventoried sixteen Greek manuscripts of the *Oneirocriticon*, no two of which has exactly the same text. Seven out of the sixteen manuscripts contained only selected chapters.¹²⁰ Two contained a vernacular paraphrase,¹²¹ another had only a table of contents and a paraphrase of most of what is chapter 1 in Drexel's edition.¹²² The remaining five copy the text from beginning to end, but all have lacunae of various lengths and a varying sequence of chapters. Unavoidably, Drexel's final product (or any editor's for that matter) is a pastiche of chapters forming a version that does not exist in any surviving manuscript. The challenge for an editor in such a situation is to establish criteria that would allow him to choose the sequence of chapters and the readings that are the closest to the archetype.

¹¹⁵ Cf. the criticism in F. Drexel, "Studien zum Text des Achmet," *BZ* 33 (1933), p. 13.

¹¹⁶ We have seen that a posthumous edition of the text by J. Tollus (1630-96) was never printed. For other aborted plans for a new edition and corrections of Rigault's text, see Drexel, *Achmetis Traumbuch*, pp. 6-7.

¹¹⁷ Ruelle, "La clef des songes d'Achmet Abou-Mazar," pp. 305-12.

¹¹⁸ Drexel, *Achmetis Traumbuch*.

¹¹⁹ Drexel, *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*. Negative comments on the editorial method in Latte, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexel, pp. 413 ff. and V. de Falco, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexel, *BZ* 27 (1927), pp. 113 ff.

¹²⁰ T, P (which contains a text so altered in places, that it is almost a paraphrase; Drexel, *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. xii), A, *Paris. gr.* 2427, *Paris. gr.* 2419, *Borbon. gr.* 356 (III. E. 34) and *Athos, Ivron* 4285.165.

¹²¹ *Hierosol.* (of the Patriarchate) *gr.* 220 (17th century); *Hierosol.* (of St. Sabbas) 555 (17th century).

¹²² *Camabrig.* (Trinity College) *gr.* 1386 (O 8.11.6102) of the 15th or 16th century.

The most obvious criterion is the age of each item in the manuscript tradition. The oldest Greek manuscript known to Drexl was R (*Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 111 of the thirteenth century), a text which, compared with Drexl's edition, has several lacunae. The Latin translation of Leo Tuscus was a century older than the oldest Greek manuscript available. Drexl knew a number of manuscripts preserving Leo's text¹²³ and his initial intention, which he never carried through, was to print the Latin translation side by side with the Greek text,¹²⁴ but he did use the Latin translation as the basis for his reconstruction of the Greek text. The oldest surviving manuscript of the translation known to Drexl was the twelfth-century *Digby* 103, but Drexl used the fourteenth-century Wolfenbüttel *Guelpherb. lat.* 2917 instead.¹²⁵ The oldest Greek manuscript, R, was thought to belong to the *codices recentiores et deteriores* and was assigned a secondary role in the text's reconstruction.

Drexl consulted only eight of the sixteen Greek manuscripts he had been able to locate in library catalogues. Excluding the remaining eight without examination must have been a decision that resulted from their inaccessibility coupled with the seemingly poor promise of their contents.¹²⁶ The eight Greek manuscripts that were consulted plus the *editio princeps* by Rigault were arranged in a *stemma codicum*. Surprisingly, the Latin translation of Leo Tuscus

¹²³ In his 1909 dissertation, Drexl notes that during his search for Greek manuscripts he also found two Latin manuscripts of Leo Tuscus's translation, Wolfenbüttel, *Guelpherb. lat.* 2917 and Bodleian, *Digby* 103. In his 1925 critical edition he also cites the catalogue of Leo Tuscus's manuscripts by Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, and an additional one, Marburg, B 21.

¹²⁴ Drexl, "Studien zum Text des Achmet," p. 13.

¹²⁵ "Cod. Guelpherb. optime conservato sum usus" (Drexl, *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. xv). I suspect that the accessibility of the manuscript was not unrelated to this choice, at a time when manuscripts could not be photoreproduced but had to be consulted in the library where they belonged or sent to the interested scholar by the librarian in charge. At the end of the prolegomena to the critical edition, Drexl thanked the librarians in Berlin, Vienna, Leiden and Paris who had generously sent manuscripts to Munich for his use (pp. xv-xvi). The parchment of *Digby* 103 is in excellent condition and very legible; however, the back of the binding is worn and the manuscript must be handled with care. Perhaps this is why it was not sent to Munich.

¹²⁶ The two Jerusalem manuscripts contained a vernacular paraphrase of the text. The Athos manuscript contained only five chapters (221-26). All three manuscripts must have been extremely difficult to consult at the time. I do not know if it was difficult to gain access to Naples, *Borbon. gr.* 356, which was not consulted, though it contains almost all of the Greek text. The Cambridge manuscript only preserves a partial table of contents and part of chapter 1. The three Paris manuscripts that were not consulted by Drexl had been examined by Ruelle, who published his emendations in 1894 (Ruelle, "La clef des songes d'Achmet abou-Mazar"; cf., however, the criticism in Latte, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexl, p. 413). Moreover, Drexl consulted Rigault's edition, which probably, in Drexl's eyes, rendered superfluous the consultation of its source, *Paris. gr.* 2538.

that constituted the basis for the reconstruction of the Greek text is not assigned a position in this *stemma*. The only comment that Drexl makes about the relationship of the Latin translation to the Greek manuscripts is that Leo must have used a manuscript close to A (*Ambros. gr.* 592 of the fifteenth century), a conclusion he illustrated with fifteen examples.¹²⁷ Interestingly, the portion of the text that A preserves (only 27 Teubner pages) is shorter than that contained in any of the remaining seven manuscripts. Moreover, the Latin translation was not assigned a *siglum* in the critical apparatus; the choices made on the authority of the Latin text are almost never discussed in the apparatus, and it is impossible for the reader of the critical edition to obtain a clear picture of the manuscript tradition.¹²⁸

Drexl distinguished two branches of the tradition, x and y. Branch x, represented by manuscripts ALPT, was considered to preserve older and better readings. The reason for such a conclusion, though not clearly stated, must have been the relationship of A, which belonged to branch x, to Leo Tuscus's translation. It is surprising that Drexl places P in this branch since, in his words, "the context in this codex is in several places changed to such a degree, that it is possible to call it a paraphrase."¹²⁹

Drexl then explains the method by which he reconstructed the Greek text.¹³⁰ Codices ALTP, which represent an older and better tradition, were preferred, especially when they agreed with each other and were confirmed by Leo Tuscus. But, whenever APT preserved no text (since they only contain parts of the work) then L was added, but caution was exercised because L had been copied by an "ignorant and negligent scribe," so the readings of L were retained only if confirmed by Leo Tuscus and a manuscript from branch y. Otherwise, the matter was decided according to the meaning of the passage and style of the author. The few readings that were attested by branch y alone were decided on after consulting Leo Tuscus and considering the meaning of the passage and style of the author.

Drexl's editorial method meant that one single manuscript of the Latin translation provided the authority on which chapters, such as those containing the anecdotes, were transposed, and readings emended; no thought was given to the possibility that the Latin tradition itself might present the exact same

¹²⁷ Drexl, *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, pp. viii-ix.

¹²⁸ Cf. criticism in Latte, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexl, p. 414.

¹²⁹ Drexl, *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. xii.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. xiv-xv.

problems that the Greek tradition of the *Oneirocriticon* did. Drexl's exposition makes clear that in several instances a reading was decided on, not by strict adherence to the manuscript tradition, but by what the editor considered appropriate to the meaning of the passage and style of the author. In other words, the editor made several arbitrary decisions in defiance of the manuscript tradition. As de Falco pointed out in his review of the critical edition, Drexl often corrected, not a corrupted reading of the manuscripts, but the author of the *Oneirocriticon* himself, both in the arrangement of the chapters and in the grammar and syntax of the text, anachronistically introducing forms that occur only in older phases of the Greek language.¹³¹

The evidence furnished by Arabic dreambooks sometimes corroborates readings preserved in the *y* branch of the Greek tradition that was rejected by Drexl as belonging to an inferior family of manuscripts. For example, in Drexl's edition the paragraph on interpreting dreams about playing polo (*tzykanizein*) is incorporated into chapter 154, "From the Persians and Egyptians on Excellent Horses."¹³² However, all of the manuscripts in class *y* (*deteriores*) and *L*, from class *x*, discuss polo in a separate chapter, titled "From the Indians on Balls" or simply "On Balls" or "On Balls, That Is *Tzykanion*."¹³³ The chapter "On Balls" in class *y* also includes a paragraph on saddles.¹³⁴ In the Arabic dreambooks an interpretation of polo is never found in the chapters on horses. In the work entitled *al-Muntakhab*,¹³⁵ polo (or, rather, the polo mallet, *ṣaulajān*), is interpreted in a chapter on riding implements, which is found in a part of the dreambook far removed from the chapter on horses. In another Arabic dreambook, that of Ibn Shāhīn, the polo mallet is interpreted in the chapter on

¹³¹ Cf. de Falco, review of *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexl, p. 114: "... mi pare che trovata il Drexl corregga non una corruzione dei codici ma proprio Achmet, oppure ristabilisca non la vera lezione, ma piuttosto quella lezione che si richiederebbe in un testo di parecchi secoli anteriore al nostro." Ibid., p. 115: "A confortare la mia opinione che in questo testo non si debba pretendere una rigida precisione di forma, è opportuno citare qualche luogo, che ben dimostra come il trattato risulti variamente elaborato. L'affermazione innanzi tutto l'autore stesso nel brevissimo proemio, dove prima dichiara di attingere ἐκ τῶν ποιησάντων τὴν τοιαύτην ἀκρίβειαν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν, ἥτοι Ἰνδῶν καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, οἱ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀκριβολογησάμενοι καὶ λεπτολογήσαντες ἐξέθεντο καὶ ἐλογογράφησαν τὴν παρούσαν ἐρμηνείαν, quindi prosegue: καὶ ἐξ ἐκάστου τούτων ἐκλεξάμενος κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐξεθέμην τῶν τριῶν τὰς κρίσεις καὶ λύσεις ἐν ἐκάστῳ κεφαλαίῳ κτλ. Ma nell'uso delle fonti egli non ha seguito un criterio rigoroso e preciso." De Falco gives a number of incontrovertible instances where the editor "hyper-corrected" the text.

¹³² ρνδ' Ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων περὶ εὐγενῶν ἵππων; Drexl 112, 20–113, 10.

¹³³ Ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ σφαίρας; περὶ σφαίρας; περὶ σφαίρας ἥτοι τζυκανίου.

¹³⁴ Drexl 113, 5–10.

¹³⁵ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 338.

arms and armor.¹³⁶ A chapter on arms and armor immediately follows the chapter on polo in the Greek tradition. The tradition of class *y* and *L* is therefore supported by the Arabic evidence, indicating that the Greek interpretation of polo should be separated from the chapter on horses, where Drexl placed it.

A second example is more complicated. Chapter 18 in Drexl's edition is called Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ τῆς σημασίας τῶν τριχῶν (From the Account of the Indians on the Interpretation of Hair). This title was invented by Drexl on the basis of P, περὶ τριχῶν τοῦ σώματος ὅλου (On Hair of the Whole Body), although the text in P is almost a paraphrase.¹³⁷ A and T do not preserve this part of the text. Leo Tuscus has "De membrorum hominis significationibus" (On the Significance of Members of the Human Body)¹³⁸ and thus agrees with class *y* and *L*, which give the title ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ τῆς σημασίας τῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μελῶν (From the Indians on the Significance of Members of the Human Body). Neither title is ideally suited to the contents of chapter 18, but the title supported by class *y*, *L*, and Leo Tuscus should be preferred, not only because of the overwhelming manuscript evidence but also as *lectio difficilior*.

The Greek text before and after the title of chapter 18 is somewhat incoherent. Based on Leo Tuscus (according to the critical apparatus), Drexl changed the position of three chapters and the title of chapter 18 in order to smooth over that difficulty, but all he managed to do was obscure the evidence about the process of the text's rendering from Arabic into Greek. In contrast, the text in Rigault's edition, where the editor did not bother much with textual criticism and remained closer to his unique manuscript source, gives the following sequence of chapters: after a chapter on judges we read two examples of actual consultation: the dream of a man whose hair between the legs became longer and thicker, and the dream of a second man whose body hair fell out after anointment. These are followed by Drexl's chapter 18, "On the Significance of Members of the Human Body," which discusses dreaming of a known person or someone who looks like a known person, dreaming of a young or an old man, dreaming that one's hair became gray or white, that it became denser and longer or that it was cut. Drexl changed the sequence by inserting chapter 18 after the Egyptian chapter on judges and changing its title to "On the Interpretation of Hair," followed by the two examples of actual consultation on dreams about hair.

¹³⁶ Ibn Shāhīn, nos. 5155–58; chapter on arms and armor in vol. 2, p. 67 ff.

¹³⁷ In Drexl's own words, "Contextus in hoc codice plurimis locis adeo commutatus est, ut paraphrasis dici possit" (*Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. xii).

¹³⁸ I am quoting from Digby 103, table of contents on fol. 59v; Drexl gives no information for the reading of *Guelpherb. lat.* 2719.

The examination of Arabic dreambooks illuminates the seeming incoherence of the Greek text and supports the Greek manuscript tradition that was rejected by Drexl. Arabic dreambooks first interpret dreams with religious contents. This group of dreams usually concludes with dreaming of the educated classes, judges, and religious scholars. After religion, Arabic dreambooks discuss humans in a sequence similar to that found in Artemidoros, who begins with birth and youth and goes on to discuss the members of the human body from head to toe. This outline is faithfully followed in the Greek *Oneirocriticon*. After the discussion of judges and the conclusion of the religious dreams the *Oneirocriticon* goes on to discuss hair and parts of the human body. The beginning of this discussion can be found in the latter part of chapter 17, "From the Account of the Egyptians on Judges and Judgments." Chapter 18, "On the Interpretation of Members of the Human Body," which begins, in fact, with dreaming of a known or an unknown person, a young or an old man, has its exact parallel in a chapter from Ibn Qutayba (d. 889).¹³⁹

رؤية الانسان واعضائه. الرجل المعروف هو ذلك الرجل بعينه او سميه او شقيقه او نظيره من الناس فإن كان مجهولا وكان شابا فهو عدو وإن كان شيخا فهو جده والجد القدر...

Dreaming of Humans and Parts of Their Body. A known man is indeed this very same man in person, or someone with the same name, or his brother, or somebody like him from among the people. And if the man was unknown and was a youth, it is an enemy. If he was an old man, he is the dreamer's luck, and luck is destiny

Ibn Qutayba goes on to discuss dreaming of an old lady, a mature woman, and a maiden, which the Greek text does not discuss, at least not in this chapter.¹⁴⁰ But Ibn Qutayba subsequently discusses the parts of the human body beginning with the hair of the head, exactly as it is done in the *Oneirocriticon*.

Drexl also omitted other passages found in the manuscripts, apparently be-

¹³⁹ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 14, Jerusalem *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol 28a ff. Cf. with Rigault, chap. 20 = Drexl 14, 16 ff. (Rigault's text reflects class γ of the Greek manuscripts and is closer to the Arabic text than Drexl's is): ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ τῆς σημασίας τῶν ἀνθρώπου μελῶν. Ἐάν ἴδῃ τις ἄνθρωπον κατ' ὄναρ γινώριμον ἢ ὁμοιον τοῦ γινώριμου, εἰς τὸν γινώριμον ἀποβήσεται τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ βλεπομένου. Εἰ δὲ νεώτερον ἀγνώριστον ἴδῃ, ἐχθρός ἐστὶν ὁ ὁρώμενος. Ἐάν δὲ γέροντα ἀγνώριστον, ἢ γινώριμον γέροντα, ἢ τύχη ἐστὶ τοῦ ὁρώμεντος (From the Indians on the meaning of parts of the human body: If someone dreams of a man who was familiar or looked like someone familiar, the dream's outcome regards this familiar man. If he dreams of an unfamiliar young man, the person dreamt of is an enemy. If he dreams of an unfamiliar or familiar old man, he is the destiny of the dreamer).

¹⁴⁰ This discussion occurs later, in the chapter on women (Drexl 76, 10 ff.).

cause they did not meet his criteria for what he considered sound.¹⁴¹ The extent of these omissions, together with problems that remained unresolved in Drexl's edition, as well as those that have emerged since with the available new data such as the Paris abridgment and Pascalis's *Liber Thesauri Occulti* cannot be addressed until a new critical edition of the text is made that avoids Drexl's methodological biases. Preliminary investigation indicates that Rigault's text, which reflects class γ of the Greek manuscripts, though judged by Drexl to be inferior, is closer to the Arabic dreambooks than is the text of Drexl's critical edition.

The new critical edition should examine all available Greek manuscripts, the translation by Leo Tuscus, the *Liber Thesauri Occulti*, and the evidence of Arabic dream interpretation. The additional interpretations that are found in the abridgment of *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690 and the *Liber Thesauri Occulti* should be sought in the Greek manuscripts that Drexl did not examine. All branches of the tradition, Greek, Latin and Arabic, should be taken into consideration. Though the tradition is very contaminated and it is likely that no stemma can be constructed, an effort should be made at least to evaluate the age of the tradition reflected in each existing manuscript and examine the relationship between them. The resulting critical text will necessarily be, like Drexl's text, a pastiche that does not exist in any of the surviving manuscripts. But this time the pastiche will at least be all inclusive, will show greater respect for the manuscript tradition and as a result, it is hoped, will be that much closer to the irretrievably lost archetype.

¹⁴¹ For example, the critical edition omits a phrase from the introduction found in P, though P is considered by Drexl to belong to the x family of better manuscripts. The phrase is inserted after Drexl 1, 14 (*Paris. gr.* 2511, fol. 7r): ἔχει δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶνδε τῶν κεφαλαίων τῶν ὀνειράτων καὶ τῆς ἐκάστου λύσεως αὐτῶν, οὕτως. No comment on the omission is made in the critical apparatus.

CHAPTER FOUR

COMPARING ARTEMIDOROS AND ARABIC DREAM
INTERPRETATION WITH THE *ONEIROCRITICON*

The earliest surviving dreambook written in the Greek language is the second-century A.D. work of Artemidoros, which was based on an existing tradition, both written and oral, as the author himself says in the introduction:

ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι βιβλίον οὐκ ἐκτησάμην ὄνειροκριτικὸν πολλὴν εἰς τοῦτο φιλοτιμίαν ἔχων, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ σφόδρα διαβεβλημένων τῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάντεων ... ἔτεσι πολλοῖς ὠμίλησα, καὶ ἐν Ἑλλάδι κατὰ πόλεις καὶ πανηγύρεις, καὶ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῶν νήσων ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις καὶ πολυανθρωποτάταις ὑπομένων ἀκούειν παλαιούς ὄνειρους καὶ τούτων τὰς ἀποβάσεις· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως χρήσασθαι τῇ κατὰ ταῦτα γυμνασίᾳ. ὅθεν μοι περιγέγονεν ἐκ περιουσίας ἔχειν περὶ ἐκάστου λέγειν [πλείονα μὲν ἢ προσδοκῆσαι ἂν τις] οὕτως ὡς αὐτὰ τάληθ' ἔχοντα μὴ φλυαρεῖν, ὧν δ' ἂν ἐπιμνησθῶ [καὶ] τὰς ἀποδείξεις φανεράς καὶ πᾶσιν εὐκαταλήπτους ἀποδοῦναι [μὲν] ἐξ ἀπλῶν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι εἴη τοῦτο σαφές, ὡς περιττὴν ἡγήσασθαι τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξήγησιν.

I have not only taken special pains to procure every book on the interpretation of dreams, but have consorted for many years with the much-despised diviners of the marketplace.... In the different cities of Greece and at great religious gatherings in that country, in Asia, in Italy and in the largest and most populous of the islands, I have patiently listened to old dreams and their consequences. For there was no other possible way in which to gain practice in these matters. As a result, from the superabundance of examples, I am able to discuss each individually [more than anyone might have expected] so as to speak the truth without nonsense, and to prove the truth of my assertions clearly and comprehensively by simple statements, except in cases so obvious that I think an explanation is superfluous.¹

The earliest author of a dreambook that Artemidoros refers to is Antiphon the Athenian, possibly the same man as Antiphon the Sophist, the rival of Socrates, an authority approximately six centuries older than Artemidoros.² Though most of the dream interpreters whom Artemidoros mentions by name are Greek, the era in which he lived and the extent of his travels indicate that he

¹ Greek text in Pack, 2, 11-27; English translation in Artemidoros, *Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. White, pp. 13-14; cf. also Artemidoros's introduction to Book v: "I carefully collected as many dreams as I could at festal assemblies throughout Greece and Asia as well as Italy ..." (Pack 301, 10-13; Artemidoros, *Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. White, p. 229).

² For bibliographical references on Antiphon's identity, see Artemidoros, *Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. White, p. 11, n. 19 and p. 67, n. 4; see also del Corno, *Graecorum de re onirocritica*, pp. 45-50 and 129-32.

must have been familiar with material originating in the Egyptian and possibly also the Near Eastern tradition of dream interpretation.³ Such contact would account for the common elements that can be found between Artemidoros and the ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern dreambooks that survive.⁴

Greek influence penetrated the tradition of Jewish dream interpretation, as is evident in the dreams and their explanations recorded in the tractate *Berākōt* of the Babylonian Talmud, which was written down ca. A.D. 600 on the basis of earlier oral tradition.⁵ Jewish lore (presumably including elements received from the Greek tradition) obviously influenced Arabic dream interpretation, since methods and principles of this art, such as the interpretation of dreams on the basis of passages from the Torah in the Jewish tradition and from the Qur'ān in the Islamic tradition, as well as specific examples of dreams that had been dreamt and correctly interpreted, occur both in the Talmud and in later Arabic dreambooks.⁶ Though Greek paganism did not possess holy books equivalent to the Torah and the Qur'ān, Artemidoros also based a number of interpretations on older Greek poetry such as Homer, Euripides and Menander which, by his time, was several centuries old and constituted literary classics.

³ Artemidoros refers to a dream interpreter whom he calls "the Egyptian" (iv.48, Pack 273, 5-12). The geographical position of the homelands of the dream interpreters Geminus of Tyre (ii.44, Pack 179, 13-14) and Phoebus of Antioch (i.2, Pack 6, 15; ii.9, Pack 111, 17; iv.48 Pack 275, 6-10; iv.66, Pack 289, 1-6) mentioned by Artemidoros indicates that they were likely to have been familiar with Near Eastern traditions.

⁴ For two Egyptian dreambooks contemporary with Artemidoros, see A. Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung* (Copenhagen, 1942). Volten in his footnotes gives copious examples of similar interpretations that occur in Artemidoros and the Byzantine dreambooks. For ancient Near Eastern dream interpretation, see A. L. Oppenheim, "The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, with a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* N. S. 46:3 (1956), pp. 179-354. The Assyrian dreambook translated by Oppenheim is preserved on cuneiform tablets from the library of Asurbanipal (668-33 B.C.) that yield a rather fragmentary text. Despite the limited volume of the Assyrian material and the chronological distance of several centuries separating the two dreambooks, some loose correspondences between the Assyrian and the Artemidorean interpretations can still be identified, e.g., the penis indicates progeny (Oppenheim, p. 271, Artemidoros v.86); flying is auspicious but also dangerous (Oppenheim, p. 287, Artemidoros ii.68); rivers signify money and social importance (Oppenheim, p. 287, Artemidoros ii.27); etc.

⁵ *Berākōt* 9, fols. 55a-60b, A. Cohen, ed. and trans., *The Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Berākōt* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 358-99. For the influence of Greek sources on the Talmudic material, see S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York, 1950), pp. 68-82; and H. Lewy, "Zu dem Traumbuche des Artemidorus," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, n. F. 48 (1893), pp. 398-419. Some resemblances between Artemidoros and the Talmudic material have also been pointed out in P. Cox-Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), p. 84, n. 44; p. 87, n. 55; p. 88, n. 58.

⁶ See Kister, "Interpretation of Dreams," pp. 99-101.

Basing interpretations on poetry is a well-known method also employed in Arabic dream interpretation; it is documented in the earliest surviving dream-book in Arabic, the dreambook of Ibn Qutayba.

The connection between Muslim and Jewish dream interpretation in the early Islamic period must have become close since Muslims evidently did not hesitate to summon the services of Jewish interpreters of dreams, as is demonstrated by the examples of Caliph Yazīd II (r. 720-24)⁷ and Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (r. 724-43).⁸ Direct Greek influences on Arabic dream interpretation were introduced through the wave of translations from Greek into Arabic in the ninth and tenth centuries that included medical and philosophical texts on dreams, such as those by Galen⁹ and Aristotle,¹⁰ and especially through the

⁷ See G. Strohmaier, "Der Kalif Yazīd II. und sein Traumdeuter: Eine byzantinische Legende über den Ursprung des Ikonoklasmus," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 3 (1979), pp. 11-17.

⁸ Cf. al-Dinawarī, *faṣl* 19, *bāb* 24. Before becoming caliph, Hishām dreamt that he was holding nineteen-and-a-half fruits in his hands. He narrated his dream to a learned Jewish dream interpreter, who foretold that he would become caliph and reign for nineteen and a half years.

⁹ The theoretical introduction to Arabic dreambooks separates pathogenetic dreams as a category that cannot be interpreted and explains their mechanism based on the existence of the four humors in the human body (blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile), as advocated in Greek medicine. Ibn Qutayba refers to pathogenetic dreams in Ankara, *Ism. Saib Sincer* 1, 4501, fol. 181b (the equivalent passage is missing from the Jerusalem manuscript). Pathogenetic dreams are the sixth class of dreams in al-Dinawarī's introduction (*maqāla* 7, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 28b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 38a). They are also discussed in *al-Muntakhab* (p. 24 = *al-bishāra*, BL *Or.* 6262 fol. 6a [= 12]). See also *al-Muntakhab*, p. 7: ومن ذلك ااضغات الاحلام وهي أن يرى الانسان كأن السماء صارت سقفا ويخاف أن يقع عليه وأن الأرض رجا تدور أو نبت من السماء الأشجار وطلعت من الأرض نجوم أو تحول الشيطان ملكا والفيل نملة وما أشبه ذلك ولا تأويل لها ومن ذلك رؤيا يراها الانسان عند تشويش طبائعه كالدموى يرى الحمرة والمرطوب يرى الرطبة والصفرى يرى الصفرة والسوداوى يرى الظلمات والسواد والمحروور يرى الشمس والنار والحمم والمبرود يرى البرودات والممتلى يرى الأشياء الثقيلة على (Confused dreams are when one dreams that heaven became a ceiling and fears that it is going to fall on one, or that the earth was transformed into a mill and was rotating, or that the trees grew from the sky, or that the stars rose from the earth, or that the devil was transformed into an angel and an elephant into an ant. Dreams like that have no interpretation. Such dreams are dreamt by people with ailing dispositions. So the sanguine will see redness, the one with moistness in him will see moisture, the choleric will see yellowness, the melancholic will see darkness and blackness. Someone who is hot will see the sun and fire, while someone who is cold will see coldness and someone with a full stomach will see the heavy things inside him. This kind of dream has no interpretation, either). Part of this description repeats verbatim al-Dinawarī's fifth class of dreams (*maqāla* 7, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 28b). A similar explanation for the mechanism of pathogenetic dreams is expounded in al-Nābulusī (vol. 1, p. 3), who mentions *al-Muntakhab* among his sources. These passages repeat the principles expounded in Galen's opusculum, *De dignotione ex insomniis* (G. Guidorizzi, ed., "L'opusculo di

ninth-century translation of Artemidoros by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq.

Foreign influences notwithstanding, dream interpretation was an ancient practice among the Semitic peoples and a widespread method of divination in Arabia long before the advent of Islam. It was the only one among the divinatory practices of the pagan period that was officially sanctioned by the new monotheistic religion. Sūra 12 of the Qur'ān depicts Joseph as a divinely inspired dream interpreter, and the Prophet and several of his companions were also purportedly gifted interpreters of dreams. Distinguished scholars from among the next generation of Muslims, such as Ibn al-Musayyab, also became renowned dream interpreters. Consequently, dream interpretation acquired religious overtones, especially since several interpretations were based on verses from the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth*.¹¹

Galen *De dignotione ex insomniis*, "Bolletino del Comitato per l'edizione dei classici greci e latini, N. S. 21 [1973], pp. 81-105). Though the Arabic translation of this work does not survive, it is certain that one was made, since it is mentioned by the 17th-century Ottoman bibliographer Ḥajjī Khalifa; see Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 338.

¹⁰ On the influence of Aristotle on Arabic dream interpretation and the theory of dreaming, see Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 331-32 (on Aristotle) and p. 345 (on al-Kindī). Also H. Gütje, "Philosophische Traumlehren im Islam," *ZDMG* 109 (1959), pp. 258-85; idem, "Die 'inneren Sinne' bei Averroes," *ZDMG* 115 (1965), pp. 255-93; M. Wali-ur-Rahman, "Al-Fārābī and His Theory of Dreams," *Islamic Culture* 10 (1936), pp. 137-52; idem, "The Psychology of al-Fārābī," *Islamic Culture* 11 (1937), pp. 228-52; R. Walzer, "Al-Fārābī's Theory of Prophecy and Divination," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77:1 (1957), pp. 142-48; Ibn Sīnā, "A Unique Treatise on the Interpretation of Dreams by Ibn Sīnā," ed. M. 'Abdul Mu'īd Khan, *Avicenna Commemoration Volume* (Calcutta, 1956 [?]), pp. 255-307; English trans. in idem, *Kitābu ta'bīr-ir-ru'yā* of Abū 'Alī b. Sīnā, *Indo-Iranica* 9:4 (1956), pp. 43-57; G. E. Prueft, "Through a Glass Darkly: Knowledge of the Self in Dreams in Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima*," *Muslim World* 75 (1985), pp. 29-44 (useful only because it summarizes Ibn Khaldūn's views about dreams; unfortunately, the article does not mention the sources that shaped them); M. Jevoelle, "Songe et prophétie chez Maimonide et dans la tradition philosophique qui l'inspire," *Maimonides and Philosophy. Sixth Jerusalem Philosophical Encounter 1986*, ed. S. Pines and Y. Yovel (Dordrecht-Boston-Norwell, Mass., 1986), pp. 174-84. Still, however, the arduous task of collecting instances that coincide with Greek theories on the nature of sleep and dreams from the introductions of Arabic dreambooks and tracing how they ended up there remains to be undertaken. The Arabic and the ancient Greek traditions on dream interpretation seem to coincide even on subjects that are not covered by Artemidoros but are discussed in other Greek texts on dreams, such as the truthfulness of a dream dreamt while sleeping on one's right or left side, and the intensity and veracity of the dream depending on the season of the year.

¹¹ For a more detailed history of Arabic dream interpretation than what is covered here, see Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 247-329; idem, "Les songes et leur interprétation selon l'Islam," pp. 127-58. Also Ch. Magdi, *Die Kapitel über Traumtheorie und Traumdeutung aus dem Kitāb at-tahrīr fī 'ilm at-tafsīr des Ḍiyā' ad-Dīn al-Djazīrī (7.13. Jahrhundert)* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1971), pp. 7-25. For a detailed exposition on the relationship between dream interpretation and the Muslim religious sciences, see Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 175-227. The connection of dream interpretation with the religious sciences is evident from its classification in the curriculum of knowledge by medieval authors. In the *Rasā'il Ikhwān*

Before the end of the eighth century, knowledge of dream interpretation among the Arabs seems to have been preserved and transmitted through oral tradition. The first Arabic dreambook ever written was apparently the *Dustūr fī al-ta'bīr* (Constitutions on Dream Interpretation) or *Kitāb al-ta'bīr* (Book of Dream Interpretation) by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Kirmānī.¹² It was composed at the order of Caliph al-Mahdī (r. 775-85), as is related in a number of Arabic dreambooks.¹³ One of the earliest sources, the eleventh-century dreambook of al-Dīnawarī, says:

ورأى المهدي أمير المؤمنين رضوان الله عليه كان وجهه اسود فاستيقظ فزعا
وامر باستقدام ابراهيم بن عبد الله الكرمانى من السرحان وقص عليه رؤياه
فقال سيولد للخليفة ابنة لقوله عز وجل واذا بشر احدهم بالانثى ظل وجهه
مسودا وهو كظيم * فولدت له تلك الليلة ابنت فبشر به واحسن حياءه
وامره بتاليف كتاب في التعبير.

Al-Mahdī, the prince of the faithful, may God be pleased with him, dreamt that his face became black. He woke up in terror and ordered that Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Kirmānī be summoned to him from Sirhān.¹⁴ Al-Mahdī narrated his dream to al-Kirmānī, who said that a girl would be born to the caliph, according to the saying of God Almighty: "Whenever any of them is given the good tidings of the birth of a female his face is darkened and he is wroth inwardly" [Qur'ān 16:58]. Indeed, on that night a daughter was born and al-Mahdī was delighted about it;

al-ṣaḥā, an encyclopedia compiled by a group of scholars in the 10th century, we read the following: "The sciences of the religious law that were created for the healing of souls and for the quest for future life are of six kinds: (1) The science of the Revelation, (2) the allegorical interpretation of the Qur'ān, (3) reports and traditions (of the Prophet and other recognized authorities), (4) jurisprudence, ordinances and laws, (5) prayers, sermons, asceticism and mysticism, (6) the interpretation of dreams"; see F. Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1975), p. 56. Ibn Khaldūn also classified dream interpretation among the *'ulūm al-sharī'a* (for a quotation of the passage and the relevant reference, see Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 248, n. 3). For a commentary on both passages, see Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 225-27.

¹² See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 345, and "The Dream in Medieval Islamic Society," p. 357; Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 41-46.

¹³ For references to this, as well as a further anecdote demonstrating al-Kirmānī's expertise on dream interpretation, see Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," p. 42.

¹⁴ Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," p. 42, n. 41, relying on a different manuscript (*Chester Beatty* 3569) reads here "al-Sirjān," a toponym which he considers to be the name of a city. I have been unable to locate a city by this name. In favor of the reading "al-Sirhān" is the fact that Wādī Sirhān (Συρμαῖον πεδῖον in Greek sources) is a valley in northern Arabia running from the south end of the Ḥawrān toward the southeast; since antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages it was used as a major communication and trade route (*Et*², s.v. "Sirhān").

he gave al-Kirmānī a generous gift and ordered him to compile a book on dream interpretation.¹⁵

No manuscript containing al-Kirmānī's dreambook survives. However, his interpretations have been quoted by later compilers of dreambooks, and especially Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Sālimī (fl. end of the fourteenth century)¹⁶ in his *al-Ishāra ila 'ilm al-'ibāra* (The Intimation on the Science of Interpretation). Al-Sālimī informs his readers that he based his work on that of al-Kirmānī, but added new data.¹⁷ More than a generation later, the dreambook of al-Sālimī, including the interpretations attributed to al-Kirmānī, was used as a source for the *Kitāb al-ishārāt fī 'ilm al-'ibārāt* (Book of Intimations on the Science of Interpretations) by Ibn Shāhīn (d. 1468), who added 30 chapters to al-Sālimī's 50, for a total of 80 chapters.¹⁸

The oldest surviving Arabic dreambook was written by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd-Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba (d. 889), and is known under two slightly different titles: *Ibārat al-ru'yā* (Interpretation of Dreaming) and *Ta'bīr al-ru'yā* (Dream Interpretation).¹⁹ Ibn Qutayba seems to have relied on an already well-developed written tradition. He was a contemporary of Ḥunayn b. Ishāq (d. 873) and might have been familiar with the latter's translation of Artemidoros. Indeed, some of Artemidoros's interpretations can also be found in Ibn Qutayba's dreambook. However, given the earlier Arabic familiarity with the Jewish oneirocritic tradition, which was heavily influenced by the Greek, and the possibility that elements of Near Eastern lore found their way into Artemidoros's work, it is conceivable that the interpretations shared by Artemidoros and Ibn Qutayba had been absorbed into the Arabic tradition even before Ḥunayn's translation.²⁰ The matter cannot be decided without a study of Ibn Qutayba's dreambook in connection with the Arabic translation of Artemidoros and a thorough search for textual parallels.

The second oldest Arabic book on dream interpretation that survives is possibly *al-Qādirī fī al-Ta'bīr* (The Book Dedicated to Caliph al-Qādir on Dream Interpretation), written by Abū Sa'īd (or Sa'd) Naṣr b. Ya'qūb al-

¹⁵ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 6, *bāb* 19 (*Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 47b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 79r).

¹⁶ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 352, no. 103.

¹⁷ In some manuscripts Ibn Sirīn appears as the author of the treatise; all information from Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 352, no. 103.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 351, no. 102.

¹⁹ See Kister, "Interpretation of Dreams," p. 67.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 99.

Dīnawarī (d. ca. 1009). According to its introduction, it was finished in 1006 and was dedicated to Caliph al-Qādir bi-l-Lāh (r. 991-1031), whence its title. Al-Dīnawarī's dreambook was extremely popular and became the most important source for several subsequent authors.²¹ Fahd has inventoried more than 30 manuscripts of it, the oldest of which dates to 1202. The dreambook of Ibn Qutayba is rather brief, but al-Dīnawarī's work is remarkably extensive and detailed; in fact it constitutes one of the longest such works ever written. It is divided in 30 sections (*faṣl*), and subdivided into 1,396 chapters (*bāb*).

Approximately contemporary with al-Dīnawarī is the dreambook written by Abū Aḥmad Khalaf b. Aḥmad al-Sijistānī (937-1009), the last Saffarid amir of Sijistān and a cultured patron of literary endeavors. This work is known under various titles, but the original one must have been *Tuḥfat al-mulūk* (The Jewel of Kings, or the Prized Possession of Kings). It is deliberately concise, because it was intended as a quick reference.²²

A dizzying number of Islamic dreambooks survive from the eleventh century and later. Fahd, who inventoried the authors and titles of both lost and extant dreambooks, ended with a total of 181 titles.²³ We will compare the *Oneirocriticon* with Arabic dream interpretation using five of them: Ibn Qutayba, al-Dīnawarī, *al-Muntakhab*, Ibn Shāhīn and al-Nābulusī. The first two were chosen because of their early date; the remaining three because of their importance for preserving earlier material and because their printed editions make them relatively accessible.

Most modern scholars who have studied the *Oneirocriticon* have concluded that its author was familiar with both the Greek text of Artemidoros and Arabic dream interpretation. Only Dagron briefly mentioned the possibility, without, however, discussing it in any detail, that the influence of Artemidoros might have reached the *Oneirocriticon* through Arabic sources.²⁴ We will ex-

²¹ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 336-37, no. 30. *Al-Qādirī* was also translated into Persian and Turkish; see *EP*², s.v. "al-Dīnawarī, Abū Sa'īd (Sa'd) Naṣr b. Ya'qūb."

²² Al-Sijistānī's dreambook was known to Fahd from two manuscripts (see Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 354, no. 112), but the identification of its author with the well-known person of the amir and consequently the possibility for dating it escaped him. For the identification of the author and some additional details on his work, see Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 58-64; on p. 60 he lists three additional manuscripts.

²³ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 330-67.

²⁴ Dagron, "Formes et fonctions du pluralisme linguistique à Byzance," p. 237: "<L> auteur <de l'*Oneirokritikon*> connaît l'arabe et retrouve peut-être par ce canal une partie de la tradition antique d'Artémidore."

amine here, therefore, whether the passages that have been attributed to the influence of Artemidoros in the *Oneirocriticon* are in fact closer to similar passages in Arabic dreambooks, or whether they were indeed inspired by the author's direct knowledge of the original text; and what exactly the relationship of the *Oneirocriticon* is to Arabic dream interpretation, particularly those aspects of the *Oneirocriticon* that appear as specifically Christian and Byzantine. Passages with Christian interpretations will be examined using their corresponding Muslim interpretations in Arabic dreambooks. Instances that indicate the author's familiarity with elements of the Byzantine imperial ideology will also be juxtaposed to equivalents from Arabic dreambooks.

The Arabic Translation of Artemidoros

The first three of Artemidoros's five books on dream interpretation are dedicated to a certain Cassius Maximus. Only these three books were meant for publication; the introduction to the fourth book states that the last two books were composed after the first three had been completed and were intended for the exclusive use Artemidoros's son and namesake, who was an apprentice dream interpreter. This introduction also mentions that the previous three had met with approval as well as criticism among the reading public.²⁵ The last two books discuss subjects that were either omitted or insufficiently explained in the first three books. The father warns the son that, in order to have an advantage over his rival dream interpreters and diviners, he should keep the contents of these last two books to himself, because "once they become the common property of everyone, it will be obvious that you know nothing more than anyone else."²⁶ Artemidoros included all he intended the public to know about his art in the first three books, which can therefore be viewed as a complete work, even without books 4 and 5.

The Arabic translation of Artemidoros survives in a unique manuscript, *Ar.*

²⁵ Pack 237, 17-22: καὶ γὰρ νῦν αἰσθάνομαι τινῶν τοῖς βιβλίοις ἐγκαλοῦντων ὡς τῶν μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς γεγραμμένων ἀληθείας μὲν οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν ἀποδεόντων, οὐ πάντων δὲ ἐξεργασμένων οὐδὲ ἠτιολογημένων, ἔστι δὲ ὧν καὶ παραλελειμμένων ἀναγκαίων ὄντων τῇ ὑποθέσει (As a matter of fact, I am now aware of certain men who charge that these books, while they leave nothing at all to be desired with regard to their accuracy, are nonetheless incomplete and do not delve far enough into the causes. And, indeed, they maintain that certain things still demanded by the subject at hand have been omitted).

²⁶ Introduction to book iv. Pack 238, 1-6; see also Artemidoros, *Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. White, p. 8.

yazma 4726 now in the Istanbul University Library. It was discovered by Fahd in 1959 and edited by him in 1964.²⁷ The manuscript has been dated both to ca. 1200 and to the fourteenth century.²⁸ Its title page, written by a later hand,²⁹ does not give the name of the translator; it tells its reader that the work is a "book on the interpretation of dreams by the wise Artemidoros in three sections" (كتاب تعبیر المنامات للحکیم ارطامدروس علی مقالات),³⁰ and it contains the translation only of books 1-3.³¹

The tenth-century bibliographical compilation, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, by Ibn al-Nadīm, mentions that the famous translator Ḥunayn b. Ishāq (d. 873) had translated Artemidoros's work on dream interpretation in five books.³² The text discovered by Fahd therefore generated a number of questions: who was the translator? how many books of Artemidoros's work had been translated into Arabic? was there an intermediary Syriac translation? how useful was the Arabic text for the retrieval of the Greek archetype?

The characteristics of the translation were analyzed by Fahd and by F. Rosenthal in somewhat different terms. According to Fahd, the overall impression of the reader is that it is a faithful and exact translation, and for this reason it is an indispensable aid to the editor of the Greek text.³³ The translation

²⁷ On the discovery, see Fahd, "La traduction arabe des *Oneirocritica*," pp. 87-89. The text was published by Fahd, ed., *Artémidore d'Éphèse*; an exhaustive index to the Arabic text with cross references to the Greek text was compiled by E. Schmitt, *Lexikalische Untersuchungen zur arabischen Übersetzung von Artemidors Traumbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1970).

²⁸ H. Ritter and A. Ateş dated the manuscript to ca. 1200 according to Fahd, ed., *Artémidore d'Éphèse*, p. xxiii. A 14th-century date is given by F. Rosenthal, "From Arabic Books and Manuscripts, XII: The Arabic Translation of Artemidorus," *JAOS* 85 (1965), p. 139.

²⁹ See Fahd, "La traduction arabe des *Oneirocritica*," p. 88.

³⁰ The first folio of the manuscript with the title of the work is reproduced in Fahd, *Artémidore d'Éphèse*, pl. I.

³¹ For a description of the manuscript, see Fahd, "La traduction arabe des *Oneirocritica*," pp. 87-89, and *Artémidore d'Éphèse*, pp. xxii-xxiv. Fahd's edition includes three plates that reproduce a total of five folia from the manuscript. The folia that currently comprise the manuscript seem to have belonged to a larger collection, from which they were extracted and bound separately for the library of Sultan Abdül-Hamid II (1879-1909). The first twelve folia of the manuscript are missing (Fahd, "La traduction arabe des *Oneirocritica*," p. 88, and *Artémidore d'Éphèse*, p. xxi) as is indicated by an early "foliotage en minuscules grecs" that runs throughout the manuscript. The condition of the last folio, which is filled with certificates of purchase and other formulas from the 16th century and later, indicates that there were no further folia (Fahd, "La traduction arabe des *Oneirocritica*," p. 88). The first part of the introduction (the address to Cassius Maximus, Pack 1, 1-3, 8) is missing.

³² Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, Flügel et al., eds., p. 255: صاحب کتاب الرطاميدورس صاحب كتاب تعبیر الرؤيا خمس مقالات نقله حنين بن اسحق.

³³ Unfortunately, Fahd's edition of the Arabic translation appeared too late for Pack to consult

is so literal that several terms, for which the translator was unable to procure an Arabic equivalent, are simply transcribed from Greek into Arabic. The literal rendering of the Greek often obscures the sense of the Arabic text, especially in the passages where Artemidoros referred to Graeco-Roman institutions that were unknown in the Middle Ages. In these cases the translator, who was incapable of grasping the meaning of the Greek text, rendered the original word by word, often losing sight of the sense in the process. Parts of sentences that exist in the Greek original are missing from the Arabic translation, either because the translator could not understand them, or because they were absent from his Greek copy or because they were lost in the course of the transmission of the Arabic text. The Greek text is sometimes not rendered literally. Composite Greek words are replaced by two or more Arabic words, but composite Greek expressions are also sometimes rendered with a single Arabic word. The language of the translator is burdened with foreign terms and expressions modeled after Greek or Syriac usage—in fact, Syriacisms are so frequent that Fahd wondered whether the Arabic translator was working from a Syriac intermediary. The vocabulary and expression of the Arabic text place it between the classical and the colloquial language, as is usually the case with ninth-century translations. The Syriacisms of the text, understandable for a native speaker of Syriac, as well as the evidence of the *Fihrist*, led Fahd to deduce that the author of the translation at hand was indeed Ḥunayn b. Ishāq. The Arabic Artemidoros is inferior to Ḥunayn's translations of Galen, so perhaps it should be considered a product of his youth, before he had gained proficiency in Greek and mastery of translation techniques.³⁴

Rosenthal agreed with Fahd that the translator was Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, but dismissed the notion of a Syriac intermediary, since no certain traces of it could be discovered:

The overall translation technique is clearly that of Ḥunayn and his school. The often complicated Greek is rendered throughout into lucid and concise Arabic according to the sense. In fact, Ar [= the Arabic translation] is clearer and simpler than G [= the Greek text], at the expense of any literary ambitions Artemidoros may have had. For instance, Ar. consistently uses the verb *dalla* ["it signifies"] where G never tires of varying the expressions introducing the explanation of dreams. However, the translation is by no means philologically exact in our sense of the term. Ar. is full of mistranslations which can only to a small extent be explained as due to a poor text of G in the manuscript (or manuscripts, we cannot tell) available to the translator. A frequent cause of loose translation is the wrong

during the preparation of his edition of the Greek text; see R. Pack, "Artemidorian Graeco-Arabica," *TAPA* 106 (1976), p. 307.

³⁴ Fahd, *Artémidore d'Éphèse*, pp. xiv-xxii.

analysis of sentence structure or the failure to pay attention to such matters as the cases of nouns. It is obvious that the translator often merely guessed at the meaning. We cannot escape the strange feeling that variant readings in G seemingly suggested by Ar. never really existed in any Greek manuscript but were formed in the mind of the translator trying to decipher the text in front of him or listening to someone reading the text to him aloud (Ar. often suggests a Greek text as it was then pronounced, rather than the classical spelling). All such flaws do not entirely eliminate the possibility of Hunayn's translatorship, as he himself felt truly at home only in the technical language of Galen and, for his knowledge of the technical language of dream interpreters, was presumably restricted to the work of Artemidoros.³⁵

Rosenthal concludes that, since the translator often resorted to guess work, the value of the Arabic translation of Artemidoros for textual criticism is very limited, and that the Arabic text merits further study only because of its importance for cultural history.³⁶ But this opinion was evidently not shared by other scholars. After the publication of the Arabic translation, a number of articles suggested textual emendations to be used by a future editor of the Greek text.³⁷

In his review of Fahd's edition, G. Strohmaier sought to reconcile the problem posed by the absence of a translator's name on the unique manuscript of the translation with the evidence in the *Fihrist*. In view of the Syriacisms of the Arabic text, he suggested that Hunayn had initially translated it from Greek into Syriac and then one of his students went from Syriac into Arabic.³⁸ The problem was further investigated by Ullmann, who listed fourteen names of plants, five names of animals, and eight medical terms that were rendered in the Arabic with different equivalents than in other translations known to have been produced by Hunayn and his school. Ullmann concluded that two Arabic translations of Artemidoros had been produced: one by Hunayn b. Ishāq comprising all five books, which was mentioned in the *Fihrist* and is

³⁵ Rosenthal, "Arabic Translation of Artemidoros," pp. 139-40.

³⁶ For further comments on the translation reflecting the literature published up to 1968, see Magdi, *Die Kapitel über Traumtheorie und Traumdeutung aus dem Kitāb at-tahrīr fī 'ilm at-tafsīr des Ḍiyā' ad-Dīn al-Jazirī (7.113/ Jahrhundert)*, pp. 19-22. See also Lamoignon, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 78-86.

³⁷ See R. Pack, "On Artemidoros and His Arabic Translator," *TAPA* 98 (1967), pp. 313-26; idem, "Artemidoriana Graeco-Arabica," pp. 307-12; G. M. Browne, "Ad Artemidorum Arabum," *Le Muséon* 97 (1984), pp. 207-20; idem, "Ad Artemidorum Arabum II," *Le Muséon* 103 (1990), pp. 267-82; A. Breen, "Observations on the Arabic Translation of Artemidoros: Book I," *Le Muséon* 101 (1988), pp. 179-81; G. W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1994), pp. 145-147.

³⁸ G. Strohmaier, review of T. Fahd, ed., *Artémidore d'Éphèse* in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 62 (1967), pp. 270-75.

now lost; and a second one by an anonymous translator that included only three books, which is in fact the surviving Arabic text.³⁹ In his answer to Ullmann's article, Fahd pointed out that al-Dinawari quoted passages from all five books and that his quotations from books 1-3 reproduce the surviving translation, which indicates that it initially comprised all five books. Moreover, Fahd accounted for the discrepancies in the translation of terms listed by Ullmann and demonstrated that only one Arabic translation of Artemidoros existed, and that was the one prepared by Hunayn.⁴⁰

The Arabic translation of Artemidoros is not simply a rendition of the text from one language into another. Artemidoros frequently referred to notions and institutions that were peculiar to the pagan Graeco-Roman civilization of late antiquity. In these passages the Arabic text does not give a translation, but an adaptation of the Greek original. The changes relevant to religion have been collected and discussed by Strohmaier.⁴¹ The ancient deities mentioned in the Greek Artemidoros are most often rendered as angels, a practice that seems to be typical of Hunayn's school of translation.⁴² There are limited examples where the name of the deity is simply transliterated without further explanation, or is omitted and the deity is referred to by his or her attributes. In three instances, the names of Aphrodite and Hermes are rendered with the Arabic names for the corresponding planets.⁴³ In a very few passages, such as the one on dreaming of the crucifixion, it is possible to discern that the translator was a Christian.⁴⁴

Hunayn's renderings are not always consistent. The same deity is not always rendered in the same manner.⁴⁵ In addition, at the beginning the Greek *iereus* (priest) is rendered by the Arabic *imām*, a word with clear Muslim connotations; later on *iereus* is translated as *kāhin*, the word for the soothsayers of pagan Arabia. Strohmaier conceded that it is sometimes difficult to decide whether

³⁹ M. Ullmann, "War Hunayn der Übersetzer von Artemidors Traumbuch?," *Die Welt des Islams* 13 (1971), pp. 204-11.

⁴⁰ Fahd, "Hunayn ibn Ishāq est-il le traducteur des *Oneirocritica* d'Artémidore d'Éphèse?," pp. 270-84.

⁴¹ G. Strohmaier, "Die griechischen Götter in einer christlich-arabischen Übersetzung. Zur Traumbuch des Artemidor in der Version des Hunayn ibn Ishāq," in *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, ed. F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, vol. 5:1 (Berlin, 1968), pp. 127-62.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 131, n. 2.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁴⁵ Hermes and Aphrodite are a case in point. For a rendering of their names other than by the equivalent Arabic planets, see *ibid.*, pp. 133-34.

the Arabic departures from the Greek text merely reflect the translator's limited understanding of the Greek language and his ignorance of the Graeco-Roman context within which Artemidoros's interpretations functioned.⁴⁶ But he considers a number of them as the product of a deliberate choice, motivated by the translator's desire to protect the reputation of the ancient Greek authors, to be considerate toward Orthodox circles and to increase the esteem of Christianity in the eyes of Muslims.⁴⁷ Hunayn's adaptations were made at the expense of a more faithful rendering of the Greek text and seem to have been criticized by al-Jāhiz, a Muslim intellectual who was Hunayn's contemporary and also frequented the court of Baghdad.⁴⁸

In spite of the changes meant to make Artemidoros's text more appealing and understandable to medieval readers who followed monotheistic religions, several passages of the Arabic translation are incomprehensible without recourse to the Greek text. The difficulties that later Arabic authors faced in understanding the Arabic translation become apparent if we examine Artemidoros's afterlife in subsequent Arabic dreambooks. Al-Dīnawarī quoted extensively from the Arabic translation of Artemidoros. Though he generally followed the translation faithfully, he often quoted the Arabic text with slight changes if its meaning was difficult to grasp. Other authors, who were not as literal as al-Dīnawarī in quoting their sources, did include interpretations that ultimately originated in Artemidoros's Arabic translation, but omitted the problematic phrases altogether.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 130-31.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 156.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 155-56.

⁴⁹ A good example is the interpretation of the crucifixion. Strohmaier used the Arabic rendering of the corresponding Greek passage as an example of Hunayn's altering the meaning of the text which should be attributed to his Christian faith (ibid., p. 146): "Wo Artemidor von der Kreuzigungsstrafe redet, haben die Assoziationen, die ein Christ damit begreiflicherweise verbindet, die Übersetzung beeinträchtigt. Für reiche Leute ist es schlimm, sich im Traum gekreuzigt zu sehen, γυμνοὶ γὰρ σταυροῦνται καὶ τὰς σάρκας ἀπολλύουσι οἱ σταυρωθέντες (because the crucified are stripped naked and lose their flesh) [Artem. ii.53]. Hunayn formuliert die Begründung pietätvoller: *der Gekreuzigte wird nämlich nackt gekreuzigt, und sein Körper verändert sich* [Fahd, ed., *Artémidore d'Éphèse*, p. 332, l. 9]. Nun ist es aber nicht mehr unmittelbar einsichtig, warum der Traum für den Reichen ungünstig ist, und das muß Hunayn auch empfunden haben. Er sucht nämlich die Bedeutung des Traumes durch einen Zusatz ausdrücklich sicherzustellen: *und deswegen weist es auf den Verlust ihrer Habe hin, wenn sie sich gekreuzigt sehen* [Fahd, ed., p. 332, l. 11]. Al-Dīnawarī copied this passage into his own dreambook. The meaning of the phrase *ويتغير بدنه* (his body changes) was apparently hard for him to

So far, the only effort to demonstrate the influence of Artemidoros on Arabic dream interpretation through textual examples has been undertaken by Abdel Daim, in a book published a year before the discovery of the Arabic translation of Artemidoros. Abdel Daim was therefore limited to comparing *al-Muntakhab* with excerpts from Artemidoros's Greek text in French translation.⁵⁰ However, given the adaptations evident in Hunayn's translation, which altered some of the nuances as well as the contents of the Greek original, any investigation of Artemidoros's influence on Arabic dream interpretation based on the Greek text without recourse to its Arabic version could be misleading.⁵¹ In addition to the first three books that survive in Istanbul University *Ar. yazma* 4726, the Arabic translation of the last two books can be retrieved, at least in part, from the extensive quotations of Artemidoros given in al-Dīnawarī and in al-Damirī's fourteenth-century zoological encyclopedia, the *Hayāt al-ḥayawān* (Life of Animals).⁵² This means that almost all Hunayn's translation

comprehend, because in both manuscripts of al-Dīnawarī that I examined it appears as *ويتغير لونه* (his color changes); cf. *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 167b and BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 205a. *Al-Muntakhab* (p. 161), which copied al-Dīnawarī, omitted the bothersome phrase and limited the explanation of the interpretation to the phrase *المصلوب يصلب عاريا* [sic] (because the crucified is crucified naked). Al-Nābulusī (vol. 2, p. 40), who also copied al-Dīnawarī, included the interpretation but omitted its justification, though he did repeat the phrase added by Hunayn: *وفي الاغنياء دليل* (For the rich it is a bad sign, and indeed it indicates the corruption of their affairs). Ibn Shāhin (no. 2276) also omitted the problematic explanation of the interpretation: *وقيل ان الصلب للاغنياء ما لم يكن صاحب منصب دليل على الفقر لأن* (And it is said that crucifixion for the rich who are not high ranking dignitaries is a sign of poverty, because the crucified is crucified naked). For a more detailed analysis of the interpretations on crucifixion in the Greek and Arabic tradition, see also chapter 5.

⁵⁰ A. Abdel Daim, *L'oniromancie arabe d'après Ibn Sirīn*, pp. 150-61. The French translation used by Daim is H. Vidal, *Artémidore: La clef des songes ou les cinq livres d'interprétation des songes, rêves et visions* (Paris, 1921).

⁵¹ For example, anyone familiar with the Greek text of Artemidoros's introduction to book i who would read A. Miquel's summary of the same introduction made from the Arabic translation (A. Miquel, "Réflexions sur le *Livre des songes* d'Artémidore d'Éphèse—Hunayn b. Ishāq," *Studia Islamica* 52 [1980], pp. 89-103) would immediately realize that the meaning of several Greek sentences has shifted in its Arabic translation. In his translation of book i, Hunayn seems to have rendered certain Greek terms on the theory of dream interpretation, not by choosing an Arabic word that would be as close to the Greek as possible, but by employing the Arabic terminology on dream interpretation that was already current in the 9th century. A case in point is the Greek *enypnion*, rendered with the Quranic *adhghāth ahlām*, which literally means "confused dreams" (see Strohmaier, "Die griechischen Götter," p. 149).

⁵² Al-Damirī also mentions other authors of dreambooks, including al-Dīnawarī and the Persian Jāmāsb, who is cited by al-Dīnawarī together with Artemidoros. It is therefore possible that al-Damirī lifted his quotations, not directly from Hunayn's Arabic translation, but indirectly from

survives. The examination of the relationship between the Arabic translation of Artemidoros and later Arabic dreambooks remains to be undertaken, but it lies outside the scope of the present study.

The stylistic particularities of Hunayn's translation and the alterations that its passages underwent at the hands of subsequent Arabic authors explain why Artemidoros's interpretations that occur in the *Oneirocriticon* are phrased so differently from the ancient Greek text.⁵³ This is the reason why the Greek *Oneirocriticon* (the Arabic sources of which did not include the Arabic translation of Artemidoros but only Arabic dreambooks that were directly or indirectly informed by Artemidoros's wisdom) does not contain interpretations that perfectly correspond to Hunayn's text, either. However, Hunayn's choice of words can sometimes elucidate the expressions found in similar interpretations in the *Oneirocriticon*.

The Arrangement of Chapters

The overwhelming majority of the surviving Greek dreambooks are arranged in alphabetical order. Only three, Artemidoros, the *Oneirocriticon*, and the dreambook of Manuel Paleologos,⁵⁴ are not—each of these three has its own arrangement. In his introduction, Artemidoros described the sequence in which he would discuss the various dream symbols, because he intended to break

al-Dinawari. Given the use of al-Damiri's quotations in Ullmann's debate with Fahd, it is of some importance to examine whether this is indeed the case. For al-Damiri's sources, see J. de Somogyi, "The Interpretation of Dreams in Ad-Damiri's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*," *JRAS* (1940-41), pp. 2-3.

⁵³ For a further example, see Lamoignon, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," p. 123: Ibn Sinā, who relied heavily on the Arabic translation of Artemidoros for the compilation of his own work on dream interpretation, omitted or rephrased several interpretations found in the Arabic version of the Greek text because in these instances Hunayn's Arabic made little sense.

⁵⁴ Only the systems of Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* will be discussed; the dreambook attributed to Manuel Paleologos does not, at least in its present form, seem to follow any clearly discernible arrangement. The published text (ed. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, vol. 1, pp. 511-24) is based solely on *Paris. gr.* 2419, which also contains the *Oneirocriticon* just before Manuel's dreambook. Drexel's critical edition of the *Oneirocriticon* has a different sequence of chapters. It is conceivable that the chapters of Manuel's dreambook, which might have had a discernible arrangement at some earlier stage, were similarly rearranged. The fragments from Manuel Paleologos's dreambook added at the end of the text of the *Oneirocriticon* in *Leidens. Voss.* 49 are so few and so incongruously arranged (in a different way than in *Paris. gr.* 2419), that, even with the additional evidence from the *Leidensis*, one cannot arrive at a conclusion regarding the sequence of chapters originally intended by the author.

away from the method of classification used by his predecessors (asterisks indicate lacunae in the original text):⁵⁵

Ἐξῆς ὑποθησόμεθα πῶς δεῖ κρίνειν τοὺς ὄνειρους. ἔξει δὲ τάξιν ἡ πραγματεία τοιαύτην. οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀρξάμεθα, κἂν ἀσεβεῖν τινὶ δοκῶμεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῆς ἀκολουθίας ἀποβλέποντες ἀρξόμεθα πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ γεννᾶσθαι, ἔπειτα ** ἀνατρέφεισθαι, ἔξῃς περὶ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι μερῶν προσγινομένων καὶ ἀπογινομένων καὶ αὐξανομένων καὶ μειουμένων καὶ ἀλλοιουμένων εἰς μορφήν ἑτέραν ἢ εἰς ὕλην, εἶτα περὶ διδασκαλίας τεχνῶν παντοδαπῶν καὶ ἔργων καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων, εἶτα περὶ ἐφηβίας, περὶ γυμνασίων [κατ' εἶδος], περὶ ἀγώνων, περὶ βαλανείου καὶ λουτροῦ παντοδαποῦ, περὶ τροφῆς πάσης ὑγρᾶς τε καὶ ξηρᾶς, περὶ μύρων καὶ στεφάνων, περὶ [ἀφροδισίων] συνουσίας, περὶ ὕπνου. ταῦτα μὲν περιέχει ἡ πρώτη βίβλος· ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ** περὶ ἐγρηγόρσεως ἀσπασμάτων κόσμου παντὸς ἀνδρείου καὶ γυναικείου ἀέρος καὶ τῶν περὶ ἄερα, περὶ κυνηγεσίας περὶ ἀλείας περὶ πλοῦ περὶ γεωργίας, περὶ δίκης, ἀρχῆς δημοσίας καὶ λειτουργίας, στρατείας, θεῶν τιμῆς καὶ περὶ θεῶν, περὶ θανάτου, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο προῖων ὁ λόγος ὑπομνήσει.

Next, we shall explain how to classify dreams. The treatment will be arranged in the following order. We shall not begin, as early writers did, with the gods, even if we strike some people as being irreverent but, observing the natural sequence of events, we shall begin first with birth, then ** education. Then we shall treat the body and the parts of the body—those which are added, subtracted, grown, diminished, and changed into a different shape or substance. After that, we shall talk about the teaching of trades of all types, pursuits, and occupations; then, about the life of the ephebe, bodily exercises [according to types], contests, the bath, washing of every kind, all food, liquid as well as solid, unguents and garlands, sexual intercourse, and sleep. This material will be treated in the first book. The second book, however, ** about waking up, greeting people, all masculine and feminine clothing, climate and climatic phenomena, about hunting, fishing, sailing, farming, about legal proceedings, public office, and liturgies (i.e., public service performed at private expense), military service, the worship of the gods, and about the gods themselves, death, and anything else that will be suggested in the course of the exposition.

The pattern which Artemidoros rejected was the traditional method of organizing knowledge in an accessible form before the introduction of alphabetization. Thematic arrangement of knowledge in antiquity was followed by Aristotle and Pliny, but the Greek-speaking world had already started breaking away from it in the second century A.D.⁵⁶ By the tenth century, when the *Oneir-*

⁵⁵ i.10; Pack 19, 5-24. The passage is quoted according to Artemidoros, *Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. White. Whatever Artemidoros's original intentions, the sequence of his five books lacks orderly classification because of the incremental manner in which the books were written: at the beginning Artemidoros intended to write two books, the organization of which is set forth in the introduction to book i. He then wrote a third one to cover the omissions of the first three. He later added books iv-v to include new material, and explain the interpretations already set forth in the first three books.

⁵⁶ The earliest known alphabetically arranged Greek dictionary is that by Diogenianos of Heraklea, who lived during Hadrian's reign. For the early history of Greek lexicography, see

ocriticon was written, thematic arrangement of the type avoided by Artemidoros had generally been abandoned in favor of an alphabetical sequence of topics.⁵⁷ The *Oneirocriticon*, however, is organized thematically.

Alphabetical organization was not as widely employed in the Arabic-speaking world. The nature of the Arabic language, in which the majority of the words can be broken down to a three-consonant root, made it difficult and impractical to employ a system of strict alphabetical order in compiling a dictionary, a difficulty reflected in the history of Arabic lexicography.⁵⁸ Not surprisingly, dream-interpretation literature in Arabic was always organized by subject from its origins until the thirteenth century, when alphabetical classification of dream symbols was introduced by Ibn Ghannām (d. 1294). Even after Ibn Ghannām, the standard format of an Arabic dreambook included a long introduction on the theory and principles of dream interpretation, followed by the interpretations of specific dream symbols arranged according to subject in a hierarchical manner, beginning with God, Heaven and its inhabitants, such as angels, prophets, and the companions and followers of the Prophet Muḥammad, and continuing with earth and its inhabitants, i.e., man and the parts of the human body, human activities, and every-day objects, fauna and flora.⁵⁹

Hunger, *Byzantinē logotechnia*, vol. 2, pp. 407-30. In Western Europe, thematic lexicography was widely employed by medieval Scholasticism; see T. McArthur, "Thematic Lexicography," in *The History of Lexicography*, ed. R. P. K. Hartmann (Amsterdam-Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 157-66.

⁵⁷ The tradition of thematic arrangement persisted in medical writings. For example, the medical compilation by Theophanes Nonnos, which dates from the reign of Constantine VII, around the same time as the *Oneirocriticon*, the material is arranged according to subject, following the parts of the human body in order from head to toe. However, this arrangement applies strictly to the human body, and not the universe, as is the case in the *Oneirocriticon*. Nonnos's text was published twice: *Nonni, medici clarissimi, De omnium particularium morborum curatione liber, nunc primum in lucem editus, et summa diligentia conversus per H. Martium* (Strasbourg, 1568); reprinted with additional commentary in *Theophanis Nonni Epitome de curatione morborum Graece ac Latine, Ope codicum manuscriptorum recensuit notasque adiecit J. St. Bernard*, 2 vols. (Gotha and Amsterdam, 1794-95).

⁵⁸ See J. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography* (Leiden, 1965).

⁵⁹ Variations within this general frame were possible. The most usual one is to treat the sky and heavenly bodies immediately after the godhead and before the angels and holy figures, as is done by Ibn Shāhīn. Al-Dinawarī discusses the godhead and the heavenly inhabitants at the beginning, but, as he organizes his treatise around the full circle of a human life, the hereafter is discussed at the very end, right after death. It is impossible to know whether the Arabic-speaking world invented the hierarchical system of classification independently, as a matter of common sense, or became acquainted with it through the Arabic translations from the Greek, or even earlier, through contact with the Syriac- and Coptic-speaking heirs to the Graeco-Roman intellectual tradition. For the survival of this system of arrangement in medieval Coptic lexicography, see A. Sidarus, "Onomastica Aegyptiaca: La tradition des lexiques thématiques en Égypte à travers les âges et les langues," *Histoire, épistémologie, langage* 12:1 (Paris, 1990), pp. 7-19 and idem, "Les lexiques

The arrangement of the *Oneirocriticon*, which is different than that of Artemidoros and defies its contemporary Byzantine practice, betrays its kinship with Arabic dreambooks.⁶⁰ A detailed comparison of the organization of the material in the *Oneirocriticon* and the Arabic dreambooks can shed light on the changes made by the Greek author in order to adapt Muslim concepts for Christian readers. It can also explain the position of certain chapters in the *Oneirocriticon* which may at first glance seem arbitrary.

Chapters 5-14 of the *Oneirocriticon* discuss religious notions. With the exception of chapters 6-7 and 13-14, they purport to be based on "Indian," that is, Christian, sources, and indeed appear to present a Christian point of view. They are followed by three chapters "On Judges and Measures" according to the Indians, Persians, and Egyptians respectively (chapters 15-17), and by a number of chapters on hair and various parts and functions of the human body (chapter 18 and further). Chapters 11, 12, 17 and 18 in Drexl's text are somewhat mislabeled, since they discuss more than their titles indicate. The contents of chapters 5-18 are as follows:

5. On the resurrection of the dead according to the Indians
6. On the resurrection of the dead according to the Persians
7. On the resurrection of the dead according to the Egyptians
8. On Paradise according to the Indians
9. On Hell according to the Indians
10. On the angels according to the Indians
11. On the prophets, apostles and teachers according to the Indians: Jesus Christ; being ordained patriarch, priest or deacon; reading from the Holy Writ to the people; monastic tonsure.
12. On various faiths according to the Indians: performing the duties of a (Christian) priest; reading books to the people; ringing the sounding-board; building a church
13. On faith according to the Persians
14. On faith according to the Egyptians: interacting with the pharaoh

onomasiologiques gréco-copto-arabes du Moyen Âge et leurs origines anciennes," *Lingua Restituta Orientalis: Festschrift für Julius Assfalg* (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 348-59.

⁶⁰ The discomfort of later Greek scribes of the *Oneirocriticon* with this unusual arrangement is evident in their efforts to reorganize the sequence of chapters. Thus, in two Greek manuscripts, *Paris. gr.* 2419 and *Bononiensis (Bibl. Univ.)* 3632, the chapters on heavenly bodies and heavenly phenomena such as the clouds, winds, and rain and their consequences, are made to precede the chapters on godhead and religious notions, evidently following a mindset similar to that of later organizers of Aristotle's works who made the *Physics* precede the *Metaphysics*. In addition, the scribe of *Zagora* 89 attempted to organize the dream symbols alphabetically, without being able to break away totally from their previous thematic arrangement.

15. On judges and measures according to the Indians

16. On judges and judgments according to the Persians

17. On judges and judgments according to the Egyptians: having a fever; being sick in the belly; the dreamer's hands becoming longer; the dreamer's hair becoming partly white; the dreamer's legs becoming longer and stronger

18. On hair according to the Indians: dreaming of an unknown man; dreaming of a youth; dreaming of an old man; becoming gray-haired; becoming white-haired; obtaining longer hair; shaving or cutting the hair

The order in which these Christian dream symbols are presented in the *Oneirocriticon* closely follows the order of Muslim dream symbols in Arabic works. Arabic dreambooks start with a chapter on dreaming of God. The discussion of such a dream unavoidably touches on theological matters, such as God's lack of visual attributes, which is part and parcel of the general iconoclastic attitude prevalent in Islam.⁶¹ The *Oneirocriticon* lacks a chapter on dreaming of God, either because the contents of such a chapter proved too difficult for the Greek author to adapt, or because he found it unacceptable to discuss the God of the Christians in the same terms as the God of the Muslims. He therefore started his interpretations with the next chapter of his Arabic model, the resurrection of the dead. The *Oneirocriticon* then treats Paradise, Hell, and the angels, as it is done in the Arabic dreambooks.

Chapter 11, "On the Prophets, Apostles and Teachers" (whose nomenclature and sequence is lifted from St. Paul⁶²) corresponds to a chapter on the prophets and other holy figures, such as the companions of the Prophet Muḥammad and the next generation of Muslims that is found in Arabic dreambooks. The *Oneirocriticon* discusses dreaming of Jesus Christ in the chapter on the prophets because this is where dreaming of him is interpreted in Arabic dreambooks, since Islam considers him a prophet.⁶³ The interpretations of being ordained

⁶¹ For the theological approach in the chapter on dreaming of God from *al-Muntakhab* (which was in fact copied from al-Khargūshī's *al-bishāra wa-al-nidhāra*), see I. Zilio Grandi, "Il problema della visione di dio secondo il manuale di onirocritica *Muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām*," pp. 69-81 (with an appendix quoting the entire chapter from *al-Muntakhab* in Italian translation).

⁶² Περὶ προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων καὶ διδασκάλων. Cor. I, 12:28-31; Eph. 4:11-12; see also Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, p. 236, n. 51.

⁶³ The interpretation of Jesus in the *Oneirocriticon* seems to be based, not on the Islamic interpretation of 'Isa, but on the Arabic interpretation of godhead and/or of the Prophet Muḥammad. Given the impossibility of knowing what exactly was written in the Greek author's Arabic models, the reason for his reluctance to adapt the Muslim interpretations of God but his inclusion of interpretations of Christ, another member of the Christian trinity, can only be speculated upon. It is possible that the Arabic interpretations of godhead were supported by Quranic passages for which the Greek author could not find biblical equivalents. It is also possible that his reticence was

or performing the duties of a priest and reading aloud to the people, which are set forth in chapters 11 and 12, correspond to the Muslim interpretations of leading the people in prayer, delivering the Friday sermon (*khuṭba*) and reading aloud from the Qur'ān (*qirā'a*). Ringing the sounding board and building a church are equivalent to performing the call to prayer (*adhān*) and building a mosque.

Chapters 13 and 14, which discuss faith and the performance of religious duties according to the Persians and the Egyptians, are appropriately placed in this section of the work; dreaming of the pharaoh, however, which is also discussed in chapter 14, as well as dreaming of judges, measures, and judgments, which are covered in chapters 15-17, appear to be somewhat irrelevant. Their discussion does not seem to provide a smooth transition to chapter 18 and those following, which contain interpretations of the human body.

As we have seen earlier, the interpretations of the pharaoh given in chapter 14 are identical with the Arabic interpretations of the caliph, which are usually discussed in an equivalent position in Arabic dreambooks.⁶⁴ Caliphs in Arabic dreambooks are often interpreted in the first, religious chapters, because their title literally means that they are the successors of the Prophet as leaders of the Muslim community.⁶⁵ As for chapters 15-17, which interpret judges, dreaming of a judge (*qāḍī*) can also be inserted among the religious chapters of an Arabic dreambook, because a judge ought to be a superior religious scholar, as his appointment is based on his profound knowledge of the Islamic law.⁶⁶ Arabic dreambooks then turn to humans and the parts of the human body, as is done in the *Oneirocriticon*.

Reconstructing the sequence of contents in the Arabic text that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* was using yields the following:⁶⁷

triggered by specific arguments in the Christian-Muslim religious polemics of the day. For a summary of the Byzantine arguments against the Islamic view of God and references to the works of the two polemicists (Niketas of Byzantium and Theodore Abū Qurra) who wrote earlier than the author of the *Oneirocriticon* on the subject, see A. T. Khoury, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIII-XIII s.)* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 315-52.

⁶⁴ Cf. Ibn Shāhin, no. 369.

⁶⁵ Other placements of the chapter on caliphs are also possible, such as among the chapters covering human activities. The *Oneirocriticon* places the chapter on the priest in an analogous position.

⁶⁶ Cf. Ibn Qutayba's table of contents in Kister, "Interpretation of Dreams," pp. 102-3.

⁶⁷ Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 317-18, compares the table of contents from the *Oneirocriticon* with those from Ibn Qutayba and al-Qayrawānī (cf. his tables 8 and 9). Useful as they are, these tables contain a few minor inaccuracies. For example, the *Oneirocriticon* is said to be missing the interpretations of reading the Qur'ān, calling

1. God
2. Resurrection
3. Paradise
4. Hell
5. Angels
6. Prophets, companions of Muḥammad, next generation of Muslims
7. Sermon
8. Reading the Qur'ān
9. Changing religion
10. Idol worshiping
11. Becoming an imam—leading the people in prayer
12. Reading the Qur'ān
13. Performing the call to prayer
14. Mosques
15. Idol worshiping
16. Caliphs (possibly also imams, sultans)
17. Judges

On this list at least two chapters, 8 on reading the Qur'ān and 10 on idol worship, are repeated as chapters 12 and 15. The recurrence under a different guise in Greek of the same subject indicates that, in all likelihood, the author of the *Oneirocriticon* used at least two different Arabic dreambooks that had a similar, though not identical, sequence of chapters. The table of contents of the *Oneirocriticon* as it is recorded in Drexl's critical edition yields further repetitions: horses are discussed in chapters 152-54 and also 230-31; trees and plants in 151 and 198-213; clothes in 156-57 and 215-29; houses and buildings in 142-48 and 254. The overall organization of an Arabic dreambook is still discernible in the *Oneirocriticon*, but the contents of Arabic dreambooks are better organized; for example, they do not repeat the same cluster of dream symbols in two totally different parts of the work.⁶⁸ It is rather unlikely that

to prayer, and building a mosque. These in fact appear in a Christianized version in chapters 11 and 12 of the *Oneirocriticon*. Interpretations on hills and mountains are also listed by Lamoreaux as missing, but they are in fact contained in chapters 142 and 143, "On Owning Land and Houses" (Drexl 93, 20-99, 5). In addition, a chapter on the interpretative principles is marked as missing in comparison with al-Qayrawānī, but interpretative principles are contained in the *Oneirocriticon* in chapters 2 and 301 (Drexl 240, 6-241, 26), the final chapter of the *Oneirocriticon*, in exactly the same position as the equivalent chapter in al-Qayrawānī.

⁶⁸ Of the Arabic dreambooks under examination, only the earliest four are thematic. Al-Nābulusī's compilation is alphabetical, but his difficulty in abiding by a strict alphabetical order and of breaking away from the long tradition of thematic arrangement is evident: though he brings together in one chapter all the dream symbols that begin with the same letter, the internal structure of each chapter is not alphabetical but thematic.

the author of the *Oneirocriticon* consulted a single Arabic source that was full of repetitions. It is more probable that the somewhat confused structure of the *Oneirocriticon* was the result of the Greek author's consulting at least two Arabic dreambooks at the same time. Possibly, the hierarchical organization of the Arabic dreambooks was clearer to him at the beginning, where he managed to follow it closely. Later, however, he either lost sight of the system's intricacies, or he did not care to observe them. He therefore combined the structure of the two sources he was using without establishing a consistent organization for his final product.⁶⁹

Though the sequence of chapters in the *Oneirocriticon* is generally unrelated to that in Artemidoros, a distant echo of Artemidoros's way of thinking might have survived in one instance: the *Oneirocriticon* discusses courtship, women, and marriage (chapter 124) right after the interpretation of killing and death (chapters 120-23). Artemidoros also discusses marriage (ii.65) after a series of chapters pertaining to death (ii.60-64) and comments on the transition in these words: ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ γάμος ἔοικε θανάτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ θανάτου σημαίνεται, ἐνταῦθα καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγησάμην ἐπιμνησθῆναι αὐτοῦ (Since marriage is similar to death and is represented by death, I thought it would be appropriate to treat the subject now).⁷⁰ One wonders whether this coincidence is the result of several authors's faithfulness to the tradition of a genre or a trick played by the human subconscious.⁷¹

Principles of Dream Interpretation

Both Artemidoros and the Arabic dreambooks begin with an introduction expounding on the principles of dream interpretation. Of the *Oneirocriticon*'s four introductions, only the one ascribed to Syrbacham, the dream interpreter to the "king of the Indians," contains information pertinent to the theory of dream interpretation that is comparable to the contents of the introductions in

⁶⁹ Further evidence that the *Oneirocriticon* is a compilation of more than one Arabic dreambook is the obvious inconsistency of chapters 96 (Drexl 57, 11 ff.) and 139 (Drexl 92, 1 ff.) with the principles expounded in the theoretical conclusion of the work in chapter 301 (Drexl 241, 1-14). According to chapter 96, a dream dreamt at the sixth hour of the night was fulfilled six months later, while according to chapter 301 it should have been fulfilled five years later. The dream narrated in chapter 139, which was dreamt in the ninth hour, was fulfilled three months later, while according to chapter 301 it should have been fulfilled a year later.

⁷⁰ Pack 188, 20-22.

⁷¹ The relationship between love and death (*eros* and *thanatos*) has been amply explored by the literature of romanticism and modern literary criticism.

Artemidoros and the Arabic dreambooks. It briefly discusses the provenience of dreams and stresses that the interpretation of a particular dream depends on the wealth, social position and sex of the dreamer,⁷² as well as on the season of the year during which it was dreamt. Syrbacham's introduction differs from that of Artemidoros in that it presents a Christian justification for dream interpretation. Compared to the extensive theoretical introductions in Artemidoros and the Arabic dreambooks, Syrbacham's introduction is also very meager.⁷³

Supplementary principles on the theory of dream interpretation are presented in the very last chapter of the *Oneirocriticon*, ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων περὶ διασκέψεως καὶ κρίσεως ὀνείρων ὁμοφώνως (From the Persians and Egyptians Unanimously, on the Examination and Interpretation of Dreams). Placing an additional chapter on the theory of dream interpretation at the very end of the dreambook defies the arrangement of Artemidoros. It is also unusual, though not unknown, in Arabic works.⁷⁴ The similarities between Artemidoros

⁷² Cf. Artemidoros i.9 (Pack 18, 16-20); iv, 2 (esp. Pack 245, 6-23). For a summary of the principles of ancient dream interpretation, see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1879; rpt. Brussels, 1963), pp. 291-329.

⁷³ Syrbacham's introduction occupies 1 printed page; Artemidoros's introduction to book i occupies 19 pages; Ibn Qutayba's introduction is about a third of the total volume of his work; al-Dinawari's includes 15 lengthy sections (*maqālāt*); the introduction to *al-Muntakhab* is 26 printed pages long; the introduction to the brief *Ta'bir al-ru'yā* by pseudo-Ibn Sirin takes up several pages; Ibn Shāhin and al-Nābulusī have introductions of 5 and 6 printed pages respectively. The introduction to *al-Muntakhab* is presented in detail by Y. Gouda, *Dreams and Their Meanings in the Old Arab Tradition* (New York, 1991), pp. 1-26. It is followed by the interpretation of numerous dream symbols arranged alphabetically and based primarily, but not exclusively, on *al-Muntakhab*. Unfortunately, Gouda's publication adds little to the serious study of Arabic dream interpretation; see the review of Gouda's book by W. M. Brinner in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28:2 (1996), pp. 302-4. A combination of the introduction to *al-Muntakhab* and to the dreambook of al-Nābulusī is given in Muhammad M. al-Akili, *Ibn Seerīn's [sic] Dictionary of Dreams according to Islamic Inner Traditions* (Philadelphia, 1992), pp. xv-xxxi. In spite of the title, al-Akili's interpretations are based mainly on the dreambook of al-Nābulusī. For a French translation of the introduction to the *Ta'bir al-ru'yā*, see Ibn Sirin, *Interprétation des rêves*, trans. Penot, pp. 1-9; Italian translation in Ibn Sirin, *Libro del sogno*, trans. Zilio Grandi, pp. 4-9.

⁷⁴ I know of only one Arabic dreambook that expounds the theory of dream interpretation in both its initial and its concluding chapter, and that is the dreambook of al-Nābulusī, whose epilogue (vol. 2, pp. 349-62) not only enumerates the sources of the work, but also identifies the most propitious hours for interpreting a dream, exhorts dreamers to narrate their dreams with accuracy, names the sources of dream interpretation, gives some further advice to dream interpreters, and cites a catalogue of dream interpreters (*ṭabaqāt al-mu'abbirīn*), evidently copied from the 15th introductory *maqāla* of al-Dinawari. To this one could perhaps add al-Qayrawānī's *al-Mumattī'* that discusses the theoretical aspects of dream interpretation both in its first part (which constitutes about half of the total work) and in chapter 29 of the 30 that make up its second part, primarily dealing with specific dream symbols and their interpretation. See Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 86-96 and p. 318 (Table 9). The final chapter of Drexel's edition of the *Oneirocriticon* appears as an introductory chapter in three Greek manuscripts:

and the *Oneirocriticon* have been obvious to the readers of the two works since the Middle Ages. In the eleventh century, the scribe L¹ of *Laurent. Plut.* 87, 8, the oldest surviving manuscript of Artemidoros, copied on its margins two passages from the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexel 240, 21-241, 17 and 240, 9-12) in order to comment on relevant paragraphs from Artemidoros's introduction (Pack 16, 10 and 18, 17).⁷⁵ But should this be taken as an indication that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* used the Greek text of Artemidoros as one of his sources?

The *Oneirocriticon* and Artemidoros agree that the interpretation of a dream can vary depending on the identity of the dreamer and the time that it was dreamt. According to Artemidoros (i.9, Pack 18, 16-20):

Λυσitelēs δ' ἂν εἴη, οὐ μόνον δὲ λυσitelēs ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον τῷ ἰδόντι τὸν ὄνειρον καὶ τῷ ὑποκρινομένῳ, ἐπίστασθαι τὸν ὀνειροκρίτην τίς τὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἰδὼν τὸν ὄνειρον καὶ ὃ τι πράσσει καὶ ὅπως γέγονε καὶ ὃ τι ἔχει κτήμα καὶ ὅπως ἔχει σώματος καὶ ἥστινος ἡλικίας γέγονε.

It is profitable—indeed, not only profitable but necessary—for the dreamer as well as for the person who is interpreting that the dream interpreter know the dreamer's identity, occupation, birth, financial status, state of health, and age.

In addition, Artemidoros (i.7, Pack 16, 10-17, 2) admonishes dream interpreters as follows:

Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πρόδηλον αἰτίαν ἐκφεύγουσι προσέχειν χρή, ἐάν τε νυκτὸς ἐάν τε ἡμέρας ὅραθῃ, μηδὲν διαφέρειν νομίζοντας εἰς πρόγνωσιν τὴν νύκτα τῆς ἡμέρας μηδὲ τὴν δειλὴν ἐσπέραν τῆς δειλῆς πρωίας, ἐάν συμμέτρως τις ἔχων [τῆς] τροφῆς καθεύδῃ· ἐπεὶ αἱ γε ἄμετροι τροφαὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἑῷ παρέχουσιν ἰδεῖν τὸ ἀληθές.

Next, one must pay attention to all those dreams in which one can perceive no obvious motivating factor, holding that there is no difference with regard to prediction between night and day, or between late evening and early evening, if a man falls asleep after having consumed a moderate amount of food. For immoderate eating prevents one from seeing the truth even at dawn.⁷⁶

Leidens. Voss. 49, *Paris. gr.* 2419, and *Bononiensis (Bibl. Univ.)* 3632. Most of the general principles of dream interpretation from the final chapter of Drexel's critical edition can be found in the introductory chapter of the abridgment of the *Oneirocriticon* from *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690.

⁷⁵ Pack, *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon Libri V*, pp. vi-vii. The similarities between the two works have also been noted on one copy of the *Oneirocriticon*, *Zagora* 89 (fol. 3b), where we read: τὸ παρὸν ὀνειροκριτικὸν ὡς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἀτελὸν [*sic* for ἀτελές] ἐστίν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀρτεμίδωρος καὶ ταῦτα περιέχει προσέτι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀστραμψύχου (The present dreambook is, compared to Artemidoros, incomplete. For Artemidoros contains not only this, but also what Astrampsychos has).

⁷⁶ For a number of references to ancient literature confirming that in antiquity the dreams dreamt closest to dawn were considered to be the most truthful, see Artemidoros, *Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. White, p. 69, nn. 20 and 21. Cf. also the views on the subject that al-Dinawari

Both principles are expounded in Syrbacham's introduction (Drex1 2, 10-16⁷⁷), as well as in the epilogue of the *Oneirocriticon* (Drex1 240, 8-241, 14). In the *Oneirocriticon*, however, and especially in its concluding chapter, they are expanded with details regarding the correlation between the time that a dream was dreamt and its fulfillment that are absent from Artemidoros:

Τὰ ὀνείρατα, καθά ἤδη προεῖρηται, εἰς διάφορα κρίνονται πρόσωπα διαφόρων. ἐφ' ἐνὶ γὰρ ὀνείρατι ἄλλη κρίσις ἐπὶ βασιλέως καὶ ἄλλη ἐπὶ λαοῦ, ἄλλη γεωργοῦ καὶ ἄλλη στρατιώτου, ἑτέρα τοῦ μεγιστάνου καὶ ἑτέρα τοῦ πένητος, ἄλλη κρίσις ἐν ἀνδράσι καὶ ἄλλη ἐν γυναιξίν, ἄλλη ἐν θέρει καὶ ἑτέρα ἐν χειμῶνι, ἑτέρα ἐν τῇ αὐξήσει τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἑτέρα ἐν τῇ μειώσει, ἄλλη ἐν αὐξήσει τῆς σελήνης καὶ ἄλλη ἐν μειώσει. καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ὀνειράτων ταχέως καὶ ἄλλα βραδέως κρίνονται. καὶ ταῦτα, καθὼς ἤδη προεῖπομεν, προεκρίθη ἐν ἐκάστω προσώπῳ, ἥτοι βασιλέως καὶ πένητος, μεγιστάνου καὶ κοινοῦ λαοῦ, γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρός, γεωργοῦ καὶ στρατιώτου. καὶ οὐκέτι χρεῖα περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διαλαμβάνειν· ἐφ' ἐκάστη γὰρ κρίσει προηρμηνεύθη ἕκαστον.

Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐρμηνευτέον περὶ, θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος· χειμῶν γὰρ καὶ θέρους ἐν τοῖς δένδροις καὶ φυτοῖς διακρίνονται. ἐάν γὰρ ἴδῃ τις περὶ δένδρων τι, εἴ ἐστιν ἀρχὴ τῆς βλάστης ἐν ἔαρι, ἢ ἐκβασίς τῆς κρίσεως εἰς καλὸν ἐστίν, εἰ δὲ ἐν φθινοπώρῳ καὶ ἐν φυλλορροίᾳ, εἰς ἐναντίον ἢ ἐκβασίς. καὶ ἐν αὐξήσει τῶν ἡμερῶν πλεῖον ἀληθεύει τῶν ὀνείρων ἢ κρίσις, ἐν δὲ τῇ μειώσει τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐλάττω ἢ ἐκβασίς. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ σελήνης καὶ ἐν τῷ τάχει καὶ ἐν τῇ βραδύτητι οὕτως διακρίνεται.

Καὶ <εἴ τις> ἐρωτᾷ σε περὶ ὀνείρου, ἀντερώτα τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ τοῦτο τεθέσται. ἀπὸ πρώτης γὰρ ὥρας τῆς νυκτὸς ἕως τρίτης κρίνεται ἕως εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους ἢ ἐκβασίς· ἀπὸ δὲ τρίτης ὥρας ἕως ἑκτῆς ἢ ἐκβασίς μέχρι δεκαπέντε ἢ δέκα ἐτῶν ἢ ὀκτώ· ἀπὸ δὲ ἑκτῆς ἕως ἐνάτης ἢ ἐκβασίς μέχρι πέντε ἢ τεσσάρων ἢ τριῶν ἐτῶν· ἀπὸ δὲ ἐνάτης μέχρι πρωτὶ ἕως ἐνιαυτοῦ ἢ ἕξ ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν ἢ μηνὸς ἢ δέκα ἡμερῶν ἢ ἐκβασίς· τῆς δὲ αὐγῆς αὐθημερὸν ἢ <μετά> δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ οὕτως ἢ ἐκβασίς. περὶ δὲ τῶν ὥρῶν τῆς ἡμέρας οὐδὲν ὀρίζομεν· μέχρι γὰρ ἐβδόμης τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ πλεόν ἢ ἐκβασίς τοῦ ὀνείρατος, ἐν ᾗ ἂν ὥρα τις εἶδεν αὐτό. τῆς ἡμέρας γὰρ τὰ ὀνείρατα, ὅσα μνημονεύει τις ἀσφαλῶς, εἰς ἐκβασίν τελείαν εἰσὶν ἢ εἰς ἀναμφίβολον· μάλιστα δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ ἐνάτης ὥρας μέχρι πρωτὶ ἀληθέστερα καὶ ταχύτερα.

Dreams, as was already mentioned, are interpreted differently for different individuals. Because the same dream has one interpretation for a king and another

attributes to the Christians (Appendix 3).

⁷⁷ Drex1 2, 10-16: μὴ λογιζέσθω δὲ τις, ὅτι μία τις ἐστὶ κρίσις καὶ λύσις ὀνείρατος ἐνὸς τῶν διαφόρων προσώπων. διότι τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ὀνείρατα οἰκεῖαν ἔχουσι κρίσιν καὶ λύσιν, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ πλουσίων ὁμοίως οἰκεῖαν, καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων τε καὶ πτωχῶν ἀναλόγως οἰκεῖαν· ὁμοίως δὲ ἄλλη κρίσις ὀνείρων γυναικῶν καὶ ἄλλη ἀνδρῶν· καὶ ἄλλη κρίσις ἐν θέρει καὶ ἄλλη ἐν χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ (And let no one reckon that the interpretation and solution to a dream is the same for different individuals. For the dreams of kings have their own interpretation and solution, and those of the nobles and the wealthy likewise their own, and those of the destitute and the poor their own accordingly. Similarly, the interpretation of women's dreams is different from that of men's dreams. The interpretation is also different during the summer and during the winter season.)

for the people, one for a farmer and another for a soldier, one for a magnate and another for a poor man, and the interpretation is different for men and women, different during the summer and during the winter, different at the beginning and at the end of the day, different when the moon is waxing and when it is waning. Some dreams are fulfilled sooner and others later. These things, as was already mentioned, have been previously interpreted for each individual, that is for a king and a pauper, a magnate and a commoner, a woman and a man, a farmer and a soldier. There is no more need to discuss the same thing, because each case has been treated <in the chapter of> each interpretation.

Therefore, we should now explain about summer and winter. For these seasons are separated according to the <condition of> the trees and the plants. If someone dreams something about trees, if it is the beginning of growth during spring, the outcome of the interpretation will be good; but if it is autumn and during the falling of the leaves, the outcome will be the opposite. And when the day is at its beginning the interpretation of dreams is more truthful, but when the day is ending their outcome is less so. The interpretations are likewise for the waxing and waning of the moon and the swiftness or slowness <of their fulfillment>.

And if someone asks you about a dream, question him about the time that he had it. For, from the first hour of the night until the third, the fulfillment of the dream will occur in up to twenty years. From the third hour until the sixth the fulfillment <will take place> in up to fifteen or ten or eight years. From the sixth until the ninth hour, the dream will be fulfilled in up to five or four or three years. From the ninth hour until the morning in up to one year or six or three months or one month or ten days. <The dreams> of dawn <will be fulfilled> within the same day, or after two or three days. For the hours of the day we do not make such fine distinctions. The outcome of a dream is more truthful and swift, regardless of the time of day that it was dreamt, until the seventh hour. For the dreams of the day, those that one can remember correctly, are fulfilled completely or unambiguously. Especially the ones dreamt from the ninth hour until the morning are even more truthful and swift <in their outcome>.

The idea that a dream should be interpreted according to the dreamer's station in life is expounded in all five of the Arabic dreambooks. It was stressed by Ibn Qutayba (*Yahuda ar.* 196, 2b inf.):

فان الرؤيا تتغير عن اصولها باختلاف احوال الناس في هياتهم وصناعاتهم
واقدارهم واديانهم وهمومهم واراداتهم وباختلاف الاوقات والازمان...

Dreams change from their basic forms due to the difference in the station of the dreamers regarding their social class, profession, rank, religion, concerns and desires, as well as according to the time and season <that a dream is dreamt>.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Repeated in Ibn Qutayba's introduction (*Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 7b inf): وقد تغير الرؤيا عن اصولها باختلاف هيات الناس وصناعاتهم واقدارهم واديانهم فيكون لواحد رحمة وعلي الآخر عذابا (Dreams change from their basic meaning owing to differences in the social class of the dreamers, as well as their profession, their rank and their religion. <The same dream> signifies mercy for one and punishment for another). The point is further elaborated by citing a number of actual dreams that had been interpreted in the past according to this premise (ibid., fol. 8a). The passage is repeated verbatim in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 352.

The same point is elaborated in detail in al-Dīnawarī's introduction (12th *maqāla*):⁷⁹

وإذا سئلت عن رؤيا ملك عدل أو ملك متعزّز فلا تؤوّلها برأيك فإن تاويل رؤياه ليس كتاويل رؤيا غيره من الرعيته ...

If you are asked about the dream of a just or a great king, do not interpret it according to your point of view, because the interpretation of his dreams is unlike that of the dreams <dreamt> by the rest of his subjects

Al-Dīnawarī explains that, since kings rule the people, the interpretation of their dreams influences the way they govern. Therefore, the dreams of sovereigns are the most truthful ones, as was proven by the two dreams dreamt by the pharaoh and interpreted by Joseph.⁸⁰ The dreams of other people should also be interpreted according to their station in life (ورؤيا كل رجل يعبر),⁸¹ but if they do not appear to be appropriate for them, their fulfillment applies to somebody else close to the dreamer:⁸²

والعبد إذا رأى رؤيا لم يكن لها اهلا فانه يكون ذلك تصديق لملكه لانه ماله * فان رأت امرأة شيئا لا يكون لذلك اهلا فانه لزوجها لانها خلقت من ضلعه * وتاويل رؤيا الطفل لابويه وكل رؤيا راها صاحب حرفة أو صناعة فانها تعبر علي قدر صاحبها وعلى قدر اجداده وصناعتهم...

If a slave has a dream that does not befit his station, this dream will be fulfilled for his master, because the master owns him. And if a woman dreams of something that does not befit her station, then the dream is for her husband, for she was created from his rib. And the interpretation of a child's dream is for his parents. And whatever dream is dreamt by someone who knows a trade or a craft should be interpreted according to the station of the dreamer and according to his forefathers and their craft.

The fulfillment of a dream for a person other than the dreamer is a concept known to Artemidoros (i.2, Pack 7, 17–8, 5) and also applied in the interpretations of separate dream symbols contained in the *Oneirocriticon*, though it does not appear in its two chapters that expound the theory of dream interpre-

⁷⁹ BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 41b; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 29b.

⁸⁰ For the special significance of royal dreams as assessed by al-Dīnawarī, see Fahd, "Les songes et leur interprétation selon l'Islam," p. 144 and J. Lecerf, "The Dream in Popular Culture: Arab and Islamic," in *The Dream and Human Societies*, ed. G. E. von Grunebaum and R. Caillois (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), p. 366.

⁸¹ BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 41b; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 30a.

⁸² BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 42a, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 30a.

tation.⁸³ *Al-Muntakhab* sets forth a more condensed version of the same principle,⁸⁴ closely following the wording of al-Dīnawarī:

ومنها ان يميز بين اصحاب الرؤيا فلا يفسر رؤيا السلطان حسب رؤيا الرعية فإن الرؤيا تختلف باختلاف احوال صاحبها والعبد إذا رأى في منامه ما لم يكن له اهلا فهو لملكه لانه ماله، وكذلك المرأة إذا رأت ما لم تكن له اهلا فهو لزوجها لانها خلقت من ضلعه وتاويل رؤيا الطفل لأبويه.

One of <the duties of a dream interpreter> is to make a distinction between the different dreamers. For the dream of the sovereign should not be interpreted in accordance with the dreams of the subjects, since dreams are different from each other according to the difference in the station of the dreamers. If a slave sees in his sleep something that does not befit his station, then the dream is for his master, for he is the one who owns <the slave>. Likewise, if a woman dreams of something that does not befit her station, then the dream is for her husband, for she was created from his rib. And the interpretation of a child's dream is for his parents.

Al-Muntakhab adds that, before giving an interpretation, Ibn Sirīn used to spend the better part of the day interrogating the dreamer "about his station, himself, his profession, his kinsfolk and his way of life."⁸⁵ Ibn Shāhīn likewise claims that dreams should be interpreted according to the identity of the dreamer:⁸⁶

و«ينبغي» أن يكون «المعبر» عارفا بالاصول في علم التعبير، وأن يميز رؤية كل أحد بحسب حاله وما يليق به وما يناسبه ولا يسوى الناس فيما يروونه.

The dream interpreter must be knowledgeable in the fundamental principles of the science of dream interpretation and differentiate the vision of each person according

⁸³ Drexl 5, 15-17: εἰς δὲ τοῦτο θεωρήσῃ παιδίον, εἰς πρόσωπον τῶν ἰδίων γονέων τοῦτο ἐώρακεν (If a child dreams this, the child dreamt it on account of his parents); Drexl 78, 15 ff: καὶ ὁ εἰς ἰδὴν παιδίον ἀνήλικον, εἰς πρόσωπον ἢ διακρίσις τῆς μητέρος (Whatever an underage child dreams, the interpretation pertains to the child's mother); Drexl 80, 21-23: ὅσα ἰδὴν παιδία ἀνήλικα, τοῦ μὲν ἄρσενος εἰς πρόσωπον τῆς μητρὸς διακρίνεται, τοῦ δὲ θήλεος εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς (Whatever underage children see, a boy's dream is interpreted as pertaining to his mother and a girl's dream to her father). Cf. also al-Nābulusi, vol. 1, p. 6 sup.: واعلم ان الانسان قد يرى الشئ لنفسه وقد يراه بنفسه وهو لغيره من اهله واقاربه او شقيقه او والده او شبيهه او سميّه او صاحب صنعتّه او بلدته او زوجته او مملوكه (Know that a person may dream on behalf of himself, but also on behalf of other people from among his family, relatives, siblings, parent, or on behalf of somebody else who either resembles him, or is his namesake, or has the same trade, or comes from the same region, or on behalf of his wife or his slave).

⁸⁴ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 25 med.

⁸⁵ "عن حاله ونفسه وصناعته وعن قومه ومعيشته" ; *al-Muntakhab*, p. 15 inf.

⁸⁶ Ibn Shāhīn, Introduction, *faṣl* 4, p. 11.

to the dreamer's station and what is appropriate for him and what befits him, and should not put people on the same footing regarding what they dream.

Arabic dreambooks discuss the correlation between the time that a dream was dreamt and its fulfillment in much more detail than Artemidoros. They agree with the ancient Greek dreambook that the closer to dawn a dream is dreamt the more truthful it is. In addition, they address the importance of the season of the year, as is done in the *Oneirocriticon*. Ibn Qutayba writes the following:⁸⁷

قال ابو محمد قد تغير الرؤيا بالاوقات ... * ... قال ابو محمد اصدق اوقات الرؤيا بالليل الاسحار وبالنهار القايلة * واصدق الازمان من السنة وقت انعقاد النوار ووقت نبع الثمر وادراكها واضعفها الشتاء ورؤيا النهار اقوى من رؤيا الليل.

Abū Muḥammad said: "The <interpretation> of a dream differs according to the time <that it was dreamt>" Abū Muḥammad said: "The most truthful time for a dream during the night is just before daybreak, and midday for a dream during the day. The most truthful season of the year is that of blossoming and when the fruit spring forth and reach maturity, while the least truthful season is winter. And the dream of the day is stronger than the dream of the night."⁸⁸

The length of time that it takes for a dream to come true is discussed in a different manner in Artemidoros than in the *Oneirocriticon*. Artemidoros says:⁸⁹

Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πυθανομένους πόσω χρόνῳ οἱ ὄνειροι ἀποβαίνουσιν εἴποις ἂν ὅτι ὅσα τῶν ὄντων ἐν ὀρισμένοις χρόνοις γίνεται, ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις ὁραθέντα τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀποβαίνει χρόνοις "Ὅσα δὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν ἀόριστοις καὶ μὴ πεπηγόσι χρόνοις γίνεται, ἀόριστως καὶ ἀποβαίνει....

When men ask how much time it takes for dreams to come true, you should reply that everything that occurs within a definite period of time in real life will also, if it is seen in a dream, occur within the same period of time On the other hand, things that do not have a definite or fixed duration in real life, if they are seen in a dream, will not have a definite duration when they come true

The *Oneirocriticon*, on the other hand, advocates a strict correlation between the time of night that a dream was dreamt and the length of time it takes for its

⁸⁷ Ankara, *Is. Saib Sincer I*, 4501, fol. 19b; *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 8b.

⁸⁸ Repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, pp. 11-12 and *ibid.*, p. 24; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 14; repeated in *al-Nābulusi*, vol. 1, p. 5. As for the Greek tradition, though Artemidoros does not attach any particular importance to the season of the year in which a dream is dreamt (cf. iv.11), other ancient authors (including Aristotle, whose writings on the subject had been translated into Arabic) believed that springtime was a more propitious time for dreams than winter. See A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, vol. 1, p. 287.

⁸⁹ iv.83 (in Artemidoros, *Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. White, included in iv.84); Pack 299, 15 ff.

fulfillment. Al-Dīnawarī agrees that the closer to dawn a dream is dreamt the more truthful it is and the sooner it will be fulfilled. In addition, he vaguely defines the length of time that elapses between a dream and its fulfillment, though the units of time he suggests do not coincide with those set forth in the *Oneirocriticon*.⁹⁰

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم اصدق رؤيا ما كان باسحار وقال عليه السلام اصدق رؤيا ما كان رؤيا النهار لان الله تعالى خصنى بالوحى نهرا وقال جعفر الصادق اصدق الرؤيا رؤيا القيلولة *... ومن رأى في اول الليل رؤيا فان صاحبها يصير اليها الى عشرة ايام او شهر او اكثر ومن رأى اخر الليل فهو اسرع ما يكون وابطأوها الى سنة لان الآماد قد قصرت.

The messenger of God, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, said: "The most truthful of dreams is the dream at daybreak." He also said, may peace be upon him: "The most truthful dream possible is the dream of daytime, because God, who is exalted, favored me with the revelation during the day." Ja'far al-Šādiq said: "The most truthful dream is the one dreamt during the midday nap" Whoever has a dream at the beginnings of the night, it will come to pass in ten days or a month or more. And if he has a dream toward the end of the night, it <will come to pass> as soon as possible, and no later than a year, because these stretches of time are shorter.

Though al-Dīnawarī disagrees with the *Oneirocriticon* regarding the units of time within which the fulfillment of a dream should be expected, Ibn Shāhīn quotes Ibn Sirīn's view on the topic, and it coincides with the opinion expressed in the Greek work. The Arabic dreambook justifies the utmost limit of twenty years for the fulfillment of a dream by adducing that Joseph's dream (apparently the second of the two mentioned in Genesis,⁹¹ which is the only one described in the Qur'ān⁹²) was fulfilled twenty years later. Such a conclusion cannot be drawn from the narrative of the Bible or of the Qur'ān. The source of this piece of information is not quoted, but it could be exegesis or the popular *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (Stories of the Prophets) that were popular in the Muslim world by the eighth century.⁹³ The relevant passage in Ibn Shāhīn's introduction reads as follows:⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Introduction, *maqāla* 8, BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 38b; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 69a.

⁹¹ Genesis 37:9-11.

⁹² Qur'ān 12:4.

⁹³ See T. Nagel, *Die Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā': Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Inaugural-Dissertation (Bonn, 1967), p. 26.

⁹⁴ Ibn Shāhīn, introduction, *faṣl* 3, p. 10.

واقرب ما تخرج الرؤيا اي تظهر الرؤيا اذا رؤيت آخر الليل فإنه ينتظر بها⁹⁵، وروى أن ابن سيرين قال: من رأى رؤيا أول الليل فإنه ينتظر بها إلى عشرين سنة مما⁹⁶ دون ذلك، ويقاس على الليل وعلى السنين ويعرف ما مضى من الليل وينقص من السنين بقدره مثاله، إذا مضى من الليل نصفه ينتظر الرؤيا إلى عشرين سنة⁹⁷ فما دون ذلك، ويقاس على ذلك ومن رأى رؤيا بعد الصبح فإنه ينتظر لها مدة شهر وما دون ذلك، وكذلك رؤيا النهار وقد ظهرت رؤيا يوسف عليه السلام بعد عشرين سنة، فلأجل ذلك حد آخر انتظار الرؤيا عشرين سنة.

The soonest that <the predictions of> a dream will come to pass, i.e., become manifest, is when it is dreamt in the latter part of the night, and <the dreamer> should expect that. For it is reported that Ibn Sirin said: "If someone has a dream at the beginning of the night, he should expect its outcome in twenty years or something less than that, and he should correlate the <time of> the night and the <number of> years. He should know what portion of the night has passed and subtract from the number of years according to the example. If half of the night has passed, he should expect <the outcome> of the dream in ten years or something less than that, and he should calculate by analogy to that, and <do> likewise <for> the dream of the day. The vision of Joseph, may peace be upon him, became clear after twenty years, and for this reason the utmost limit for the fulfillment of a dream is twenty years."

Despite the discrepancy between al-Dīnawarī and the *Oneirocriticon*, the two works agree that the interpretation of dreams about flora depends on the season of the year that they are dreamt: if dreamt while plants are flourishing they are auspicious, but if dreamt while the foliage, flowers, or fruits are fading they are inauspicious.⁹⁸ Moreover, they agree that the interpretation of a dream can vary, depending on whether it was dreamt at the beginning or the end of the day, and the Arabic terms *iqbāl al-nahār wa-idbāruh*, which occur in the following excerpt from al-Dīnawarī's dreambook, closely correspond to the Greek *auxēsis kai meiōsis tēs hēmeras*:⁹⁹

⁹⁵ [sic] in the printed text; possibly a dittography.

⁹⁶ Sic in the printed text; should possibly be corrected to وما .

⁹⁷ Sic in the printed text; should possibly be corrected to وما .

⁹⁸ This principle is further illustrated in the *Oneirocriticon* with an anecdote (chapter 199, Drexl 156, 6-19): A man dreamt that he was in an apricot tree eating its fruit. Sirin said that the man would be the beneficiary of a rich man's generosity. A second man had the same dream. This time Sirin said that he would be afflicted with sorrow. The same dream received two different interpretations because the first dream was dreamt in spring, the second in the fall.

⁹⁹ Al-Dīnawarī, *maqāla* 9, BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 39a-b and *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 69a-b.

الرؤيا تتقوى في السنة سبع أشهر*... وذلك اذا دبّ الما في عروق الاشجار الى ان يسقط اوراقها وخصوصا في وقت طلوع الثمار وقوة الاغصان واستواء الاوراق <و> لا سيما في رؤية النبات لان الاشجار اذا كانت في الاقبال وكسر منها غصن عاد لجنبه غصنان واذا التقطت منها ورقه خرج بجنبها خمس ورقات* فان رأى الرجل في اقبال الاشجار والنبات انه التقط ورقة او اقتصب غصنا اصاب بكل ورقة وبكل غصن درهما* واذا التقطها في اذار السنة خسر بكل ورق وغصن درهما واصابه هم او ضرب* قال ابن سيرين والكرماني ان الرؤيا اذا سيل عنها في اقبال السنة فهي خير من ان يسال عنها في اذارها لان في اقبال السنة اقبالا وفي اذار السنة اذار الرؤيا وكذلك اذا سيل عنها في اقبال النهار وادباره....

A dream becomes even stronger during seven months in the year. ... This is, from when the water spreads to the roots of the trees until the leaves fall, and especially during the time when the fruits appear, the twigs are strong, and the foliage of the trees becomes complete. <This principle applies> mainly in the dreams about plants, because the trees, when they are flourishing and a twig is broken, grow two twigs from its place, and if a leaf is taken from them, five leaves come out in its stead. If during the flourishing of trees and plants a man dreams that he was collecting leaves or that he was cutting twigs, for every leaf or twig he will receive a dirham. And if he collected them in the period of the year when <nature> retreats, for every leaf and twig he will lose a dirham and will be afflicted with sorrow and beating. Ibn Sirin and al-Kirmānī said: "Indeed, if the interpretation of a dream is requested at the advent of the year, it is better than if it is requested at the end of the year, because the advent is prosperity and the end is adversity regarding a dream."¹⁰⁰ Likewise if the interpretation of a dream is requested at the beginning or the end of the day.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ This remark is based on the several meanings of the words *idbār* (latter part, conclusion, and adversity) and *iqbāl* (advent, prosperity).

¹⁰¹ The rest of the *maqāla* discusses individual lunar months of the Muslim calendar (cf. *al-Muntakhab*, p. 5). *Al-Muntakhab* and Ibn Shāhīn also claim that springtime is a more propitious season for dream interpretation than the fall, but do not specifically apply this to dreams about plants, as is done in the *Oneirocriticon* and by al-Dīnawarī. Cf. *al-Muntakhab*, p. 15: واعرف الازمنة في الدهر فاذا كانت الشجر عند حملها ثمارها فإن الرؤيا في ذلك الوقت مرجوة قوية فيها بقاء قليل وإذا كانت الرؤيا عند ادراك ثمار الشجر ومناقعها واجتماع امرها فإن الرؤيا عند ذلك ابلغ واتخذ واصح واوفق واذا اورقت الشجر ولم يطلع ثمارها فإن الرؤيا عند ذلك دون ما وصفت في القوة والبقاء دون الغاية واذا سقط ورقها وذهب ثمارها (You should know about the seasons. If the trees are at fruit bearing, indeed the dream in this period is desirable [and] powerful and will soon be fulfilled. If the dream is dreamt when the fruits on the trees are mature and useful and are harvested, indeed the dream at this time is more intense, effective, sound, and appropriate. And if the trees have produced leaves but their fruits have not yet appeared, the dream at this time is inferior in strength and duration than what I have described, and without purpose. And if the leaves are falling and the fruits are gone, the dream at this time is even weaker). Cf. Ibn Shāhīn, introduction, *faṣl* 2, p. 10:

These examples demonstrate that the theoretical principles of dream interpretation set forth in the last chapter of the *Oneirocriticon* are equivalent to those found in Arabic dreambooks.

What about the second introductory chapter of the *Oneirocriticon* attributed to the Christian dream interpreter Syrbacham? According to the practice of both Artemidoros and the Arabic dreambooks, Syrbacham's introduction discusses the provenance of dreams, though much more briefly, since the *Oneirocriticon* does not make a distinction between false and true dreams and omits the discussion of their respective source with all its philosophical ramifications and medical aetiology.¹⁰² As for truthful allegorical dreams, the kind that the *Oneirocriticon* addresses, Artemidoros believes that their source is the human soul.¹⁰³ Arabic dreambooks accord them a divine origin and stress that dream interpretation is a form of prophecy, citing a number of *ḥadīth* and Quranic passages to fortify their arguments. It is the Islamic point of view that is not only espoused in the *Oneirocriticon*, but also argued in the same manner, by citing a scriptural quotation and by referring to examples of truthful dreams from the Holy Writ. An examination of the first part of Syrbacham's introduc-

واصدق ما تكون الرؤيا في الربيع والصيف لما تقدم من الحديث الشريف وقد ذهب بعضهم بأن تفسير ذلك علي هذا الوجه واضعف ما تكون في الخريف والشتاء، وقد قال ابن سيرين وغيره اقوى ما تكون الرؤيا عند ادراك الثمار واجتماع امرها، واضعف ما تكون عند سقوط ورقها وزهاب ثمارها... (The most truthful dreams possible <are dreamt> in spring and summertime, according to what is set forth in the honorable *ḥadīth*. Some <of the dream interpreters> are of the opinion that such is the interpretation in this case. The weakest dreams possible <are dreamt> in the fall and in the winter. Ibn Sirīn and others said that the strongest possible dream is the one <dreamt> during the season of the maturity of fruits and their harvest. The weakest possible are the dreams dreamt when their leaves have fallen and their fruits are gone).

¹⁰² For the Muslim division of dreams into false and truthful and the subdivisions within each group, see G. von Grunebaum, "The Cultural Function of Dream as Illustrated by Classical Islam," *The Dream and Human Societies* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), pp. 7-9, based primarily on the introduction to the dreambook of al-Nābulusī. Unfortunately, von Grunebaum does not explore the relationship between the Artemidorean and the Islamic views on the origin of dreams. Al-Nābulusī's division of dreams is lifted from al-Dīnawarī (introduction, *maqāla* 7, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 28a ff; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 36a ff). Fahd in "Les songes et leur interprétation selon l'Islam," pp. 134-37, discusses the origin of dreams in Arabic dream interpretation mainly on the basis of a passage from al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-dhahab*, and the various categories of dreams according to the division of al-Dīnawarī. For the division between false and truthful dreams in other Muslim dream interpreters, see Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 61-62 (al-Sijistānī); pp. 99-100 (al-Kharkūshī); p. 109 (al-Dīnawarī); on al-Dīnawarī's distinction between false and truthful dreams, see also the brief passage from his dreambook translated in Lamoreaux's Appendix IV, no. 1; p. 116 (Ibn Sīnā). Where relevant, Lamoreaux's discussion includes reference to the Greek sources of the Arabic authors.

¹⁰³ i.2 (Pack 5, 17-20).

tion (Drex1 1,15-2,10) alongside a passage from an Arabic dreambook is revealing:

Συρβαχάμ ὁ ὄνειροκρίτης τοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέως· Σοφία μεγίστη [ὅταν] ἡ περὶ τῶν ὄνειράτων κρίσις καὶ λύσις καὶ προφητεία ἀπὸ θεοῦ πᾶσιν εὐαγγελιζομένη, καθό που γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις εὐαγγελίοις, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἀγαπῶντά με ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου ἐλευσόμεθα καὶ μονὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ποιήσομεν. τοῦτο δὲ τελειοῦται δι' ὁράματος. καὶ μαρτυρεῖ Ἰωσήφ ὁ καταπιστευθεὶς τὴν Μαρίαν, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ φωτός, δι' ὁράματος μηνυθεῖς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Δανιὴλ καὶ οἱ πλείους τῶν προφητῶν δι' ὁράσεως τὸ θεῖον φῶς ἐδιδάχθησαν. οἷς βεβαιώσθωσαν πάντες, ὅτι θεῖον τι μῆνυμα περὶ πάντων, ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ φαύλων, παντὶ τῷ λαῷ ἢ τῶν ὄνειράτων ὅψις ἐστίν.

Syrbacham, dream interpreter of the king of the Indians. The interpretation and deciphering of dreams is very great wisdom and prophecy brought by God as glad tidings to all, as is written in the Holy Gospels, that "to the one who loves Me, My Father and I will come unto him and make our abode with him" [John 14:23]. This is fulfilled through a vision. Joseph, the one entrusted with Mary, the mother of Light, who was informed by a vision, bears witness to it.¹⁰⁴ Likewise, Daniel and most of the prophets were taught the divine light through <prophetic> visions. By these <examples> all should rest assured that the appearance of dreams is for everyone a divine message concerning everything, both good and evil.

The same message, this time tailored for a Muslim readership, is conveyed in the introduction of al-Dīnawarī (*maqāla* 10):¹⁰⁵

قال المعبرون من المسلمون علم الرؤيا هو العلم الاول منذ ابتداء العالم لم يزل عليه الانبياء والرسل عليهم السلام ياخذون به ويعملون عليه حتى كان اكثر نبواتهم بالرؤيا وحيا من الله عز وجل اليهم في المنام لقول الله عز وجل الذين امنوا وكانوا يتقون لهم البشري في الحياة الدنيا فالرؤيا الصادقة ولقول النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ذهب النبوة وبقيت المبشرات من الرؤيا وانما كان ضعف شرف الرؤيا في عهد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم للوحي الذي كان ينزل عليه عيانا والا فما كان قبل النبي صلى الله عليه

¹⁰⁴ Joseph was instructed by dreams three times. The first time was during his betrothal to Mary. Realizing she was pregnant, though he had never touched her, he suspected her of having relations with another man and wanted to annul the engagement. An angel in a dream informed him of the circumstances of Mary's pregnancy and the identity of the child (Matthew 1:8-25). In a second dream an angel warned him of the imminent massacre of the innocents, and advised him to flee to Egypt with Mary and the child (Matthew 2:13-14). The third time he was instructed by a dream (χρηματισθεὶς κατ' ὄναρ) to go to Galilee (Matthew 2:22).

¹⁰⁵ BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 40a-b; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 70a. Al-Dīnawarī also elaborates on the connection of dream interpretation with prophecy in his *maqāla* 5, BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 34b; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 25b.

¹⁰⁶ Sic in BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 40a (should be emended to فهي ?); the variant in *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 70a: ... في الحياة الدنيا وفي الآخرة قالوا الرؤيا الصادقة.

13-14). These two interpretations could be justified on the basis of both the Old Testament and the Quranic narrative,¹¹³ which is indeed done in the Arabic dreambooks. However, the only time that Joseph is mentioned in the *Oneirocriticon* is in a chapter attributed to the Egyptians, where a chariot is interpreted as proximity to kingship (Drex1 191, 22-26), "because Joseph, when he was freed and governed Egypt," was given a chariot (Gen. 41:43). Joseph's ascent in a chariot in the days of his glory is missing from the Qur'ān, though it could be known to Muslims from the *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* and other works that fulfilled the desire of the faithful to find out more about the holy figures that are only briefly mentioned in the Qur'ān. Indeed, an Arabic interpretation of the chariot identical to the one recorded in the *Oneirocriticon* can be found in the dreambook of al-Dīnawarī.¹¹⁴ The reason for omitting Joseph in all other passages of the *Oneirocriticon* can only remain speculative, especially since it is impossible to know what Arabic text (or texts) was used as a source for the Greek. But it is conceivable that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* avoided naming Joseph because he viewed him as having been appropriated by Islam.¹¹⁵

Syrbacham's introduction stresses the difficulty inherent in interpreting a dream, since the correct solution depends on the identity of the dreamer and the time that the dream was dreamt (Drex1 2, 10-16). He concludes as follows (Drex1 2, 16-24):

δι' ὧν καὶ μᾶλλον ὀφείλει ὁ ὄνειροκρίτης πυκνὸς τις εἶναι καὶ πολυμαθὴς καὶ τὸν θεῖον φόβον ἔχων ἀεὶ. οἷς καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ κρίσις ἐστὶν ἀσφαλὴς, διότι ἀπὸ θεοῦ κεχαρίτωται. οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁ θεῖος ὄνειρος προδείκνυται ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς καὶ ἀμαρτωλοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ πλούσιον ἔλεος τοῦ θεοῦ, καθὼς τρέφει καὶ τοὺς ἀρνούμενους καὶ βλασφημοῦντας αὐτόν. νῦν οὖν ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἀγίας ἀνάρχου καὶ ἀχωρίστου τριάδος τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἀπάρχομαι.

For these reasons the dream interpreter ought to be someone very wise and extremely learned and God-fearing always. Thereby the interpretation is very sound, because it is bestowed by the grace of God. For God-sent dreams appear not only to the good, but also to the wicked and sinful, because of God's bountiful mercy, just as

¹¹³ Cows: Genesis 41:1-32 and Qur'ān 12: 43-49; wine-making: Genesis 40:9-13 and Qur'ān 12:36 and 12:41.

¹¹⁴ For a full quotation of the relevant Greek and Arabic passages, see the paragraph on chariots in chapter 8.

¹¹⁵ Since Joseph is the only dream interpreter mentioned in the Qur'ān (the 12th sūra narrates his story in 111 verses), his example is pivotal for the Quranic and Islamic justification of dream interpretation, a practice that existed in pre-Islamic Arabia and therefore ran the risk of being condemned as pagan and impious by the new religion. For the rejection of the Islamic image of Joseph in Byzantine religious polemics earlier than the composition of the *Oneirocriticon*, see the anti-Muslim treatise by Niketas of Byzantium, PG 105, cols. 756D-757A.

he takes care even of those who deny and blaspheme him. Now, by the power of the eternal and inseparable Holy Trinity, I begin my interpretation.

In the above excerpt, Syrbacham identifies the two virtues that a dream interpreter should possess in order to avoid errors: he has to be knowledgeable and he has to be God-fearing. The same virtues are required of a dream interpreter in Arabic dreambooks, as is evident from the following passage from Ibn Qutayba:¹¹⁶

فانه «عابر الرؤيا» يحتاج الى // ان يكون عالما بكتاب الله عز وجل وبحديث رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ليتعبرهما في التاويل وبامثال العرب والابيات النادرة واشتقاق اللغة والالفاظ المبتذلة عند الاعوام وان يكون مع ذلك اديبا لطيفا ذكيا عارفا بهيات الناس وشمائلهم واقدارهم واحوالهم عالما بالقياس حافظا ولن تغنى عنه معرفة الاصول الا ان يمدّه الله بتوفيق يسدّد حكمه للحق ولسانه للصواب وان يحضره الله تعالى تسديده حتى يكون طيب الطعمة نقيا من الفواحش طاهرا من الذنوب فاذا كان كذلك افرغ الله عليه من التوفيق ذنوبا فجعل له من مواريث الانبياء نصيبا*

Indeed, <the interpreter of dreams> must be knowledgeable in the Qur'ān and the *hadith*, in order that he may take them into account in <his> interpretations, as well as in the proverbs of the Arabs and the rare verses of poetry, the etymology of the language and current colloquial speech. Besides, he has to be a man of culture, gentle, sagacious, endowed with a capacity to judge the countenance of people, their character, their rank and station, to have a knowledge of analogy and be a person mindful of the ordinances prescribed by God. For knowledge of the principles of oneiromancy will be of no use to him unless God helps him succeed, so that his decision is directed to the truth and his tongue to that which is proper, and unless God provides him with the right direction so that he is seemly in his conduct and unstained by vile deeds and pure from sins. If he is such, then God generously sends down upon him success and grants him a share from the heritage of the prophets.

Ibn Shāhīn expresses his thought in a similar manner:¹¹⁷

و ينبغي أن يكون المعبر ذا حذاقة وفطنة، صدوقا في كلامه، حسنا في افعاله، مشتهرا بالديانة والصيانة بحيث لا ينكر عليه فيما يعبره لشهرة صدقه، ولذلك سمى الله يوسف بالصادق، وأن يكون عارفا بالاصول في علم التعبير...

The dream interpreter must be endowed with sagacity and intelligence, and be sincere in his words and seemly in his deeds, and be well known for his religious obedience and his honor, so that people do not distrust him in what he interprets

¹¹⁶ Yahuda ar. 196, fol. 2a-b.

¹¹⁷ Introduction, *faṣl* 4, p. 11.

because of his reputation for veracity. For this reason God named Joseph by the surname "veracious." And indeed the dream interpreter must know the sources of the science of dream interpretation¹¹⁸

Finally, the *Oneirocriticon* says that truthful dreams are sent by God even to unbelievers and sinners.¹¹⁹ This is in agreement with what one can find in Arabic dreambooks. Ibn Qutayba considers the truthful dreams as either glad tidings for the righteous or warnings for sinners:¹²⁰

و اما الرؤيا الصادقة التي ياتيكم بها ملك الرؤيا من نسخة ام الكتاب عن الملكوت ويضرب لك فيها الامثال والاشكال ليبشرك بخير قدمته او يندرك معصية هممت بها او يؤذيك بمكروه اشرفت عليه لتتعوذ بالله منه او ينبهك على تقصير كان منك في شيء من فرائض لتتوب اليه فما ينكرها الا معاند جاحد بلسانه ما تستبينه نفسه...

As for the truthful dream with which the angel of dreams comes to you from the copy of the Mother Book [= the Archetype] in the kingdom <of Heaven>¹²¹ and impresses in it for you likenesses and forms in order to bring you glad tidings about a good deed you performed, or to warn you about disobedience [= sin] that you are contemplating, or to torment you with an adversity to which you are near, so that you can seek God's protection from it, or to awaken you to your neglect in performing your religious duties, so that you can do penance for it, only a stubborn *mu'ānid* [= one who wilfully rejects cogent arguments for no reason], who denies with his tongue what his soul [mind] perceives, will reject it¹²²

وان الكافرون وفساق المؤمنين (Indeed, the unbelievers and the sinners among the believers do have truthful dreams),¹²³ and further in the work, that these truthful

¹¹⁸ These sources are enumerated further in the same paragraph (ibid., p. 11), as verses from the Qur'ān, Quranic exegesis (*tafsir*), traditions of the Prophet (*hadith*), the interpretations handed down by the ancient dream interpreters in their books, sayings and verses of poetry.

¹¹⁹ Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, p. 234, n. 36, correlated this passage with Matthew 5:45: ὅπως γέννησθαι υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροῦς καὶ ἀγαθοῦς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους (That ye may be children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust); and Luke 6:35: καὶ ἔσσεσθαι υἱοὶ ὑψίστου, ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀχαρίστοις καὶ πονηροῖς (And ye shall be the children of the Highest: for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil).

¹²⁰ Ankara, *Is. Saib Sincer* I, 4501, fol. 182a (missing from the Jerusalem manuscript).

¹²¹ This refers to *al-lauh al-mahfūz* (the preserved tablet), which is the depository of the decrees or willed events ordained by God. It is kept in heaven. The angel of sleep copies from it what the future has in store and presents it to the dreamer.

¹²² A similar passage attributed to Daniel is found in al-Dīnawarī, *maqāla* 4, BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 34a. Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *maqāla* 6, BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 36a. Cf. also Ibn Shāhīn, introduction, p. 9 (end of *faṣl* 1); al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 5.

¹²³ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 3.

dreams of unbelievers are evidence of their unfaithfulness adduced against them by God. The point is illustrated with these examples:¹²⁴

وقد يرى الكافر الرؤيا الصادقة حجة لله عليه الا ترى فرعون يوسف رأى سبع بقرات كما اخبر الله تعالى في كتابه فصدقت رؤياه ورأى بتختنصر زوال ملكه وعظيم ما يبطل به فصدقت رؤياه على ما عبرها له دنيا الحكيم ورأى كسرى زوال ملكه فصدقت رؤياه فاعرف هذا المجرى في التأويل واعتبر عليه ترشد ان شاء الله تعالى.

Sometimes an infidel will have a truthful dream as evidence in favor of God against him. Do you not see that the Pharaoh of Joseph dreamt of seven heifers, as is reported in the book of God the Almighty, and his dream was truthful,¹²⁵ and that Nebuchadrezzar dreamt of the end of his kingdom and the great affliction that he was going to suffer, and his dream came true exactly as Daniel the Wise had interpreted it for him,¹²⁶ and that Kisrā dreamt of the end of his kingdom and his dream came true?¹²⁷ Know this principle for dream interpretation and interpret according to it and you will be well guided, God willing.¹²⁸

These passages show that every concept found in the two chapters of the *Oneirocriticon* that address the theoretical principles of dream interpretation is also included in the Arabic dreambooks. Occasionally, even the choice of words in the Greek text closely corresponds to bits and pieces of paragraphs found in the Arabic introductions. The relationship with Artemidoros, both in content and in verbal expression, is much more remote. It is therefore safe to conclude that the two theoretical principles on dream interpretation which are common in all three traditions that we are comparing (Artemidoros, the Arabic dreambooks and the *Oneirocriticon*) found their way into the Byzantine text by way of its Arabic sources.

¹²⁴ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 17, last 4 lines.

¹²⁵ Qur'ān 12:43-49.

¹²⁶ Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadrezzar's dream is told not in the Qur'ān, but in the *qisas al-anbiyā'* (Stories of the Prophets).

¹²⁷ *Kisrā* is a generic name applied in Arabic sources to the kings of Persia. Among the *omina* that announced the birth of the Prophet of Islam was a dream dreamt either by the king or the high priest of Persia that wild horses led by camels crossed the river and invaded Persian Iraq. The dream interpreters of the court could not interpret the dream. The Persian king then sent a letter to Nu'mān, the Arab king of a part of Persian Iraq, asking for someone capable of procuring an interpretation. The task was finally delegated to the famous Saṭīh, one of the two legendary diviners of the Arabs, who interpreted the dream just before his death. See Lecerf, "The Dream in Popular Culture: Arab and Islamic," pp. 367-69.

¹²⁸ A similar passage, enumerating the dreams of infidels that came true, can be found in Ibn Shāhīn, introduction, *faṣl* 4, pp. 10-11.

CHAPTER FIVE

DREAM INTERPRETATIONS COMMON TO THE *ONEIROCRITICON*,
ARTEMIDOROS AND ARABIC DREAMBOOKS

In addition to general principles governing the art of dream interpretation, the meaning of many dream symbols in the *Oneirocriticon* and Artemidoros also coincides. S. Oberhelman, the scholar who dealt with the subject most recently,¹ assumes from this that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* relied heavily on the Greek text of Artemidoros. He compared 285 dream symbols from the *Oneirocriticon* with the corresponding interpretations in Artemidoros and tabulated the results as follows: he found 124 cases of "specific agreement" (43.5%), 56 cases of "general agreement" (19.5%), 32 instances of "general disagreement" (11%) and 75 instances of "strong disagreement" (26%). According to these figures, between 40 and 60 percent of the *Oneirocriticon* relies on Artemidoros.²

So much for the interpretations themselves. When it comes to their phrasing in the two texts—the approximation of which would be the strongest evidence that the medieval author had indeed copied the ancient dreambook—the two Greek texts are very different from each other. In over two hundred pages, the editor of the *Oneirocriticon* identified only one instance where the wording was the same.³ According to Artemidoros, ἥλιος ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἀνίσχων λαμπρὸς καὶ καθαρὸς καὶ καταδύμενος εἰς δύσιν ἀγαθὸς πᾶσιν (When Helios, the sun, rises in the east, bright and clear, and sets in the west, it means good luck for all men).⁴ The *Oneirocriticon* version is εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ <τὸν ἥλιον> ἀνατεῖλαντα καθαρῶς ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ αὐτοῦ, εἰ ... οὐκ ἔχει γυναῖκα, λαμβάνει πλουσίαν (If he sees that the sun rose clearly in his bed, if ... he

does not have a wife, he will get a rich one).⁵ Not only does this example involve two very different interpretations, but each text uses a different synonym to convey the verb "to rise." The occurrence of καθαρὸς/καθαρῶς (clear/clearly) in both works is probably a coincidence—after all both authors were writing in the same language.

If the author of the *Oneirocriticon* had indeed borrowed heavily from the Greek text of Artemidoros, then it would be striking to find absolutely no textual parallels and no shared verbal expressions in light of the prevalent Byzantine (and general medieval) practice of quoting a source verbatim or with only minor changes.⁶ The absence of such textual parallels and shared verbal expressions therefore tells us that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* relied exclusively on Arabic sources and did not borrow directly from Artemidoros. What similarities there are between Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* can be attributed instead to the influence that the Arabic translation of Artemidoros exercised on Islamic dream interpretation. It is conceivable that some of the interpretations of Artemidoros were similar to the Islamic ones even before the Greek text was translated into Arabic, either because of the common Hellenic influence, introduced into the Arabic tradition through the Jewish one, or because of the ancient Near Eastern lore with which Artemidoros might have become acquainted during his travels.⁷

At any rate, it is possible to demonstrate that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* did not directly borrow anything from the Greek text of Artemidoros by examining the interpretations from the two texts that are purportedly in "specific agreement." Closer scrutiny reveals that they converge only in their general idea, not in the details. In these cases, the imagery and expression of the *Oneirocriticon* are more akin to the equivalent interpretations found in Arabic dreambooks, as is evident in the examples that follow. Fifteen of the 124 cases

⁵ Drexl 128, 15-17.

⁶ The Arabic dreambooks that use earlier sources either quote the source verbatim or rephrase it slightly, in a manner that most of the time allows one to detect from where an interpretation was lifted, if the source text is available.

⁷ The matter, however, cannot be decided unless the influence of Hunayn's translation is studied in detail. The problem is that the earliest surviving Arabic dreambook is contemporary with the Arabic translation of Artemidoros, which makes it possible that Ibn Qutayba was familiar with Hunayn's text. If it is true that, as Kister argued ("Interpretation of Dreams," pp. 98-99), Ibn Qutayba meant his dreambook to be the Islamic answer to foreign dreamlore, then we should consider that the interpretations he records must deliberately avoid anything found in Artemidoros's work. The fact that some of Artemidoros's interpretations are similar to those of Ibn Qutayba would then indicate that these interpretations converged even before the Arabic translation of the Greek text.

¹ Oberhelman, *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, Appendix III, pp. 289-95.

² Oberhelman (ibid., p. 18) states that the comparative list of his Appendix III "is not exhaustive, simply because of constraints of space," thus implying that there are even more convergences between the two texts than the ones he lists. However, the number of agreements listed must be reduced. In at least two instances (nos. 46 and 47) under the category "specific agreement" the interpretations said to be given by Artemidoros cannot be found, and one cannot help but wonder if there are not more such mistakes.

³ Drexl, "Achmet und Artemidoros," *BZ* 36 (1936), p. 299; not an article but a very brief note comprising a total of six lines.

⁴ Artem. ii.36; Pack 160, 25-26.

of "specific agreement" listed by Oberhelman (nos. 4, 9, 10, 21, 22, 23, 33, 37, 38, 45, 46, 47, 78, 83, 101) will be discussed. The choice is arbitrary, but an effort was made to find examples that would yield some further insights into the way the Greek author worked, in addition to demonstrating the course of the interpretation's transmission. Eyebrows, crucifixion and crosses, kings and temples, heavenly bodies and elephants were chosen because either the dream symbol itself or its interpretation seems to have been defined by the cultural surroundings of the dreamer. Eating a man's head and horses were included because their interpretation as dream symbols depends on the etymology of the word that designates them in Greek and/or Arabic, and provides an opportunity to see how this problem was addressed in their transfer from one language to the other. Finally, honey was singled out because it provides evidence pertaining to a philological problem.

Eyebrows

Oberhelman pointed out that hairless eyebrows in both Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* indicate failure.⁸ Artemidoros's interpretation follows:

Ὅφρυες δασεῖται καὶ εὐανθεῖς πᾶσιν ἀγαθαί, μάλιστα γυναιξίν· αὐται γὰρ ὑπὲρ εὐμορφίας καὶ μέλανι χρίονται τὰς ὀφρύας. τοιγάρτοι ἡδονὰς καὶ εὐπραξίας δηλοῦσι. ψιλαὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀπραξίας <καὶ> ἀηδίας ἀλλὰ καὶ πένθος ἐσόμενον προδηλοῦσιν· ἔθος γὰρ παλαιὸν ἐπὶ πένθει τὰς ὀφρύας ψιλοῦσθαι.⁹

Eyebrows that are thick and luxuriant are auspicious for all, especially for women. For women, in the interests of beauty, color their eyebrows with black tincture. Therefore, they signify pleasures and success. Eyebrows that are hairless indicate not only failure and discomfort, but future mourning as well. For it is an ancient custom to shave one's brows while one is in mourning.

The interpretation of hairless eyebrows as symbolizing mourning is tied to a custom specific to the ancient Graeco-Roman world and is therefore omitted from the Arabic dreambooks that picked up Artemidoros's material, as well as from the *Oneirocriticon*. In spite of this omission, the *Oneirocriticon* devotes a full page to dreaming of eyebrows and eyelids, providing a much more detailed interpretation. In chapter 55, which discusses the Indian interpretation, we read the following:¹⁰

⁸ Oberhelman, *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*. Appendix III, no. 4: *Oneir.* 54 = Artem. i.25: hairless eyebrows = failure.

⁹ Artem. i.25; Pack 32, 3-8.

τὰ βλέφαρα καὶ αἱ ὀφρύες κόσμος εἰσὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ τὰ βλέφαρα καὶ τὰς ὀφρύας αὐτοῦ εὐειδέστερα, οὗτος στερεώτερος ἔσται ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτοῦ καὶ χαρήσεται ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ. ἐάν δὲ ἴδῃ αὐτὰ δυσειδέστερα, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς, εἰς νόσον ἐλεύσεται καὶ φόβον μὲν ἐχθρῶν, οὐ νικηθήσεται δέ· ἐάν δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ, εἰς νόσον μὲν ἦξει, τὴν δὲ πίστιν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπολέσει. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι τὰς ὀφρύας αὐτοῦ ξυρῶ καὶ βαφῇ κοσμεῖ, σπουδὴν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὸ δοξᾶσαι τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἔξει καὶ δοξάσει αὐτά. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔπεσον οἱ ὀφρύες αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐπιλελωβημένου, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς, τὰ ἄρματα αὐτοῦ ἀπολούνται καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ κακῶς διοικηθήσεται· εἰ δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ, οὐ καταπιστευθήσεται τι παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ.

The eyelids and eyebrows are the embellishment of the eyes. If someone dreams that his eyelids and eyebrows became more beautiful, he will be more resolute in his faith and take pleasure in his children. But if he dreams that they became uglier, if he is emperor, he will become sick and will fear his enemies, but he will not be defeated. If he is a commoner, he will become sick but will not lose his faith. If someone dreams that he was embellishing his eyebrows with a razor and tint, he will zealously try to secure glory for his children, and will <indeed> secure it. If someone dreams that his eyebrows fell out as if he were a leper, if he is emperor his armed forces will be destroyed and his army will be poorly administered. If he is a commoner, people will not trust him with anything.

The next chapter, which covers similar dreams according to the Persians and the Egyptians, reads:¹¹

Αἱ ὀφρύες καὶ τὰ βλέφαρα δόξα τοῦ προσώπου εἰσίν. ἐάν οὖν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ὑπὲρ ὁ πρῶην ἦσαν ἐδασύνθησαν καὶ ἐκοσμήθησαν, εὐρήσει ἐν μέσῳ πολλῶν δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ νίκας κατ' ἐχθρῶν· καὶ ἐάν ἦ ἄγαμος, συζευθήσεται γυναικὶ καὶ πλουτήσει. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἡρημώθησαν καὶ ἐξέπεσον, εἰ μὲν ἦ βασιλεὺς, τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία αὐτοῦ στερηθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ <αὐτοῦ καὶ> τῆς συζύγου αὐτοῦ ἔχθρα καὶ ἴσος γενήσεται· εἰ δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ, ὅπερ ἂν ποθεινότερον κατὰ κόσμον¹² ἔχῃ, ἀπολέσει αὐτὸ.

The eyelids and eyebrows constitute the glory of the face. If someone dreams that his eyelids and eyebrows become more bushy and beautiful than what they previously were, he will find glory, honor, and victories over his enemies before many; and should he be single, he will marry a woman and become wealthy. If someone dreams that [his eyebrows] were plucked out or fell out, if he is king, his children will not inherit his kingdom, the object of his desire will be taken from him, and there will be hatred and enmity between him and his wife. If he is a commoner, he will lose whatever he holds dearest in the world.

¹⁰ Drexl 34, 21-35, 7.

¹¹ Drexl 35, 10-19.

¹² Drexl 35, 19: κατάκοσμον.

In the *Oneirocriticon* the condition of the eyebrows in the dream is correlated not only to the general well being of the dreamer, but also to his religious disposition and his relationship with his children and spouse. This dimension of the interpretation does not occur in Artemidoros and is borrowed from Arabic dreambooks. Ibn Qutayba interprets eyebrows as "the beauty of the dreamer's faith"¹³ (والحاجبان زينتته في الدين). Further interpretations of eyebrows are given in the dreambook of al-Dīnawarī:¹⁴

الحاجبان زينة العين وهما للرجل حُسن شيمته وجماله وامره وجاهه في دينه وامانته ومكانته ويقع تاويلهما على ما رأى فيهما من صلاح او فساد وقال ارطاميدورس اذا كان الحاجبان متكاثفي الشعر فهما محمودان من اجل ان النساء يسودون حواجبهن طالبا للزينة ولذلك صار ذلك على امر لذيد واستواء الاعمال [sic].

The eyebrows are the embellishment of the eyes and, for a man, signify excellence in his disposition, his beauty, his authority and his glory in religion, honesty and rank. Their interpretation depends on whether [the dreamer] saw them in good condition or in decay. Artemidoros said that if the eyebrows had thicker hair it is a good sign, because women blacken their eyebrows in order to beautify themselves. This is why this became a token of something delightful and of steadiness of affairs.¹⁵

Al-Dīnawarī's interpretation of eyebrows, including the excerpt from Artemidoros, is repeated verbatim¹⁶ without mentioning the name of either author in the dreambook of al-Nābulusī, who then continues as follows:¹⁷

¹³ Bāb 14, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 30a, l. 10.

¹⁴ *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 51a (*faṣl* 6, *bāb* 50).

¹⁵ Al-Dīnawarī gives the interpretation of Artemidoros by quoting verbatim the translation of Ḥunayn b. Ishāq. *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 81, essentially paraphrases the interpretations found in al-Dīnawarī: الحاجبان حسن سمت الرجل وحسن دينه وجاهه والنقصان فيها نقصان في هذه وقيل اذا كان الحاجبان متكاثفي الشعر فهما محمودان من اجل ان النساء يسودن حواجبهن طالبا للزينة (The eyebrows are the beauty of a man's manner, the beauty of his faith, and his honor. Any damage to the eyebrows is damage to these things. It is said that if the hair of the eyebrows is dense, this is a good sign, because women blacken their eyebrows in their pursuit of beauty). Ibn Shāhin does not give a separate interpretation for eyebrows.

¹⁶ The only change is due to a scribal error, or a voluntary correction of the source: امر لذيد (a pleasing or delightful affair) became امر زائد (an improving affair).

¹⁷ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 153, s.v. حاجب عين الانسان.

والحاجبان أبوان او ولدان او شريكان او زوجتان او نائبان او حاجبان وشبه الحاجب بالنون المعرفة فان رأى الانسان حاجبيه قد اقتترنا دل ذلك على الألفة والمحبة وبالعكس وسواهما وغزارة شعرهما اذا لم يفحشا دليل على حسن حال من دلا عليه وبياضهما ونزولهما على العين دليل على تغيير حال من دلا عليه من ولد او شريك او زوجة او نائب او صاحب وربما دل ذلك على طول عمر حتى يرى نفسه كذلك والحاجبان يدلان على مرتبة في الدين فما حدث فيهما من صلاح او فساد فانسبه إلى شيمته ووقايته في دينه وربما دل الحاجب على حفظ من دلت عليه العين كالحاجب والوالى والوصى والزوج وهو قوس سهامه اللحاظ من العيون الحسن.

The two eyebrows are two parents, or two sons, or two partners, or two spouses, or two proxies, or two chamberlains.¹⁸ The eyebrow looks like a definite *nūn*.¹⁹ And if a man sees that his two eyebrows are joined, this signifies affection and love and vice versa. Their blackness and abundance, if it is not excessive, indicates the excellence of the situation of whoever is indicated by them. Their whiteness and their descent toward the eyes indicates a change in the situation of whoever is indicated by them, be he a son, or a partner, or a spouse, or a proxy [*nā'ib*] or a friend [*ṣāhib*].²⁰ Sometimes, it indicates longevity, until one sees himself like that <i.e. with white eyebrows>. The two eyebrows signify elevation in religion, and whatever happens to them, either goodness or decay, should be correlated with <the dreamer's> disposition and protection regarding religion. Perhaps an eyebrow signifies protection of whoever is signified by the eye, such as the chamberlain, the ruler [*wālī*], the authorized agent, or the spouse. The <eyebrow> is a bow and its arrows are the glances of lovely eyes.

As is evident from this passage, Artemidoros, al-Dīnawarī, *al-Muntakhab*, al-Nābulusī and the *Oneirocriticon* agree that thick and black eyebrows are a good sign, while thinning or hairless eyebrows are a bad sign. It can safely be said that this interpretation goes back to Artemidoros, from where the Arabic dreambooks borrowed and further embellished it, most probably by drawing upon older traditions of Near Eastern and Islamic dream interpretation. But the *Oneirocriticon* also connects the eyebrows with religious righteousness, as was done in the indigenous Arabic tradition represented by Ibn Qutayba, and with family members, as we can read in the dreambook of al-Nābulusī. If the author of the *Oneirocriticon* is aware of Artemidoros's interpretation of eye-

¹⁸ The word *hājib* means both "eyebrow" and "chamberlain".

¹⁹ The shape of the Arabic letter *nūn* (ن) is like a crescent.

²⁰ Other possible translations of the word صاحب are "lord" and "disciple".

brows, it is not via the Greek text of Artemidoros but via its Arabic translation, which was echoed in the Arabic models of the *Oneirocriticon*. Proof of this recycling is the fact that the Artemidorian interpretation ended up in the Byzantine text accompanied by all the Arabic additions and developments.

Crucifixions and Crosses

The interpretation of crucifixion in Artemidoros is the following (ii.53; Pack 183, 6-21):

Σταυρούσθαι πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς ναυτιλλομένοις ἀγαθόν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ ξύλων καὶ ἡλῶν γέγονεν ὁ σταυρὸς ὡς καὶ τὸ πλοῖον, καὶ ἡ κατάρτιος αὐτοῦ ὁμοία ἐστὶ σταυρῷ. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ πένητι· καὶ γὰρ ὑψηλὸς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς καὶ πολλοὺς τρέφει <οἰωνούς>. τὰ δὲ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει· ἐκφανὴς γὰρ ὁ σταυρωθεὶς. τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους βλάπτει· γυμνοὶ γὰρ σταυροῦνται καὶ τὰς σάρκας ἀπολλύουσιν οἱ σταυρωθέντες. ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἀγάμῳ γάμον προαγορεύει διὰ τὴν δέσιν πλὴν οὐ πάνυ τι συμφέροντα. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ φιλίας καὶ κοινωνίας. δούλους δὲ ἐλευθεροῖ· ἀνυπότακτοι γὰρ οἱ σταυρωθέντες. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ διατρίβειν βουλομένους καὶ τοὺς ἰδίαν γῆν γεωργοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκβληθῆναι ποθεν φοβουμένους ἐκβάλλει καὶ οὐκ ἔῃ μένειν ἐν οἷς εἰσιν· εἴργει γὰρ ὁ σταυρὸς τῆς γῆς ἐπιβαίνειν. ἐν πόλει δὲ δοκεῖν ἐσταυρῶσθαι ἀρχὴν σημαίνει τοιαύτην, οἷος ἂν ἡ ὁ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ σταυρὸς ἔστηκε.

Being crucified is auspicious for all seafarers. For the cross, like a ship, is made of wood and nails, and the ship's mast resembles a cross. It is also auspicious for a poor man. For a crucified man is raised high and his substance is sufficient to feed many birds. But it means the betrayal of secrets. For a crucified man can be seen by all. On the other hand, it signifies harm for rich men, since the crucified are stripped naked and lose their flesh. For a bachelor, the dream means marriage, because the connection between the victim and the cross is a bond, but it will not be a very advantageous one. The same holds true for friendships and partnerships. But it means freedom for slaves, since the crucified are no longer subject to any man. For those who wish to spend time in their native land, for those who farm their own land, and for those who are afraid that they will be evicted from some place, it signifies that they will be evicted and that they will not be allowed to remain where they are. For a cross prevents a man from setting his feet upon the ground. To dream that one has been crucified in a city signifies a magisterial position that corresponds to the place where the cross has been set up.

Artemidoros further illustrated the interpretation of a crucifixion with an anecdote (iv.49; Pack 276, 6-12):

οἷον <ἔδοξε τις ἐσταυρῶσθαι>, σημαίνοντος τοῦ δοκεῖν ἐσταυρῶσθαι δόξαν καὶ εὐπορίαν· δόξαν μὲν διὰ τὸ ὑψηλότατον εἶναι τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, εὐπορίαν δὲ διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς τρέφειν οἰωνούς. <ὁ> Μένανδρος ἐν Ἑλλάδι ἔδοξεν ἐσταυρῶσθαι ἔμπροσθεν ἱεροῦ Διὸς Πολιέως, καὶ ἱερεὺς ἀποδειχθεὶς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ θεοῦ λαμπρότερός τε καὶ εὐπορώτερος ἐγένετο.

For example, someone dreamt that he was crucified. Crucifixion dreams signify honor and wealth—honor, because the crucified person is in a very high position, and wealth because he provides food for many birds of prey. In Greece, Menander dreamt that he was crucified in front of a temple of Zeus, Guardian of the City. He was appointed priest of this same god and became better known and wealthier as a result.

According to the fifth-century church historian Sozomenos, crucifixion was abolished in the Roman Empire by Constantine the Great.²¹ Sozomenos's statement should not be taken too literally, since a similar method of punishment, *anaskolopismos* or *phourkisis* (hanging from the gallows or the gibbet), remained current well into the Middle Byzantine period.²² *Anaskolopismos* and *phourkisis* (or derivative words) are sometimes used interchangeably with *staurōsis* (crucifixion) in Greek sources.²³ Chapters 89 and 90 of the *Oneirocriticon* are entitled ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ ἀνασκολοπίσεως ἥτοι φουρκίσεως (From the Indians on Impalement, that is Hanging on the Gallows) and ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων περὶ σταυρώσεως (From the Persians and Egyptians on Crucifixion). As Oberhelman rightly observed, Artemidoros's interpretations of crucifixion are repeated in both of these chapters, but the Christian Indians call the punishment *anaskolopisis*, whereas the pagan Persians and Egyptians use the term *staurōsis*²⁴ (Drex1 54, 8–55, 3):

²¹ See J. McClintock and J. Strong, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature*, 10 vols. (New York, 1869–80), s.v. "Crucifixion."

²² Cf. the account of the Nika revolt (532) by the 8th/9th-century historian Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 1 (Leipzig and Stuttgart, 1883), p. 184, 4–5: κρατήσας ὁ ἑπαρχὸς τρεῖς δημότας τῶν ἀτακτούντων, ἐφούρκισεν αὐτούς. καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς πάραντα ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ δύο ἔπεσαν ἐκ τῆς φούρκας. The same method of punishment was applied during the reign of Basil I (867–86) according to the 10th-century author of the *Vita Basilii* in *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker, p. 303, 16–18: ὅς τῃ βασιλικῇ κελεύσει καθυπουργῶν ἰσαριθμοὺς τῶν ἀποσταλέντων δεσμίων ἐν Μεθώνῃ φούρκας στήναι προσέταξε καὶ τοὺς ὡς ἐξάρχους τῆς φυγῆς πεμφθέντας ἀνεσκολόπισεν. For further references to the practice in Byzantine texts, see Du Cange, s.v. "φούρκα," "φουρκίζειν," "φούλκα," "φουλκίζειν." An illustration of this method of punishment, evidently gleaned from contemporary practice, can be found in the illustrated *Job of Patmos* (*Patmiacus* 171, ca. 9th century).

²³ Cf. *Suda Lexicon*, s.v. "ἀνασκινδαλυθῆναι· ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι, ἀνασταυρωθῆναι." Cf. also Liddell-Scott, s.v. "σταυρός"; Lampe, s.v. "ἀνασκινδαλεῖν," "ἀνασκολοπιζω," "ἀνασκολοπισμός," "φούρκα," "φουρκίζω"; Du Cange, s.v. "φούρκα," "φουλκίζειν."

πθ' Ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ ἀνασκοιοπίσεως ἥτοι φοιρκίσεως

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι κρίσει τοῦ ἐξουσιαστοῦ²⁵ ἐκρεμάσθῃ ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου βία καὶ ἀνάγκη, ἀναλόγως τοῦ ὕψους τῆς κρεμάσεως ἀξιωματι τιμηθήσεται· εἰ δὲ ὁ τοῦτο ἰδὼν νοσεῖ ἢ θλίβεται, ἀποβαλεῖ ταῦτα βία καὶ τέλος χαρήσεται. ὁμοίως ἐάν τις, ὅτι παρέδωκεν ἕτερον κρεμασθῆναι, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς ἢ ἐξουσιάζων λαοῦ, θυμωθήσεται καὶ ὀργισθήσεται ἐπὶ τῷ παραδοθέντι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστερον τιμήσει αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ τιμηθεὶς εἰς θεὸν ἐξαμαρτήσεται. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔφαγε κρέας κρεμαμένου, πλουτήσεται ἐφ' ἀμαρτίαν ἐξ ὑψηλοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναλόγως, ὅσον ἔφαγεν.

89. From the Indians on Impalement, That Is, Hanging on a Gibbet

If someone sees in his dream that, according to the ruling of the authorities he was violently and forcibly hung by the neck, he will be honored with an office analogous to the height of his hanging. If the person who dreams this is sick or in distress, he will shed <his sickness or distress> through the use of violence and in the end he will be happy. Likewise, if someone dreams that he delivered somebody else to be hung, if he is king or <otherwise> rules people, he will first be angry and irate at the person whom he delivered, and then will honor him, and the one honored will sin against God. If someone dreams that he ate the meat of a hung person, he will sinfully gain wealth from a man in a high position in proportion to how much he ate.

ς' Ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων περὶ σταυρώσεως

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐσταυρώθῃ, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ πτωχός, πλουτήσεται, εἰ δὲ πλούσιος, βία καὶ τιμωρία κληρονομήσει πλοῦτον πλείονα. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐδάρη βουνεύροις καὶ οὕτως ἐσταυρώθῃ, κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ δαρμοῦ λαοῦ ἐξουσιάζει ὑψοῦμενος ἐν αὐτῷ. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐσταυρώθῃ καὶ κατῆλθεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους τοῦ ἀξιωματοῦ αὐτοῦ πεσεῖται καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος αὐτοῦ ἀφανισθήσεται. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐσταυρώθῃ καὶ ἐνεπρήσθῃ, ὑψωθήσεται καὶ λαοῦ ἄρξει καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνάγκη πολέμου ἀποθανεῖται διὰ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς βίαν.

90. From the Persians and the Egyptians on Crucifixion

If someone dreams that he was crucified, if he is poor, he will become rich, and if he is rich he will inherit more wealth through violence and punishment. If someone dreams that he was beaten with a whip and was then crucified, he will have power over people commensurate with the beating and will be exalted because of this. If he sees that he had been crucified and came down from the cross, he will

²⁴ Oberhelman 1.9-10: *On.* 89 = *Artem.* ii.53, iv.49: crucifixion = honor for the dreamer because he is elevated; *On.* 90 = *Artem.* ii.53: crucifixion = a good sign for the poor; see also Oberhelman, *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, n. 181.

²⁵ Ἐξουσιαστής was a title in the Byzantine court mentioned in *De cerimoniis*; see Sophocles, s.v. "ἐξουσιαστής."

fall from the loftiness of his office, and his wealth will vanish. If he sees that he was crucified and burnt at the stake, he will become exalted and will rule over people and after that he will die by the force of war because of the violence of the fire.

In the Islamic world, crucifixion (*ṣalb*) refers to the criminal punishment whereby the body of the criminal, either living or dead, is affixed to or impaled on a beam or tree trunk and exposed for a number of days.²⁶ Arabic dreambooks discuss dreams about this method of execution, and their interpretations are very similar to those of Artemidoros, with the addition of new material. The contents of Arabic dreambooks on the topic correspond to chapters 89 and 90 of the *Oneirocriticon* much more closely than the equivalent passage of Artemidoros. Ibn Qutayba's interpretation of the crucifixion is the following:²⁷

ومن اكل لحم مصلوب اكل مالا حراما من مال رجل رفيع اذا كان لما اكل اثره وان لم يكن له اثر اغتاب رجلا رفيعا * ومن رأى انه مصلوب اصاب رفعة من جهة السلطان مع فساد في الدين.

If someone <dreams of> eating the flesh of a crucified <person>, he will spend unlawful money that belongs to a high-ranking individual if there was a mark on what he ate, and if there was no mark on it, he will slander a high-ranking man. And if he saw that he was crucified, he will receive high rank from the sovereign accompanied by corruption regarding his religious faith.

Later in his dreambook, Ibn Qutayba adds:²⁸ وان اكل لحم مصلوب او لحم ابرص او مجدوم اصاب مالا حراما (If someone dreamt that he ate the flesh of a crucified or of a leprous person or a leper, he will obtain unlawful money). And further:²⁹ ومن رأى انه صلب اصاب من الملك رفعة (If someone dreamt that he was crucified he will receive a lofty position from the king).

Al-Dīnawarī's chapter on dreaming of the crucifixion (*faṣl* 11, *bāb* 59) quotes the interpretations of the Muslims, the Christians and Artemidoros.³⁰

²⁶ See *El*², s.v. "ṣalb."

²⁷ Ibn Qutayba, *faṣl* 14 (on humans and their members), *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 30a.

²⁸ *Faṣl* 46, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 63a.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 63b.

³⁰ *BN arabe* 2745, fol. 204b; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 167b. Al-Dīnawarī quotes the interpretations of Artemidoros according to the translation of Hunayn b. Ishāq (Fahd, *Artémidore d'Éphèse*, 332, 1-333, 5). The Arabic text is quoted according to the readings of *Esad Efendi* with the (invariably better) variants from Fahd's edition of Hunayn's text in parenthesis, marked ح in the Arabic and H in the English translation. I translated this passage as literally as possible, in order to demonstrate the changes in the meaning that are evident in the Arabic translation.

قال المسلمون من رأى انه صلب ميتا فانه يصيب رفعة في دنياه مع فساد دينه فان صلب حيا لم يفسد دينه بل نال شرفا ورفعة وسلطانا لقوله تعالى وما قتلوه يقينا بل رفعه الله اليه فان رأى كانه مصلوب ولا يدري متى صلب فانه ان كان خرج منه مال اعترف وعاد اليه ذلك المال ويصيب حوايجه فان صلب مقتولا فانه يكذب عليه في تلك الرفعة فان رأى انه ياكل من لحم مصلوب وخرج منه الدم وكان لما ياكله اثر ظاهر فانه يغتاب رجلا مسلطا او ياثم والمفعول به ما جور لخروج الدم وقيل من اكل لحم المصلوب فانه يركب البريد ومن رأى انه يركب البريد فانه يموت وقالت النصارى من رأى انه مصلوب على سور المدينة والناس ينظرون اليه ينال رفعة وسلطانا ويصير الاقوياء والضعفاء تحت يديه فان سال منه دم فان رعيته ينتفعون به ومن رأى كانه ياكل لحم المصلوب فانه ينال مالا ومنفعة من جهة احد الرؤساء وقال ارطاميدورس الصلب في الرؤيا دليل خير لكل من يسير في البحر وذلك ان الة الصلب هي مركبة من خشب واوتاد كما ان السفينة مركبة من ذلك ودقل السفينة نسبه (ح: يشبه) الة الصلب وهو ايضا دليل خير في الفقراء وذلك ان المصلوب يعلق ويعتدى (ح: يغتذى) منه حيوان كثير ويدل ايضا على ظهور الاشياء الخفية وذلك ان الذي يصلب ينتشر (ح: يشهر) امره فاما في الاغنياء فانه دليل ردى وذلك ان المصلوب يصلب عريانا ويتغير لونه ولذلك دل على فساد امورهم اذا راوا كانهم قد صلبوا فاما من كان غير متزوج فان ذلك تدل على تزويجه وذلك سبب رباط المصلوب غير ان ليس لكلهم دليلا محمودا... ويدل ايضا في العبيد على عتقهم وذلك ان من صلب ليس عليه خدمة ولا سنة فاما فيمن يريد ان يقيم في منزله... وفيمن يخاف ان يتوجه في ناحية على خروجهم من مكانهم وارضهم وذلك ان الصلب يمنع من الدفن في الارض* فان رأى (ح: الانسان) كانه يصلب في المدينة فان الرؤيا تدل على رئاسة يكون على حسب الموضع الذي نصب فيه الصلب (*sic*) وقال الآخرون من صلب مقتولا فانه يكذب عليه في تلك الرفعة.

The Muslims said: "If someone dreams that he was crucified while dead, he will obtain a lofty position in this world with decay in his faith. And if he was crucified alive, his faith will not decay, but he will obtain a lofty position and honor and power according to the saying of God Almighty, 'They slew him not for certain, but God raised him up to Him' [Qur'ān 4:157-58].³¹ And if he dreams that he is on the cross and does not know when he was crucified, if he has given away money, it will be acknowledged and his money will be returned, and he will obtain his possessions. If he was crucified after he had been killed, lies will be told to him while he is holding this lofty position. And if he sees that he partook of

³¹ A reference to Jesus, who, according to the Qur'ān, was not truly crucified but only appeared to be so.

the flesh of a crucified person, and that blood was coming out of it, and there was a clear mark on what he was eating, he will slander a powerful person, or he will sin and the object of his wrongdoing will be commensurate to the outpouring of blood. It is said that whoever ate the flesh of a crucified person will become Master of the Post, and if someone dreams that he became Master of the Post he will die."³²

The Christians said: "If someone dreams that he was crucified on the walls of a city and people were looking at him, he will obtain a lofty position and power and the strong and the weak will come under his hands. And if blood was flowing from his body, his subjects will benefit from him. And if someone dreams that he ate the flesh of a crucified person, he will obtain money and gifts from one of the leaders."

Artemidoros said:³³ "Crucifixion in a dream is a good sign for all who travel at sea, and this is because the implement of crucifixion is composed of wood and nails, just as a ship is composed of them, and the mast of the ship refers to [H: resembles] the implement for crucifixion. This is also a good sign for the poor, because the crucified is suspended and many animals violate him [H: feed on him]. It also signifies the manifestation of secret things, because the affairs of the one who is crucified spreads out [H: becomes notorious]. As for the rich, it is a sign of ruin, because the crucified is crucified naked, and his color changes, and for this reason, if they dream they have been crucified, it signifies the decline of their affairs. As for those who are not married, it signifies their marriage, and this is because of the bond of the crucified, but it is not for all of them a laudable sign In addition, to the slaves it signifies their freedom, because whoever is crucified does not serve and does not conform to the norm. As for the one who wants to stay in his household ... and the one who is afraid to turn to a direction, <it signifies> their departure from their place and their land, because crucifixion precludes burial in the earth. And if he [H: the man] dreams that he was crucified in a city, the dream signifies leadership that will take place depending on the location where the crucifix was raised."

The others said: "If someone was crucified after he had been killed, lies will be told to him while he is holding that lofty position."

Al-Dinawarī's Muslim interpretation of the crucifixion as achieving high rank is similar to that of Artemidoros. However, its justification with a Quranic passage lends it a specifically Islamic outlook. In the next chapter, which consists of three narratives about people who actually dreamt of crucifixion and the fulfillment of their dreams, al-Dinawarī cited a dream dreamt by Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī (767-820), founder of one of the four schools

³² Literally "rode the postal horse" or "mastered the post." The position of the Master of the Post (*ṣāḥib al-barīd*) was one of the most important in the Abbasid government, since the appointee not only supervised the postal system, but also controlled the intelligence service and acted as a confidential agent to the central government.

³³ ii.53; Pack 183, 6-21.

of Islamic law, as well as a dream about the learned divine Qatāda (d. 735) and the dream of Menander, the priest of Zeus, which is copied from Artemidoros (iv.49).³⁴

Al-Shāfi'i dreamt that he was crucified together with 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (598-661), a cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, who eventually became the fourth "rightly guided" caliph and one of the most revered figures in Islam. The dream signified al-Shāfi'i's subsequent importance for Islamic legal thought and the orthodoxy of his views. According to the second anecdote narrated in this chapter, a man dreamt that Qatāda was crucified and Ibn Sīrīn interpreted it as indicating Qatāda's future renown. Given the prominence of al-Shāfi'i and Qatāda in Islamic intellectual history, the truthfulness of the dreams pertaining to them confers additional Islamic validity to the interpretation of crucifixion as representing high rank.³⁵ It is very difficult to ascertain whether this idea was current in Arabic dream interpretation before the ninth-century translation of Artemidoros into Arabic. This would be the case if the narratives of the dreams foreshadowing the glory of the two eighth-century figures, Qatāda and al-Shāfi'i, are contemporary with their purported protagonists, which is not an easy matter to determine. At any rate, Ibn Qutayba's and al-Dīnawarī's treatment of crucifixion demonstrates that the Muslim interpretations which coincide with those of Artemidoros (whether preexisting independently or borrowed from the Greek dreambook) were thoroughly assimilated into the body of Arabic dream interpretation, from where the author of the *Oneirocriticon* received them.

Al-Muntakhab and al-Nābulusī essentially repeat al-Dīnawarī's interpretations,³⁶ while Ibn Shāhīn includes some additional material. Most of the interpretations from chapters 89 and 90 of the *Oneirocriticon* can be paralleled with interpretations from the Arabic dreambooks, as is shown below:

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι κρίσει τοῦ ἐξουσιαστοῦ ἐκρεμάσθῃ ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου βίᾱ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ, ἀναλόγως τοῦ ὕψους τῆς κρεμάσεως ἀξιώματι τιμηθήσεται ... ὁμοίως ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι παρέδωκεν ἕτερον κρεμασθῆναι, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς ἢ ἐξουσιάζων λαοῦ, θυμωθήσεται καὶ ὀργισθήσεται ἐπὶ τῷ παραδοθέντι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστερον τιμήσει αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ τιμηθεὶς εἰς θεὸν ἐξαμαρτήσεται.

³⁴ BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 205b; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 168a.

³⁵ The anecdote is repeated in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 2271.

³⁶ *Al-Muntakhab*, chap. 31, pp. 161-62, repeats the interpretations quoted in al-Dīnawarī, including those attributed to the Christians and to Artemidoros, without stating their source. The same is done in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, pp. 39-40, s.v. صلب. Ibn Shāhīn copies some of al-Dīnawarī's interpretations from *al-Muntakhab* (cf. nos. 2272-77), and adds more data.

If someone sees in his dream that according to the ruling of the authorities he was violently and forcibly hung by the neck, he will be honored with an office analogous to the height of his hanging Likewise, if someone dreams that he delivered somebody else to be hung, if he is king or rules people, he will first be angry and irate at the person whom he delivered, and then will honor him. And the honored one will sin against God.

These interpretations correspond to the ones found in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 2278: وقال الكرمانى من رأى أنه صلب فإنه يرى من السلطان نعمة عظيمة (Al-Kirmānī said: "Whoever dreams that he was crucified, he will receive great beneficence and an exalted position and high rank from the king, and possibly there will be a flaw in his faith"). They also correspond to the interpretations from Ibn Shāhīn, no. 2273: فمن رأى أنه صلب حيا أصاب رفعة وشرفا لقوله تعالى وما (If someone dreams that he was crucified alive, he will receive high rank and honor, according to the saying of God almighty "They slew him not for certain, but God raised him up to Him" [Qur'ān 4:157-58]). And no. 2281: وقيل من رأى أن الملك أمر بصلبه فإنه (It is said, whoever dreams that the king ordered that he be crucified, he will receive from the king a dignity and high rank. However, he is not good in his faith).

Yet another interpretation found in the *Oneirocriticon* is demonstrably closely related to an interpretation found in Arabic: εἰάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔφαγε κρέας κρεμαμένου, πλουτήσει ἐφαμάρτως ἐξ ὑψηλοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναλόγως, ὅσον ἔφαγεν (If someone dreams that he ate the meat of a hung person, he will sinfully gain wealth from a man in a high position in proportion to how much he ate). This corresponds to Ibn Shāhīn, no. 2279: ومن رأى أنه اكل لحم المصلوب فإنه ياكل مالا حراما، وربما يتمكن من ذى سلطان ويصيب (If someone dreamt that he ate the flesh of a crucified person, he will eat [spend?] unlawful money, and probably he will have influence with a person in a position of authority and will receive benefit from him).

Two more Greek interpretations have Arabic parallels. The first one is: Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐσταυρώθῃ, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ πτωχός, πλουτήσει (If someone dreams that he was crucified, if he is poor, he will become rich). An analogous

³⁷ This interpretation is ultimately copied from al-Dīnawarī; Ibn Shāhīn lifted it from *al-Muntakhab*.

interpretation is found in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 2276: *الصلب... للفقراء غنى وسعة* (The cross ... for the poor signifies great wealth). The second Greek interpretation is: *ἐὰν ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐσταυρώθη καὶ κατήλθεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους τοῦ ἀξιώματος αὐτοῦ πεσεῖται καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος αὐτοῦ ἀφανισθήσεται* (If he sees that he had been crucified and came down from the cross, he will fall from the loftiness of his office and his wealth will vanish). The parallel text is Ibn Shāhīn, no. 2285: *ومن رأى انه مصلوب وانقطع حبله فإنه تنزل مرتبه* (If someone dreamt that he was crucified and that his rope broke, he will fall from his rank).

The special significance of crucifixion for Christianity is apparent in chapter 126 of the *Oneirocriticon*, "From the Indians concerning Kings and Crosses," and appears as one of the most Byzantine sections of the whole work, as it incorporates elements of Christian and Byzantine imperial ideology. The first half of this chapter interprets dreams about the Christian cross (Drexl 74, 21-75, 18):

ρκς' Ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ βασιλέως καὶ σταυροῦ

Ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι σταυρὸν ἦρεν εἰς ναὸν ἢ εἰς οἶκον αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ ὕψους καὶ μεγίστου, ἴσως καὶ ἀπὸ βασιλείας, χαρὰν μεγάλην εὐρήσει καὶ νίκας κατ' ἐχθρῶν. ἐὰν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἦρθη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ σταυρός, εἰς θλίψιν ἐλεύσεται καὶ καταδουλωθήσεται τῷ ἐχθρῷ αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι πάλιν ἐστράφη ὁ σταυρός, ἀποβαλεῖ τὴν λύπην αὐτοῦ.

Ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι τὰ τίμια ξύλα τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὗρε καὶ εὐπόρησεν αὐτά, ἡγουν τὸν σταυρὸν ὅλον, οὗτος βασιλεύσει καὶ πιστότατος ἔσται. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι προσεκύνησεν αὐτὰ ἐν τόπῳ γνωρίμῳ, εὐρήσει χαρὰν καὶ πλοῦτον ἀπὸ βασιλείας καὶ δίκαιος κληθήσεται. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἀπεκίνησε πρὸς τόπον, ἐν ᾧ ὦσι ταῦτα, εἰς αἵτησιν ἡξει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καί, εἰ μὲν ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἀπεσώθη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ ἐτελείωσε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ, τελειωθήσεται καὶ ἡ αἵτησις αὐτοῦ.

Ἐὰν ἴδῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι νέον σταυρὸν τίμιον ἐκτήσατο, οὗτος τεκνώσει ἄρσεν βασιλεῦδον ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν δὲ ἴδῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι ἔδωκε γυναικὶ σταυρὸν ἐγκόλπιον, ἀληθὴ λόγον δώσει αὐτῇ, τάχα καὶ τεκνώσει μετ' αὐτῆς· οὐκ ἐνδέχεται δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς ἄλλην πλὴν πρὸς τὴν ἀγούσαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἰδεῖν.

Ἐὰν τις ἴδῃ εἰς τόπον, ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἦν σταυρός, νεωστὶ σταθέντα σταυρὸν, νεωστὶ κεφαλὴ ἔρχεται εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον. καὶ ἐὰν ὦσι χριστιανοὶ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκεῖνῳ, χριστιανὸς ὁμόφυλος ἄρξει αὐτῶν, εἰ δὲ οὐκ εἰσιν, ἀλλόφυλος ἄρξει αὐτῶν.

126. From the Indians on Kings and Crosses

If someone dreams that he raised a cross in a church or in his house, he will receive from an exalted and very powerful man—possibly even the king—great joy and be victorious over his enemies. If he dreams that the cross was taken from him, he will come to grief and be enslaved by his enemy. If he dreams that the cross is returned, he will be relieved from his grief.

If someone dreams that he found and procured the holy wood of the Cross of Christ—that is, the complete cross—he will become king and be very pious. If he dreams that he adored it at a familiar place, he will find joy and wealth from a king and will be called just. If he sees that he started off to a place where the cross was located, he will go to the king in order to make a request and, if he sees that he reached the place and fulfilled his desire, his request will also be granted.

If a king dreams that he acquired a new precious cross, he will beget a male who will rule upon his royal throne. If the king dreams that he gave a pectoral cross to a woman, he will make a true promise to her and will soon have a child with her. And it is not possible to dream such a thing concerning any other woman but the empress.

If someone dreams that in a place where there was no cross, a cross has recently been erected, a leader will soon come to that place. And if the people of that place are Christian, a Christian of the same race will rule over them. If they are not, a foreigner will.

The interpretation of the cross as a sign of victory seems inspired by the Byzantine veneration of the cross and the ideology surrounding it, the development of which began as early as the fourth century. Constantine's vision of the cross on the eve of his victory over Maxentius in 312 provided the earliest association of the cross with military victory, which was enhanced during the iconoclastic period (8th-9th century). The iconophile Orthodoxy that ultimately prevailed considered the cross as only one among several Christian symbols and no more important than the icons, though the cross did remain a military symbol throughout the tenth century.³⁸ The author of the *Oneirocriticon* further elaborates the significance of the cross as a sign of victory in chapter 150, which primarily discusses dreaming of icons (Drexl 106, 5-12):

Ἐὰν τις ἴδῃ εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐσταυρωμένον, ὅτι προσεκύνησεν ἢ ἡσπάσατο ἢ ἐδεήθη αὐτῆς, εἰ μὲν ἔστι βασιλεὺς, καὶ οὗτος εὐρήσει νίκας ἐχθρῶν καὶ χαρὰν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ, διότι ὁ σταυρὸς μετὰ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐν αὐτῷ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ νίκας μεγίστας σημαίνει καὶ πάσης θλίψεως μεταβολήν· καὶ ἐὰν ἴδῃ εἰκόνα μόνην τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

³⁸ See ODB, s.v. "Cross." For the military importance of the cross as a sign of victory and the evolution of its symbolism, see N. Thierry, "La culte de la croix dans l'empire byzantin du VIIe siècle au Xe dans ses rapports avec la guerre contre l'infidèle. Nouveaux témoignages archéologiques," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 1 (1981), pp. 205-28.

ἄνευ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἔστιν ἡ χαρὰ ἐλαττωτέρα, ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ νίκη.

If someone dreams of an icon of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified, that he prostrated himself in front of it, or that he kissed it or prayed to it, if he is king, he will find victories against the enemies and joy in his glory, for the cross with our Lord Jesus Christ crucified on it indicates very great victories and a reversal of all sorrow. And if he dreamt of a simple icon of our Lord Jesus Christ, without the cross, the joy will be less, and victory likewise.

Given the demonstrable derivation of the *Oneirocriticon* from Arabic dream interpretation, on the one hand, and the evident Christian and Byzantine flavor of the interpretation of the cross, on the other, one wonders whether the contents of chapter 126 (and of chapter 150) were invented *ex nihilo* by the author of the *Oneirocriticon*, or were the result of the author's creative use of material that already existed in his Arabic sources. The association of the cross with victory can be found in Arabic dreambooks as well, as is evident from the following interpretation found in the dreambook of al-Nābulusī:³⁹ ومن رأى

انه صلب وهو من عامة الناس فانه يذل ويقهر (If someone dreamt that he was crucified, if he is a commoner he will conquer and vanquish <his enemies>).⁴⁰

The cross (*ṣalīb*), as opposed to the crucifixion (*ṣalb*), is discussed in only two of the five Arabic dreambooks investigated, and the interpretations of only one of them, al-Nābulusī, can be correlated with the contents of the equivalent chapter in the *Oneirocriticon*:⁴¹

صليب: ... وربما «الصليب» دل على الرجل العظيم الشأن [sic] المفترض الطاعة القائم بالدين فمن رأى ان معه صليبا تزوج او رزق ولدا وربما كان من الزنا وربما دل الصليب على النكاح الفاسد...

The cross: ... Perhaps <the cross> signifies a man of great importance who has the authority to impose obedience and uphold religion. And if someone dreamt that he had a cross with him, he will marry or have a son, possibly from fornication.

³⁹ Vol. 2, p. 39, s.v. صليب.

⁴⁰ Such is the translation if we understand the verbs as being in the active voice; if we understand them as being in the passive voice, the translation would be just the opposite ("he will be conquered and vanquished"). The absence of vocalization in al-Nābulusī's printed text makes it impossible to decide whether the author intended to use the active or the passive voice (both are written identically if left unvoiced).

⁴¹ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 49, s.v. صليب. Ibn Shāhīn also includes an entry on the cross (no. 7251), but interprets it as a flaw in religion and a predilection for infidelity (*kufī*).

Sometimes the cross signifies a marriage contracted through a legally defective contract.

The *Oneirocriticon* and al-Nābulusī agree that the cross indicates a powerful man, future marriage, and male progeny. Al-Nābulusī's interpretations of the cross and especially the negative overtones of the marriage signified by it, moreover, seem to be an amplification of Artemidoros's interpretations of a crucifixion, formulated on the basis of Ḥunayn's Arabic translation: "As for those who are not married, it signifies their marriage, and this is because of the bond of the crucified, but it is not for all of them a laudable sign."⁴² It is conceivable that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* modeled the interpretations contained in the third paragraph of chapter 126 after an Arabic passage similar to the one quoted in al-Nābulusī. But it is improbable that he was directly inspired by Artemidoros, because the interpretation of the cross as begetting a son is absent from the Greek text and only appears in the Arabic tradition.

The fourth paragraph of chapter 126 (a cross newly erected at a place signifies that a leader will arrive there) also seems to echo the last interpretation of crucifixion originally found in Artemidoros. The choice of words employed in the *Oneirocriticon* is very different from the passage in the ancient Greek text, but the connection between the ancient and the medieval Greek interpretation becomes obvious if we have a look at the Arabic translation of Artemidoros.⁴³

Ḥunayn rendered the Greek *archē* (leadership) with the Arabic *riyāsa*, the root of which is the same as for the word *ra's*. *Ra's* means both "head" and "leader," the exact equivalent of the Greek word *kephalē*, which is used in the *Oneirocriticon*. The exact phrasing of the Arabic source of the *Oneirocriticon* can only be imagined, but it is likely that it was close to that of Ḥunayn. At any rate, given the disparities between the two Greek texts, the interpretation

⁴² Fahd, *Artémidore d'Éphèse*, 332, 11-13.

⁴³ Artem. ii.53; Pack 183, 19-21: ἐν πόλει δὲ δοκεῖν ἐσταυρῶσθαι ἀρχὴν σημαίνει τοιαύτην, οἷος ἂν ἡ ὁ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ σταυρὸς ἔστηκε (To dream that one has been crucified in a city signifies a magisterial position that corresponds to the place where the cross was set up); see Ḥunayn (Fahd 333, 3-5): فإن رأى الانسان كأنه يصلب في المدينة فإن الرؤيا تدل على رئاسة (And if a man dreams that he was crucified in a city, the dream signifies leadership that will be exercised, according to <what befits> the place where the cross was raised); cf. *Oneir.* 126 (Drexl 75, 15-16): Εάν τις ἴδῃ εἰς τόπον, ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἦν σταυρὸς, νεωστὶ σταθέντα σταυρόν, νεωστὶ κεφαλὴ ἔρχεται εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον (If someone dreams that in a place where there was no cross, a cross has recently been erected, a leader will soon come to that place).

of the erection of a cross as the arrival of a leader is much more likely to have been introduced in the *Oneirocriticon* via the Arabic tradition than through the Byzantine author's direct knowledge of the Greek text of Artemidoros.

At least part of the material from chapter 126 seems not to have been invented by the author of the *Oneirocriticon*, but to have been developed (with what degree of liberty it is impossible to say) on the basis of existing material. Its second paragraph discusses dreaming about traveling to where the relics of the True Cross are, or in other words going on pilgrimage. The institution of the pilgrimage exists in Islam as well—the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*) is in fact one of the most important religious duties, one of the "Five Pillars of Islam," the observance of which is obligatory for all Muslims, and is therefore interpreted in every Arabic dreambook. Central to the rites of the pilgrim, when he or she reaches Mecca, is the circumambulation of the Ka'ba, a large cubic structure covered with a black cloth and containing the Black Stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*). Though the Ka'ba and the Black Stone are not objects of worship, they represent a sanctuary consecrated to God since time immemorial, and for this reason Muslims in every part of the world orient themselves towards the Ka'ba when they pray. The direction of the Ka'ba, or *qibla*, is usually marked in mosques with a prayer niche (*miḥrāb*). Arab lexicographers often call the cross the *qibla* of the Christians.⁴⁴

In the *Oneirocriticon* the first two paragraphs on the cross contain interpretations that in Arabic dreambooks are given to the Ka'ba and the *qibla*. The Byzantine interpretations of finding the True Cross as meaning that the dreamer will become a ruler and be very faithful correspond to an interpretation of the Ka'ba quoted by Ibn Qutayba:⁴⁵

فان رأى انه طوفها <=الكعبة> وعمل في المناسك فهو صلاح في الدين بقدر ما عمل وقد يكون الرجل صاحب سلطان فيرى انه منوجه نحو الكعبة فيتوجه نحو الامام او يلقاه او يزاول بعض سلطانه.

If he saw that he was circumambulating the Ka'ba and performed the rites of the pilgrimage, this is probity in his religion commensurate with the rites that he performed, and the dreamer will come to exercise power.

This interpretation is repeated in all but one of the Arabic dreambooks I

⁴⁴ This is probably the result of the Muslim-Christian polemics of the 9th century, when Christian intellectuals under Islamic rule repeatedly clarified that the cross was not itself an object of worship. For further details and bibliography, see *EL*², s.v. "ṣalīb."

⁴⁵ *Faṣl* 6, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fols. 26b-27a.

examined.⁴⁶ They all also agree that the Ka'ba signifies a ruler, or generally a person of authority (caliph, imam, etc.), and visiting the Ka'ba is interpreted as entering the presence of the powerful individual signified by it. In al-Dinawarī, for example, we read the following:⁴⁷

الكعبة في المنام خليفة او وزير او رياسة او تزويج ... فان دخل البيت العتيق فانه يدخل على الخليفة* فان اخذ منها شي فانه ينال من الخليفة شيا.

The Ka'ba in a dream is a caliph or a vizier or leadership or marriage.⁴⁸... If <someone dreamt that> he entered the Ancient House,⁴⁹ he will come to see the caliph, and if he received something from it, he will receive something from the caliph.⁵⁰

This omnipresent Arabic interpretation is similar to one of the interpretations of the cross from chapter 126: "If he sees that he started off to a place where the cross was located, he will go to the king in order to make a request, and if he sees that he reached the place and fulfilled his desire, his request will also be fulfilled."

It seems, therefore, that the interpretations of crucifixion and the cross found in the *Oneirocriticon* have their roots not only in the Arabic version of Artemidoros's work and its echo in subsequent Arabic dreambooks, but also in the purely Muslim interpretations of the pilgrimage and the Ka'ba quoted in the Greek author's Arabic source. Arriving at new interpretations through the use of analogy based on existing material is an acceptable practice that is encouraged both by Artemidoros and by Arabic dreambooks,⁵¹ since it is im-

⁴⁶ See al-Dinawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 37 (on the Ka'ba), *Esad Efendi* 1833, fols. 76b-77a; not in *al-Muntakhab*; Ibn Shāhīn, nos. 948-49; al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 173.

⁴⁷ Al-Dinawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 37 (on the Ka'ba), *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 76b, BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 134a.

⁴⁸ The interpretation of the Ka'ba as marriage coincides with one of the interpretations of the cross examined above.

⁴⁹ The Ka'ba is called "the ancient house" (*al-bayt al-ʿatīq*) because, according to tradition, it was originally founded by Adam, and rebuilt several times by among others Seth, Abraham together with his son Ismāʿīl, and the descendants of Noah.

⁵⁰ The same interpretation is repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, *bāb* 14, p. 56 (the wording is close to that in al-Dinawarī, but the order of the sentences is different); Ibn Shāhīn, no. 941: *ومن رأى الكعبة ربما يرى الخليفة او السلطان* (If someone dreams of the Ka'ba he will probably see the caliph or the sultan); al-Dinawarī's interpretation is repeated verbatim in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 172, s.v. *كعبة*.

⁵¹ On Artemidoros's advice to infer the interpretation of dreams not found in his dreambook by

possible for a single dreambook to contain everything that a human being can dream of.

Decapitation and Eating a Human Head

Oberhelman notes that chapter 241 of the *Oneirocriticon* and chapter i.70 of Artemidoros agree that "to eat a man's head means money and wealth."⁵² Though neither chapter i.70 nor any other passage in Artemidoros mentions eating a human or any other kind of head,⁵³ the two dreambooks do agree that a head signifies both leadership, because the head controls the rest of the body,⁵⁴ and money, because the word "capital" (*kephalaion*) is derived from

analogy to the dreams he has described, see C. Blum, *Studies in the Dream-Book of Artemidoros*, Inaugural dissertation (Uppsala, 1936), p. 90. Blum rightly observed that this is a method of reasoning that Artemidoros borrowed from ancient empiricism. Reasoning by analogy (in Arabic *qiyās*) was also an established method of reasoning in the Muslim world, since it was recognized as one of the sources of Islamic law. See *El*², s.v. "Qiyās."

⁵² "Specific agreement," no. 83.

⁵³ Artem. i.70 simply treats dreaming of various kinds of flesh, including human flesh, which is interpreted as follows (Pack 76, 21 and 77, 4-13): τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ ὑπερβολὴ ἀγαθόν, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐτήρησα, ἀνθρωπίνης ἐσθίειν σάρκας πάντων δ' ἂν εἴη σκαιότατον τὸ παιδὸς ἰδίου σάρκας ἐσθίειν· σύντομον γὰρ ὀλεθρον μαντεύεται, εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἐσθίειν νομίσσει μερῶν τοῦ παιδός, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ παῖς πορίζεται, οἷον εἰ δρομαίου τοὺς πόδας ἢ χειροτέχνον τὰς χεῖρας ἢ παλαιστοῦ τοὺς ὤμους φάγοι· τότε γὰρ τῷ μὲν παιδί εὐπορίαν τὸ ὄναρ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ πατρὶ ὄνασθαι τοῦ παιδός προαγορεύει. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οἱ σάρκες ἐσθιόμεναι ἀγαθαί. τρόπον γὰρ τινα οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν ὠφελοῦνται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἐσθίουσιν ἀλλήλους (I have learnt from experience that the best and most auspicious dream by far is the one in which a person eats human flesh But eating the flesh of one's own child is the most unlucky of all. For it prophesies sudden death, unless a man dreams that he is eating those parts of his child from which he earns his living—for example, if a man's child is a runner and he dreams that he is eating his feet, or if his son is an artisan and he dreams that he is eating his hands, or if his son is a wrestler and he dreams that he is eating his shoulders. For, in these cases, the dream foretells that the child will become prosperous and that the father will derive benefit from his son. Eating the flesh of other men means good luck. For whenever men are assisted by one another, they are, in a sense, partaking of one another). Chap. 241 of the *Oneirocriticon*, which Oberhelman claims is in "specific agreement" with this passage from Artemidoros, is called "From the Indians, Persians and Egyptians on Various Foods" and discusses eating bread, honey, sugar, dates, olives and other foods regularly consumed in one's waking life. The only interpretation contained in chapter 241 that could conceivably be correlated with Artemidoros's chapter i.70 is Drexl 198, 5-7: εἰ δὲ ἔφαγεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπου κεφαλὴν, εὐρήσει πλῆθος χρυσοῦ καὶ πλούτον ἐξ ἀδικίας (If he eats the head of a human, he will find plenty of gold and wealth through wrongdoing). This interpretation is clearly a far cry from Artemidoros's chapter, which mentions eating other parts of the body, but not heads. Though there are similarities between Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* regarding the interpretation of heads, they are not in the passages identified by Oberhelman, nor are they in "specific agreement" with each other.

⁵⁴ In later Greek, κεφαλὴ means both "head" and "the headman" or "the principal." The

the word for "head" (*kephalē*). Accordingly, Artemidoros notes that dreaming of having a bigger head ἀρχὴν τινα προαγορεύει ... καὶ χρημάτων ἐπικτησιν τὰ γὰρ χρήματα κεφάλαια καλεῖται⁵⁵ (foretells some office ... and the acquisition of money For, indeed, money is called "capital"). By the same token, in chapter i.35 Artemidoros interprets decapitation as release from debt for debtors and freedom for slaves:

τραπεζῖταις δὲ καὶ δανεισταῖς <καὶ> ἐρανάρχαις καὶ ναυκλήροις καὶ ἐμπόροις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς χρήματα συνάγουσιν ἀπώλειαν τῶν κεφαλαίων διὰ τὸ ὁμώνυμον σημαίνει. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καταχρέοις διὰ τὰ αὐτά.⁵⁶

To bankers, usurers, men who have to collect subscriptions, shipmasters, merchants, and all who collect money, it signifies loss of capital, because the word for "capital" is derived from the word for "head." It is auspicious for debtors for the same reason.

τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς <δούλοις> πᾶσιν ἐλευθερία σημαίνει τὸ ὄναρ· κυρία γὰρ τοῦ σώματος οὐσα ἡ κεφαλὴ ἐπειδὴν ἀφαιρεθῇ, χωρισθέντα τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ οἰκέτην ἐλεύθερον σημαίνει ἔσεσθαι.⁵⁷

But to other slaves, the dream signifies freedom. For the head is the master of the body, and when it is cut off, it signifies that the slave will be separated from his master and will be free.

The same interpretations of decapitation also appear in the *Oneirocriticon*,⁵⁸ though the wording and the structure of the relevant chapter is very different from the text of Artemidoros.

The interpretation of the head as standing for a leader is repeated several times in the *Oneirocriticon*: ἡ γὰρ κεφαλὴ εἰς τὸν ἐπέχοντα διακρίνεται (For the head signifies the one who holds power over the dreamer);⁵⁹ ἐὰν ἴδῃ

earliest attestation of such a meaning occurs in an author who is roughly contemporary with Artemidoros, the late 1st- or early 2nd-century Hermas, in whose writings it means "head of the household" (see Lampe, s.v. "κεφαλὴ"). Artemidoros does not directly refer to the double meaning of κεφαλὴ.

⁵⁵ Artem. i.17; Pack 26, 1-17. Dreaming of having a bigger head is not discussed in the *Oneirocriticon*.

⁵⁶ Pack 44, 4-8.

⁵⁷ Pack 44, 15-18.

⁵⁸ Oberhelman "specific agreement," no. 21: *Oneirocriticon* 120 = Artem. i.35: decapitation for a slave = his freedom; no. 22: *Oneirocriticon* 120 = Artem. i.35: decapitation for a debtor = release from debt; already observed by Pack (p. 44, *testimonia* 17).

⁵⁹ Chap. 107, "From the Persians and the Egyptians concerning Blows and Wounds"; Drexl 64, 20.

τις, ὅτι τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ῥινὸς ἢ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔρρευσεν, εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἦτοι τὸν ὑπερέχοντα αὐτοῦ νοεῖτω τὴν ἐπιζήμιον ἐξοδὸν (If someone dreams that blood flowed out of his nose or head, let him reckon this as an injurious spending⁶⁰ incurred by his leader, that is the person who has authority over him);⁶¹ ἢ γὰρ κεφαλὴ εἰς τὸν ὑπερέχοντα αὐτοῦ διακρίνεται (because the head is interpreted as the one who is above him <in rank>).⁶²

In two instances where animal heads are interpreted as both leadership and money the author of the *Oneirocriticon* directly invokes the etymological connection of head (*kephalē*) and capital (*kephalaion*) that was already used by Artemidoros:

ὁμοίως καὶ ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι κεφαλὴν καμήλου ἦρεν, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἐξουσιαστής ὁ ἰδὼν, ἐχθροῦ ὑπαρξίν εὐρήσει, εἰ δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ, ἀπὸ μεγίστου κερδήσει κέρδος ἕως δέκα ἢ ἑκατὸν ἢ χιλίων νομισμάτων, διὰ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ διὰ τὸ τέλειον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ.⁶³

Likewise, if he sees that he took the head of a camel, if the dreamer exercises power, he will find the possessions of an enemy; and if he is one of the commoners, he will gain profit from a powerful man up to ten or a hundred or a thousand coins, because of the capital signified by the head and the perfect number.⁶⁴

ἐάν τις ἴδῃ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι ἦνεγκαν αὐτῷ κεφαλὴν χοίρου ἢ ὅτι ἔτρωγεν αὐτήν, τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πλούτου τοῦ ἐχθροῦ αὐτοῦ κερδήσει καὶ αὐτὸν νικήσει καὶ πατάξει.⁶⁵

If a king sees that the head of a swine was brought to him or that he was eating it, he will win his enemy's capital of money and will defeat and beat him.

In addition, the *Oneirocriticon* dedicates two chapters to the interpretation of eating a human or an animal head, either raw or cooked, a dream that is never discussed in Artemidoros. The whole of chapter 39, "From the Indians on

⁶⁰ The translation "spending" for ἐξοδος which in medieval Greek can also mean "outcome" or "death" (cf. Lampe, s.v. "ἐξοδος"; Sophocles, s.v. "ἐξοδος") is supported by the interpretation of blood as money in the *Oneirocriticon* (chap. 103, Drexl 61, 1-13) as well as by the phrase that immediately follows the one quoted above (Drexl 61, 19-20): ἐάν τις ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς ἔρρευσε <τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ> πλεῖστον πτωχεύσει καὶ ὀλιγόβιος ἔσται (If <his blood> flowed out of his flesh he will become poorer and will not live long).

⁶¹ Chap. 104, "From the Persians and the Egyptians on Blood and Wounds"; Drexl 61, 17-18.

⁶² Chap. 115, "From the Indians, Persians and Egyptians on Leanness <of the Body>, that Is Slimness"; Drexl 67, 22.

⁶³ Drexl 188, 5-9.

⁶⁴ For 10, 100, and 1,000 as perfect numbers, see Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, n. 455.

⁶⁵ Drexl 227, 12-14.

Eating Heads," focuses on the interpretation of both human and animal heads as money (Drexl 25, 12-23):

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι ἔφαγε μυελὸν κεφαλῆς ἀνθρώπου γνωρίμου, εὐρήσει τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον αὐτοῦ πᾶν καὶ κληρονομήσει αὐτόν· εἰ δὲ ἀγνωρίστου, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον ἀπὸ μεγιστάνου τινὸς καὶ χρυσίον πλεῖστον ἀκόπως. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐσθίει κεφαλὴν προβάτου ἐψημένην, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ἐν ἀξιώματι μεγάλῳ καὶ κέρδος σὺν κόπῳ· ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κεφαλὴν προβάτου ὀπτωμένην, πολεμήσει οὗτος ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ σκυλεῦσαι τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ καὶ νικήσει μὲν αὐτόν, μετὰ δὲ τιμωρίας ἀπολαύσει τοῦ πλούτου αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ὀπτησιν· ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔφαγε κεφαλὴν ὀμῆν, οὗτος πλουτήσει πλεῖστα σὺν ἀμαρτίαις μεγίσταις.

If someone dreams that he ate the brains from the head of a person he knew, he will acquire all of his wealth and money and will be his heir. If <the head belonged to> a person he did not know, he will effortlessly acquire wealth from a powerful person and a great deal of money. If he dreams that he is eating the roasted head of a sheep, he will fight an enemy of his in order to capture his wealth as booty and will defeat him, and will enjoy his enemy's wealth with punishment, because roasting is done on fire.⁶⁶ If he dreams that he ate a raw head he will become exceedingly wealthy amid very great sins.

Some of these interpretations are repeated in chapter 40, which treats the same topic according to the Persians and Egyptians. Here, too, the head is interpreted as leadership or a person in a position of authority:

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι τρώγει κεφαλὴν προβάτου, οὗτος εὐρήσει χαρὰν μεγάλην καὶ πλοῦτον. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔφαγε ἀνθρώπου κεφαλὴν, εἰς τὴν ὑπερέχουσαν αὐτῷ κεφαλὴν δολιεύσεται καὶ κακουργήσει· ἴσως δὲ καὶ διαδέχεται τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι κεφαλὰς προβαίας ἢ τραγείας ἢ ἐλαφείας ἢ τῶν ἄλλων κερασφόρων ζώων ἦνεγκέ τις αὐτῷ, οὗτος μεγάλην ἀρχὴν ἀναδέχεται καὶ δεσμίας κεφαλὰς ἀρχόντων συνάξει κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἐν τῷ ὀνείρατι προσενέξεως. τοῦτο δὲ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι θεωρῆσαι τινα πλὴν τοῦ Φαραῶ καὶ τοῦ διαδόχου αὐτοῦ. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ πτωχὸς ἢ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ ὅτι ἐξωνήσατο ἢ εὗρε κεφαλὴν κατ' ὄναρ, οὗτος εὐρήσει χρυσοῦ νομίσματα ἢ δέκα ἢ ἑκατὸν ἢ χίλια.⁶⁷

If someone dreams that he is eating the head of a sheep, he will find great joy and wealth. If he dreams that he ate a human head, he will use wiles and wickedness against the leader who is his superior and possibly will succeed him on his throne. If someone dreams that a person brought him the heads of sheep or goats or deer or any of the other horned animals, he will be appointed to a position of great

⁶⁶ For the interpretation of fire as violence, see *Oneirocriticon*, chap. 158, Drexl 119, 11-15.

⁶⁷ Drexl 25, 24-26, 10.

authority and will gather the captured leaders of noblemen analogous to the <heads> brought to him in the dream. However, it is impossible for anyone but the pharaoh and his successor to have this dream. If a pauper or a commoner dreams that he bought or found a head, he will find ten or a hundred or a thousand pieces of gold.

Arabic dreambooks also interpret the head as representing either money or leadership or a person in a powerful position. And even in Arabic dreambooks these interpretations are justified linguistically, as they are in Greek, because of the multiple meanings of the word *ra's* ("head", "capital," and "leader")⁶⁸ and its etymological connection with the words *ra'īs* (leader) and *riyāsa* (leadership). Consequently, Ibn Qutayba states that *والراس هو الرئيس وما راه* (The head is a leader and whatever <the dreamer> sees on the face is his glory).⁶⁹ In another chapter, he connects the eating of heads with money:

فإن رأى أن رؤس الناس مقطوعة في بلد أو محلة فإن ذلك رؤساء الناس يأتون ذلك الموضع فإن أكل منها أو نال شَعْرًا أو عظامًا أو مخًا أو عينا أصاب مالا من رؤساء الناس.

If someone dreamt that the heads of the people in a land or a quarter of a city were severed,⁷⁰ it is the leaders of the people who will come to that place. If he eats from them, or if he gets hold of any hair or bone or brain or eye, he will obtain money from the leaders of the people.⁷¹

⁶⁸ The meaning of *ra's* as both "head" and "leader" coincides with the two meanings of the later Greek κεφαλή, and is reflected not only in chap. 40 of the *Oneirocriticon*, but also in the interpretation of a helmet (Drexl 114, 5-6): εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐνεδύσατο περικεφαλαίαν, εὐρήσει δύναμιν καὶ στερέωμα εἰς τὴν ὑπερέχουσαν αὐτῷ κεφαλὴν (If he dreams that he wore a helmet, he will find strength and support in the leader <ranking> above him).

⁶⁹ *Faṣl* 14, fol. 28a

⁷⁰ Here there might be a lacuna in the Arabic text.

⁷¹ *Faṣl* 46 (*nawādir*), fols. 63b-64a. A more extensive version of this interpretation is given in al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 11, *bāb* 53, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 126b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 202b: *فإن رأى* رؤس الناس مقطوعة بيده في مجلسه فإن الناس ينقادون له ويأتون ذلك الموضع وربما اجتمع رؤسهم هناك فإن أكلها نيا أو نال شعرها أو عظامها فإنه يصيب مالا من رؤساء (If someone dreamt that people's heads were severed at his hands before his council, the people will obey him and will come to this place. Possibly their leaders will congregate there. If he ate from them raw, or if he took a hair or a bone, he will obtain money from the leaders of the people beyond what was anticipated, and possibly he will malign a leader). Ibn Shāhīn (nos. 1351-52) also has a version of this interpretation: *ومن رأى* رؤس الناس مقطوعة في بلد أو مجلد (=محل) أو بيت أو على باب فإن رؤساء الناس يأتون ذلك الموضع ويجتمعون فيه وإن رأى أنه يأكل منهم أو يأخذ شيئًا فهو حصول منفعة ومال

Similar interpretations can be found in each one of the Arabic dreambooks examined. Al-Dīnawarī also considers the head as indicative of both wealth and leadership:⁷² وقال المسلمون راس الانسان رياسة ورئيسه هو الذي تحت يده ورأس ماله وجده على آية حالة راها حسنة كانت اوقبيحة... (The Muslims said: "A man's head is leadership and his leader is the one who has him in his power; <it is also the dreamer's> capital of money and his fortune, and the condition <of this money and fortune> is analogous to the condition of the head that <the dreamer> dreamt of, either good or bad.")⁷³

Further on in his dreambook, al-Dīnawarī repeats: فالراس راس المال (The head is a capital of money).⁷⁴ *Al-Muntakhab* states:⁷⁵ *واما الراس في التاويل* (As for the head in interpretation, it is the leader of the dreamer, that is, the person who has him in his power,⁷⁶ as well as the capital of his money and his fortune). Likewise, in Ibn Shāhīn (no. 1344) we read that *وقد يدل رأس الانسان رأس ماله* (The head of a man signifies his capital). Al-Nābulusī concurs: *رأس: في* المنام هو رياسة الانسان ورأسه الذي هو تحت يديه ورأس ماله (Head: this, in a dream, is the leadership over a person, and the leader who has him in his power, and his capital).⁷⁷

In addition, Arabic dreambooks contain interpretations that closely correspond to excerpts from the *Oneirocriticon*. The beginning of chapter 39, which interprets dreams about eating the head of a known or an unknown person, closely corresponds to the following passage from Ibn Shāhīn, (no. 1354):

ومن رأى أنه يأكل رأسًا نيئًا ففيه وجهان قليل حصول مال أو عتب من رئيس وإن كان رأسًا معروفًا فربما أنه يأكل من رأس مال صاحب الراس.

وخير (If someone dreamt that the heads of people in a land or a quarter of a city or a house or in front of a gate were severed, it means that the leaders of the people will come to that place and congregate there; if he dreamt that he ate from them or took something <from their flesh>, this represents the attainment of profit, wealth, and goodness).

⁷² *Faṣl* 6, *bāb* 27, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 48b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 74b.

⁷³ The same interpretation is repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 77.

⁷⁴ *Faṣl* 11, *bāb* 53, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 126b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 208b, omits this phrase.

⁷⁵ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 77.

⁷⁶ *الذي هو تحت يديه*; cf. ὁ ἐπ' ἐχὼν and ὁ ὑπερέχων from the equivalent Greek interpretations (Drexl 64, 20; 61, 18; 67, 22).

⁷⁷ Al-Nābulusī, vol. I, p. 239, s.v. رأس.

If someone dreamt that he was eating a raw head, there are two possibilities: It is said that <it signifies> either the attainment of money or rebuke from a leader. And if the head belonged to someone known <to the dreamer>, he will possibly spend the capital that belonged to the owner of the head.

When it comes to animal heads mentioned in the *Oneirocriticon*, the Arabic dreambooks examined contain passages that, though they do not coincide, still bear a vague resemblance to those references. Ibn Shāhin (no. 1374) gives the following interpretation:

وقال الكرمانى رؤيا رؤوس الحيوان من حيث الجملة مال ورياسة فإن كان مما يؤكل لحمه يكون كسب المال من وجه حل وإن كان مما لا يجوز أكله يكون من وجه حرام.

Al-Kirmānī said: "The dreams of animal heads generally <signify> wealth and leadership. If <the animal> has edible meat, the acquisition of wealth will be from a lawful source. If not, it will be from an unlawful source."

Al-Nābulusī interprets animal heads as follows:⁷⁸

فإن رأى أنه يأكل رأس شاة أو رأس بقرة أو ثور أو رأس جمل نينا فإنه يغتاب رئيسا ينسب إلى ذلك الجوهر فإن كان مطبوخا أو مشويا فإنه يستفيد مالا من الرؤساء أو يأكل رأس مال أحد ينسب إلى جوهره والرأس من الشاة رأس مال أكثره عشرة ألف درهم وأقله ألف درهم ... ومن رأى أنه يأكل رأس غنم وكراعاه فإنه ينال عزا ومالا بالحرى أن يكون من ميراث.

If <someone> dreamt that he ate the head of a sheep or the head of a cow or a bull or the raw head of a camel, he will malign a leader referring to this substance. If <the head> was cooked or roasted, he will acquire wealth from the leaders or will spend the capital of someone who is referred to by this substance. The head of a sheep is capital, at most ten thousand dirhams and at least a thousand dirhams If someone dreamt that he ate the head of a sheep, as well as its foot, he will obtain power and money, but it will hardly be through inheritance.

The interpretation of a cooked head of a sheep as booty taken from an enemy given in chapter 39 is not found in any of the five Arabic dreambooks, but it also seems to convey an Arabic interpretation based on etymology: the Arabic word for "sheep" (*ghanam*) has the same root as the word for booty (*ghanīma*). The interpretation of eating a human head as using wiles and wicked behavior

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 243.

against a leader in chapter 40 has its counterpart in al-Dīnawarī's dreambook.⁷⁹ (If) فإن رأى روس الناس مقطوعة بيده ... فإن أكلها ... ربما اغتاب رئيسا (If he saw the heads of people cut in his hand ... <and> if he ate from them ... , he would probably malign a leader). Finally, the last phrase from chapter 40 (If a pauper or a commoner dreams that he bought or found a head, he will find ten or a hundred or a thousand pieces of gold⁸⁰) is also very similar to a passage from al-Dīnawarī:⁸¹ فإن رأى أنه أخذ رأسا فإنه مال يصير إليه أقله ألف (If <someone> dreamt that he obtained a head, this means that money will end up in his possession, and the smallest sum possible is a thousand dirhams, and the greatest is ten thousand dirhams). An analogous interpretation is recorded by Ibn Shāhin (no. 1349): وقال بعض المعبرين من أصاب رأسا فإنه يصيب من عشرة دراهم إلى عشرين (Some of the dream interpreters say: "If someone acquired a head, he will acquire from ten up to twenty thousand dirhams").

Chapter 120 of the *Oneirocriticon*, like Artemidoros, states that decapitation indicates freedom for slaves or release from debt. The relevant passage reads as follows:⁸²

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι ἀπεκεφαλίσθη χωρισθείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ δοῦλος, ἐλευθεροῦται, εἰ δ' ἀσθενής, ἰαθήσεται, εἰ δὲ θλίψιν ἔχει ἢ χρέος, τὰυτὰ ἀποβαλεῖ· ἐάν ἴδῃ τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἢ μέριμνα καὶ ὁ φόβος αὐτοῦ πᾶς καὶ ἡ φροντίς αὐτοῦ μεταβληθήσεται. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι παρὰ γνωρίμου ἀπεκεφαλίσθη, κοινωνήσῃ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτοῦ. ἐάν ἴδῃ, ὅτι διὰ χειρὸς παιδὸς ἀνηλίκου ἀπεκεφαλίσθη, εἰ μὲν νοσεῖ, ἀποθανεῖται ταχέως

If someone dreams that he was decapitated and that his head was separated from his body, if he is a slave he will be freed, if he is sick he will be healed, if he is grieved or in debt he will be relieved from <grief or debt>. If the emperor dreams this, his concerns and all his fear and trouble will be changed <for the better>. If someone dreams that he was decapitated by someone he knew, that person will also partake of his joy. If he dreams that he was decapitated by the hand of an under-age youth, if he is sick, he will soon die

The structure and contents of this chapter correspond closely, not to the text

⁷⁹ *Faṣl* 11, *bāb* 53, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 126b; *BN arabe* 2745, fol. 208b.

⁸⁰ *Drexl* 26, §-10.

⁸¹ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 11, *bāb* 53, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 126b; *BN arabe* 2745, fol. 208b; al-Dīnawarī's interpretations are repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, pp. 77-79, and al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 239-43, s.v. رأس.

⁸² *Drexl* 70, 23-71, 6.

of Artemidoros, but to a paragraph found in a number of Arabic dreambooks with slight variations in each. According to Ibn Qutayba,⁸³

ومن رأى أن عنقه ضربت وبان الرأس فإنه إن كان عبدا عتق وإن كان مريضا شفى وإن كان مديونا قضى دينه وإن كان ضرورة حج وإن كان خائفا آمن وإن كان مغموما نفس عنه فإن عرف الضارب عنقه جرى له الخير على يديه أو يد سميّه أو نظيره أو شقيقه....

If someone dreams that he was decapitated and his head was separated <from his body>, if he is a slave he will be freed, if he is sick he will be healed, if he is in debt he will be released from it, if he is in want he will go on pilgrimage, if he is afraid <of something> he will be safe, and if he is distressed he will be relieved. If he knew the person who decapitated him, he will receive favor through him or through someone with the same name or through someone like him or through his sibling....

Identical interpretations couched in almost the same terms can also be found in al-Dīnawarī:⁸⁴

قال المسلمون من ضربت رقبتّه وبان رأسه فإن كان مريضا شفى أو كان مديونا قضى دينه أو كان ضرورة حج البيت وقضى دين الله تعالى الذي عليه أو كان في خوف وكرب فرج عنه فإن عرف الذي ضرب رقبتّه فإن ذلك يجرى على يدي من ضربها فإن كان الذي ضربها صبيا لم يبلغ فإن ذلك راحته وفرجه مما هو فيه من كرب المرض إلى ما يصير إليه من فراق الدنيا وهو موته على تلك الحال ... وإن رأى أن ملكا أو واليا يضرب عنقه فإن تأويل الوالى هو الله تعالى ينجيه من همومه ويعينه على أموره فإن رأى أن ملكا ضرب رقاب رعيته فإنه يعفو عن المذنبين ويعتق رقابهم.

The Muslims said: "If someone was decapitated and his head was severed, if he was sick he will be healed and if he was in debt he will be released from it, and if he was in want he will go on pilgrimage to Mecca and pay his debt to God, and if he was in fear or in grief he will be relieved from it; and if he knew the person who decapitated him, <the fulfillment of the dream> will come through the hand of the person who did it. If the person who did it was a youth under age, this <signifies> comfort and relief from whatever trouble or sickness the dreamer had until he departs this world, i.e., <it signifies> his death in this condition.... And if he saw that a king or a local governor decapitated him, the governor is to be interpreted as God Almighty who will save him from his troubles and will make

⁸³ Bāb 14, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 31b.

⁸⁴ Faṣl 11, bāb 51, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 126a; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 201b

him distinguished in his affairs. And if he saw that a king decapitated his subjects, he will pardon the criminals and manumit their slaves."⁸⁵

In the last sentence of this passage, the interpretation of decapitation as freedom for slaves is based on etymology. In Arabic the verb "to decapitate" is expressed periphrastically as "to hit the napes" (ضرب الرقاب). The word *raqaba* (pl. *riqāb*) means both "napes" and "slaves."⁸⁶ Given this coincidence, the interpretation of decapitation as freedom for a slave, found in Artemidoros, could very easily have been either absorbed by Arabic dream interpretation after the translation of Artemidoros, or invented independently by Arab interpreters even before Ḥunayn's translation was in circulation. A paragraph like the one quoted above from al-Dīnawarī can also be found in Ibn Shāhīn (no. 1343):

ومن رأى أن عنقه ضرب وأبان رأسه منه أن كان غنيا نقص ماله، وإن كان فقيرا استغنى، وإن كان عبدا عتق، وإن كان مديونا قضى الله دينه، وإن كان مغموما أو مكروبا فرج الله غمه وكربه، وإن كان مريضا شفاه الله، وإن كان مريضا ومرضه لا يوجد له طب يدل على موته.

If someone dreamt that he was beheaded and his head was separated from his body, if he is rich his wealth will diminish, and if he is poor he will become rich, and if he is a slave he will be freed, if he is in debt God will settle his debt, if he is grieved or troubled God will relieve him of it, if he is sick God will heal him, and if he is sick and there is no medical treatment to be found for his illness, this signifies his death.

A second paragraph from Ibn Shāhīn (no. 2260) contains similar interpretations:

ومن رأى أنه قتل مضروب العنق فإنه إن كان عبدا عتق لقوله تعالى فك رقبة، وقيل فرج من هم وغم، وإن كان مديونا قضى الله دينه من حيث لا يؤمل، وربما أعطى مالا عظيما، وإن عرف الذي فعل به ذلك نال منه خيرا، وإن كان القاتل امرأة أو خصيا أو صبيا لم يبلغ اللحم أو رجلا بلا لحية فإنه يدل على من يأخذ روحه سواء كان بموت أو قتل أو غيره.

If someone dreamt that he was killed by being decapitated, if he is a slave he will be freed, according to the saying of God Almighty "the freeing of a slave" [Qur'ān 90:13], and it is said <it signifies> relief from sorrow and distress, and if <the dreamer> is in debt, God will unexpectedly release him from it, and probably he will receive a tremendous amount of money. If he knows the perpetrator, he will receive wealth and benefits (*khayr*) from him. And if the killer is a woman or a

⁸⁵ The above passage is followed by the interpretations from Artem. i.35.

⁸⁶ The same interpretation is repeated in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 2268.

eunuch or an underage youth or a man without a beard, this signifies the one who will take his soul, whether by <natural> death, killing or something like that.

Given that Arabic dreambooks preserve passages corresponding, sometimes remotely and other times closely, to the interpretations cited in the *Oneirocriticon*, and that at least one of the interpretations found in the *Oneirocriticon* is based on a pun related to the etymology of the Arabic and not the Greek language (*ghanam* = sheep/*ghanīma* = booty), it is apparent that the immediate source of the Byzantine interpretations on heads and decapitation is not the Greek text of Artemidoros but Arabic dream interpretation.

Kings And Temples

Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* agree that the utterances of kings who appear in dreams should be given credence without reservation.⁸⁷ The relevant passage in Artemidoros is the following (ii.69; Pack 195, 3-8):

Τῶν δὲ ἀξιοπίστων λεγομένων, οἷς λέγουσιν τι [κατ' ὄναρ] πιστεύειν χρή καὶ πείθεσθαι, φημὶ πρώτους εἶναι θεοὺς· ἀλλότριον γὰρ θεοῦ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι. ἔπειτα ἱερεῖς· τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς τοῖς θεοῖς παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τετυχήκασιν τιμῆς.⁸⁸ εἴτα βασιλεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντας· τὸ κρατοῦν γὰρ δύναμιν ἔχει θεοῦ.⁸⁹

Among the people who are worthy of credence and whose words [in a dream] one must believe and obey, I maintain that the gods are first. For it is contrary to the nature of a god to tell lies. Then priests. For they enjoy the same respect among men as the gods. Then kings and rulers. "For to rule is to have the power of a god."

The *Oneirocriticon* argues that kings (or rather emperors, as the term *basileus* is understood in Byzantine Greek) are symbols of the person of Christ, who only speaks the truth, and therefore an emperor in a dream would never tell a lie. The connection of Christ with the emperor is a well-known component of Byzantine imperial and Christian ideology.⁹⁰ The interpretation of dreaming

⁸⁷ Oberhelman no. 23: *On.* 126 = Artem. ii.69: Kings who appear in dreams do not tell lies.

⁸⁸ According to Homer, Hypsenor, a priest of Scamander (*Iliad* 5.78), and Laogonus, a priest of Zeus (*Iliad* 16.605), were honored as gods; see Pack, *testimonia*, 195, 5-6.

⁸⁹ This is a verse by Menander (343-292 B.C.); see Pack, *testimonia*, 195, 7.

⁹⁰ Cf. F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy: Origins and Background*, 2 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1966), vol. 1, pp. 591-93; 567-68; 736. For the manifestation of this idea in the visual arts, see A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), esp. pp. 98-122, which includes examples of works of art from the Middle Byzantine period, and pp. 244-61.

of emperors is contained in the second half of chapter 126, where the interpretation of the Christian cross is also discussed (Drexl 75, 20-76, 9):

ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἐλάλησε βασιλεῖ γνωρίμῳ, εἰ μὲν μνημονεύει τῶν λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως, κρατεῖται αὐτοῦ ἀπαράλλακτως, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ οὐδέποτε λαλήσει ψεύδος....
'Εὰν ἴδῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἕτερον βασιλέα τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀρχαίων ἢ ἐτέρας γῆς, εἰς πρόσωπόν ἐστι τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πᾶν, ὃ ἐὰν ἤκουσε παρ' αὐτοῦ, κρατεῖται βεβαίως. εἰς καλὸν δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ λαληθέντα· οὐ γὰρ κακὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

If someone sees that he spoke with an emperor he recognized, if he can remember the words of the emperor, let him hold on to them steadily, because the emperor is symbolic of the person of Christ and will never utter a lie....

If an emperor sees another emperor from among the ancient ones before him, or from another land, that emperor signifies Christ, and let <the dreamer> confidently hold on to whatever he heard from him. For whatever was said will result in something good, since no evil comes from Christ.⁹¹

Divinely sanctioned leadership was also exercised in the Muslim lands,⁹² a fact reflected in the Arabic dreambooks. Al-Dīnawarī's chapter on kings and sultans begins with the following interpretation:⁹³ قال المسلمون السلطان في النوم (The هو الله تعالى و رؤيته على حال رضاه دالة على رضاه تعالى.

⁹¹ A different interpretation of ancient kings can be found in chapter 132, which contains interpretations attributed to the pagan Persians and Egyptians on the dead, death and burial (Drexl 87, 18-21): ἐὰν ἴδῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν προθανόντων βασιλέων ὠμίλησε ἢ ἠκολούθησέ τινα, θλίψιν πολέμου δέξεται ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν μωρῶν ἀγνωρίστων καὶ τὰ τέλη αὐτοῦ εἰς νίκας ἀποβήσεται (If the king dreams that he conversed with or followed one of the kings who died before him, he will know sorrow due to war waged by stupid unknown enemies, and the end of this will result in victories).

⁹² See Aziz al-Azmeh, *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian, and Pagan Politics* (London and New York, 1997).

⁹³ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 9, *bāb* 1, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 85b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 146a. The interpretation is repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, chap. 30, p. 145; al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 289, s.v. سلطان. Both of these dreambooks repeat much of the analogous chapter in al-Dīnawarī. This interpretation seems to have been inspired by a *ḥadīth* recorded (without an *isnād*) in al-Dīnawarī's introduction (*maqāla* 6, BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 36a): قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم خير ما يرى أحدكم في النوم أن يرى ربه أو يرى نبيه أو يرى أبويه مسلمين قالوا يا نبي الله وهل يرى أحدكم في النوم أن يرى ربه قال السلطان والسلطان هو الله تعالى (The messenger of God, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, said: "The most auspicious <thing> that one of you may see in his sleep is if he sees his Lord, or His Prophet, or his Muslim parents." <His companions> said: "Oh Prophet of God, does someone see his Lord?" He said: "The *sulṭān*, and the *sulṭān* is God"). The problem is how the word *sulṭān* should be understood, since the meaning "ruler" or "sovereign" is a later one. Its literal meaning is "strength" or "might," and it is only with this meaning that it can be found in the Qur'ān (17:35; 49:29; 51:38).

Muslims say: "The sultan in sleep is God Almighty, and seeing him in a pleasant condition is a token of God's pleasure").

The idea that rulers who appear in dreams speak the truth is also expressed in one of the Arabic dreambooks examined:⁹⁴ *اصدق الرؤيا رؤيا ملك* (The most truthful of dreams is dreaming of a king or a subject).⁹⁵ In Artemidoros the truthfulness of kings ranks only third, after gods and priests. In the *Oneirocriticon* the truthfulness of emperors is absolute, and their identification with Christ, with all its felicitously Byzantine overtones, seems to have been inspired from the Arabic interpretation of the sultan as God, not from Artemidoros's text.

The Arabic provenance of the medieval Greek chapter on emperors is betrayed by yet another interpretation: *εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀγνώριστος, λογιζέσθω ἄγγελος κυρίου* (If the emperor is unknown, let him be reckoned as an angel of God).⁹⁶ The interpretation of a king as an angel in Arabic could be based on the identity in the spelling (*ملك*) and the similarity in the pronunciation of *malik* (king) and *malak* (angel). Or it could be a reflection in the *Oneirocriticon* of an Arabic interpretation ultimately inspired by Ḥunayn's translation of Artemidoros. As Strohmaier has already discussed at length, Ḥunayn's text very consistently renders the pagan deities as angels. Artemidoros states that the gods signify persons in a position of power and authority in three instances. In the first two (ii.36; Pack 163, 10 and ii.69; Pack 195, 3-5),

⁹⁴ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 14, l. 11.

⁹⁵ The interpretation of this passage is admittedly problematic. The phrase is included in an exposition of the principles of dream interpretation that is attributed to Ibn Qutayba (*al-Muntakhab*, pp. 12-17), which was translated into French in Fahd, *La divination arabe* (pp. 317-26) from *al-Muntakhab*, BN *arabe* 2749. This exposition is similar in content but does not coincide word for word with any part of either the Ankara or the Jerusalem manuscript of Ibn Qutayba; it simply summarizes the introduction to Ibn Qutayba's dreambook. I have been unable to locate a passage in Ibn Qutayba's text that would correspond to this phrase and clarify it. (For the lacunae in both the Ankara and the Jerusalem manuscripts of Ibn Qutayba, cf. Lamoignon, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," p. 47). Fahd seems to have been puzzled by its meaning, as well, because he felt compelled to cite the Arabic text in a footnote to his translation (p. 321, n. 1). The only conjecture I can make is that the problem in the Arabic text was created by its author's effort to clarify the meaning of his sentence. Conceivably the phrase should be corrected to *اصدق الرؤيا رؤيا ملك الملوك* (the most truthful dream is dreaming of a king of a subject), as opposed to *ملك من الملائكة* (an angel from among the angels), where the genitive *al-mamlūk* is placed in order to avoid the confusion between *malik* (king) and *malak* (angel), which are spelled identically as *ملك*. Such dubious words in unvocalized Arabic texts are sometimes clarified with a genitive, e.g. *صلب الانسان* (backbone of humans) for *ṣulb* = "backbone" and not *ṣalb* = "crucifixion", or *حاجب العين* (eyebrow of the eye) for *ḥājib* = "eyebrow" and not "chamberlain."

⁹⁶ Drexel 75, 23.

he used a verse of Menander to make the point: *τὸ κρατοῦν γὰρ δύνανται ἔχει θεοῦ* (For to rule is to have the power of a god). As Strohmaier has observed, Ḥunayn rendered this verse in a different way each time.⁹⁷ In chapter ii.69 he translated it as *انهم مسلطون على من يحبهم من الناس* (Fahd, *Artémidore* 353, 6-7), literally "because they rule over the people who love them." But in chapter ii.36, Ḥunayn wrote *ان قوة الملائكة يشبه قوة المولى* (Fahd, *Artémidore* 239, 9), "because the power of angels is like the power of a *maulā*." The word *maulā* in Arabic has a number of different meanings, among them "master", "lord", and "God" (المولى); it is also a form of address to sovereigns (مولانا and مولاي). In other words, the passages cited above from Artemidoros's chapters ii.36 and iv.69, if read not in the Greek text, but in Ḥunayn's translation, could be understood as stating that angels are equivalent to sovereigns.

The third instance of Artemidoros connecting gods with persons of authority is in iv.69 (Pack 291, 4 ff): *Ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς δεσπόταις τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχουσι λόγον, καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ θεῶν λόγῳ προείρηκα* (That gods are the same as masters has already been demonstrated in the chapter on the gods). In order to prove his previous statements, Artemidoros narrates a relevant dream and concludes his chapter thus: *καὶ τὸ ὅλον δεσπότης γονεῖς διδάσκαλοι θεοὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχουσι λόγον* (Generally speaking, masters, parents, teachers and gods have the same meaning).⁹⁸ This part of Artemidoros's text did not survive in the unique manuscript containing the Arabic translation. But most of chapter iv.69, unfortunately without the introductory statement, is quoted by al-Dinawari, where its final phrase is rendered:⁹⁹ *والملائكة يشبهون بالآباء والمولى* (Angels are like parents and the *maulā*).

It is therefore conceivable that the interpretation of the emperor as an angel in the *Oneirocriticon* through a series of translations and alterations of meaning ultimately originated in Artemidoros's interpretation of gods as humans with authority and power. If this is the case, it would not mean that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* was necessarily using the Arabic translation of Artemidoros, but only an Arabic source that had absorbed, and also possibly rephrased, the interpretations contained in Ḥunayn's text.

⁹⁷ Strohmaier, "Die griechische Götter," p. 140.

⁹⁸ Pack 291, 13-14.

⁹⁹ *Faṣl 3, bāb 11, Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 41b, ll. 4-8; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 51a.

Oberhelman remarked that Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* agree that temples should be interpreted as kings.¹⁰⁰ Artemidoros puts this in the following words: Βασιλεὺς καὶ ναὸς καὶ στρατιώτης καὶ ἐπιστολὴ βασιλέως καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ ὅσα ὅμοια τούτοις ὑπ' ἀλλήλων σημαίνεται (A king, a temple, a soldier, a letter from a king, money and other similar things signify one another interchangeably).¹⁰¹ Conversely, the *Oneirocriticon* reads thus:¹⁰²

Ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ὁ πρωτεύων ναὸς τοῦ τόπου ἔπεσεν ἢ ἐνεπρήσθη, ἔστι τὸ πάθος διὰ θανάτου εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ βασιλέως. εἰ δὲ τῶν κατωτέρων ναῶν τοῦτο ἔπαθε καὶ ἴδῃ τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς ἢ ἕτερός τις, εἰς θλίψιν ἀποβήσεται τοῦ βασιλέως· οἱ γὰρ ναοὶ πάντες οἱ θεῖοι εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ βασιλέως ἢ τοῦ κατὰ τόπον κυριεύοντος κρίνονται καὶ ὁ καλλωπισμὸς καὶ ἡ πτώσις εἰς ἐκείνους διαβαίνουσιν.

If someone dreams that the most important temple in the land fell or burned down, the accident indicates the death of the emperor. If one of the less important temples suffered this <fate>, and the emperor or someone else dreams it, it will be fulfilled as sorrow for the emperor. For all the sacred temples are interpreted as the person of the emperor or the local ruler, and their beautification or fall is transferred to him.

The most important Muslim shrine is the Great Mosque of Mecca (*al-masjid al-harām*) and its holy of holies is the Ka'ba. This passage of the *Oneirocriticon* corresponds much more closely to the Arabic interpretations of the Ka'ba than to the passage of Artemidoros. Al-Dinawari's interpretation, الكعبة في المنام خليفة أو وزير (The Ka'ba in a dream is a caliph or a vizier)¹⁰³ is amplified in *al-Muntakhab*:¹⁰⁴ الكعبة في الرؤيا خليفة أو أمير أو وزير (The Ka'ba in a dream is a caliph, or an amir,¹⁰⁵ or a vizier, and the fall of any of its walls signifies the death of the caliph). The last phrase of the Byzantine interpretation quoted

¹⁰⁰ Oberhelman, no. 33: *On*. 148 = *Artem*. iv.31: king = temple.

¹⁰¹ *Artem*. iv.31; Pack 265, 11-13.

¹⁰² *Oneirocriticon*, chap. 148, Drexl 103, 18-24.

¹⁰³ Al-Dinawari, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 38, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 76b, BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 134a.

¹⁰⁴ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 56.

¹⁰⁵ The title of amir was (and is) applied to various high-ranking persons depending on the era and the locality, but it also has a specific meaning in connection with the *dār al-Islām*, the Muslim *oikoumenē*. Ideally, the whole of Islam is under the dominion of one leader, the caliph (*khalīfa*), who is the viceregent of the Prophet on earth. The leaders of the provinces under him are called *amīr* (pl. *umārā*); see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. "Rulers." In this case the "caliph and amir" of *al-Muntakhab* correspond perfectly to the "emperor or the local ruler" of the *Oneirocriticon*.

earlier ("all the sacred temples are interpreted as the person of the emperor or the local ruler, and their beautification or fall are transferred to him") is equivalent to one found in Ibn Shāhin (no. 953): ومن رأى الكعبة نقصاً فهو عائد على الخليفة أو الإمام (If someone dreamt of damage to the Ka'ba, it pertains to the caliph or the imam).¹⁰⁶

The interpretations of kings and temples in the *Oneirocriticon* are much more relevant to the ones found in Arabic dreambooks than to those in Artemidoros, which suggests that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* based his relevant chapters on exclusively Arabic material.

Horses

Artemidoros interprets dreaming of horses as follows:

ἵππον κέλῃτα ἐλαύνειν καλῶς πειθόμενον τῷ ῥυτῇ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἐλαύνοντι ἀγαθὸν ἐπίσης πᾶσιν· ἵππος γὰρ γυναικὶ μὲν καὶ ἐρωμένη τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει λόγον, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ κάλλει μέγα φρονεῖ καὶ τὸν ἐλατῆρα βαστάζει. ὁμοῖος δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ πλοῖον· ἄλως μὲν γὰρ ἵππους καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς τὰς ναὺς λέγει, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἵππιον καλοῦμεν, καὶ ὃν ἔχει λόγον ἐν γῇ ἵππος, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν θαλάσῃ ναὺς. ὁμοῖος δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ δεσπότης [καὶ] ἐργοδότῃ καὶ φίλῳ τρέφοντι καὶ παντὶ τῷ βαστάζοντι. ὅπως ἂν οὖν ὁ ἵππος τὸν ἰδόντα φέρῃ, οὕτω καὶ γυνὴ καὶ ἐρωμένη καὶ δεσπότης καὶ φίλος καὶ ναὺς τὸν ἰδόντα διαθήσεται.¹⁰⁷

Riding a racing horse well—one that obeys both the reins and the rider himself—is a good sign for everyone. For a horse means the same as a wife and a mistress, since it takes pride in its beauty and bears its rider. A horse also resembles a ship. For just as the poet calls ships "the horses of the sea,"¹⁰⁸ we call Poseidon "Hippios," and a horse is to the land as a ship is to the sea. The horse is also like a master who farms out work, a friend who takes care of someone, and every man who carries a burden. The manner in which the horse carries the dreamer indicates how the dreamer will be treated by his wife, mistress, master, friend, or ship.

The entry on horses in the *Oneirocriticon* is much more extensive and gives many more details.¹⁰⁹ It is structured differently and, though it does include the same interpretation ("riding a tamed horse well means goodness," as Ober-

¹⁰⁶ All three Arabic interpretations are repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 173, s.v. كعبة.

¹⁰⁷ *Artem*. i.56; Pack 64, 11 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Homer, *Odyssey* 4.708; see Pack, *testimonia*, 64, 15.

¹⁰⁹ It goes on for two and a half pages (Drexl 110, 23-113, 10). For the sake of brevity I will only examine part of it.

helfman observed¹¹⁰), it does not repeat any word or expression found in the Greek text of Artemidoros:

ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐποχοῦμενος φάρας τάξει διήρχετο ὑπείκοντος τοῦ ἵππου, εὐρήσει ἀξίωμα καὶ φήμην μεγίστην ἀναλόγως τοῦ κάλλους τοῦ ἵππου καὶ τῆς ὑποταγῆς. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐπωχεῖτο τοιοῦτῳ ἵππῳ μέγα καὶ δασὺ καὶ μακρὸν τὸ οὐραῖον ἔχοντι, εὐρήσει ἀκολούθους τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ ἀναλόγως τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τοῦ μήκους τοῦ οὐραίου. εἰ δὲ εἶχε δύο οὐραια ἢ πλεόν, πλείων γενήσεται τῶν ἀκολούθων αὐτῷ ἢ πληθὺς. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἵππος ἦν κούντουρος ἢ σπανόουρος, εὐρήσει μέριμναν καὶ ὑστέρημα τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ ἀναλόγως τῆς λείψεως τῶν τριχῶν. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐποχοῦμενος τῷ δασυτρίχῳ καὶ μακροοῦρῳ συνέβη κοπῆναι τὴν οὐράν, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ ἰδὼν αὐτεξούσιος καὶ ἄρχει λαοῦ, ταῦτα ἀποβαλεῖ συντόμως. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐπωχῆσατο τοιοῦτῳ μὲν ἵππῳ εὐγενεῖ, χωλαίνονται δὲ, εὐρήσει θλίψιν καὶ πρόσκομμα, ἐν οἷς ἕκαστος ἀγωνίζεται. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ὁ τοιοῦτος εὐγενὴς ἵππος ἀνυπότακτος καὶ σκληροχάλινος ἦν, σκληρὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐπιβάτης ἔσται ὁ ἰδὼν καὶ πλείστα θλιβήσεται ἀναλόγως τῆς σκληρότητος τοῦ ἵππου.¹¹¹

If someone dreams that while seated on a steed, he was proceeding in an orderly fashion as the horse yielded to his commands, he will have honor and great fame equal to the horse's beauty and obedience. If he dreams that this horse had a long and large shaggy tail, he will find followers of his authority in proportion to the size and length of the tail. And if the horse had two or more tails, the number of his followers will be even greater. If he dreams that this horse was dock-tailed or had a hairless tail, he will have anxiety and lack resources by analogy to the loss of hair. If the dreamer does not obey anyone's commands but is himself a leader of people, if he dreamt that, while mounted on a horse, it happened that its long and shaggy-haired tail was cut off, he will shortly see <his position> cut short. If someone dreams that he is riding a well-bred but lame horse, he will experience sorrow and obstacles in whatever he is striving for. If he dreams of a noble horse that is unruly and hardmounted, he will embark on obstinate sinning and be exceedingly distressed by analogy to the harsh nature of the horse.

Let us now compare the Byzantine passage with the interpretation of horses in the dreambook of Ibn Qutayba:

وقال المفسرون الفرس عز وسلطان فمن رأى انه على فرس ذلول يسير عليه رويدا واداة الفرس تامه اصاب عزا وسلطانا وشرفا ومروءة في الناس بقدر ذل الفرس له * ... وكلما نقص من اداته كان نقصانا من ذلك السلطان والشرف وذنب الفرس اتباع الرجل فان كان ذنوبا كثر تبعه وان كان مهلوبا محذوفا قل تبعه وكل عضو من الفرس شعبة من السلطان كقدر العضو في

¹¹⁰ Oberhelman, *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, Appendix III, no. 35: *Oneirocriticon* 152 = Artem. i.56: "riding a well-tamed horse means goodness."

¹¹¹ Drexl 110, 14-111, 1.

الاعضاء ومن رأى انه على فرس يجمع به فانه يرتكب معصية او يصيبه هول بقدر صعوبة الفرس.

The dream interpreters said: The horse is might and power. Whoever dreams that he was on a tractable horse that was gently behaving according to his wishes and the implements of the horse were perfect for him, he will obtain might, power, honor and valor among the people commensurate with the obedience of the horse to him.... And whichever implement of the horse diminished, it is a lessening of this power and honor. The tail of the horse is the following of a man. If it is bushy tailed, his following will become more numerous. If the tail is plucked out or is clipped, his following will diminish. And every member of the horse's body is a kind of power that corresponds to the role of this member in relation to the rest of the body. And if he dreams that he is on a horse that is disobeying him, he will perpetrate a sin, or horror will afflict him commensurate with the difficulty presented by the horse.¹¹²

The interpretation of horses in the *Oneirocriticon* closely corresponds to the structure and content of the same entry in Ibn Qutayba. The final interpretation of the excerpt from the *Oneirocriticon* quoted above (Drexl 111, 10-13), which is identical to the final interpretation from the cited passage of Ibn Qutayba, involves a double pun (ἐπωχῆσατο ἵππῳ σκληροχάλινῳ - σκληρὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐπιβάτης ἔσται¹¹³). In Greek, the meaning of the expression σκληρὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐπιβάτης ἔσται is clear (He will perpetrate a grave sin); but the wording is unusual. The expression ἐπιβαίνω ἀμαρτίας (lit. "to ride on sin") occurs in no other Greek text of any period. The choice of words in this instance can be explained by a closer look at the analogous interpretation from Ibn Qutayba.¹¹⁴ An equivalent pun (ارتكب معصية = to ride on a horse / ركب فرسا = to perpetrate a sin) comes naturally in Arabic, because the root ركب in form I (*rakaba*) means "to ride, to mount", whereas in form VIII (*irtakaba*) it means "to perpetrate (a sin or a crime)."¹¹⁵ The author of the *Oneirocriticon*, in his effort to convey the Arabic pun in Greek, coined an unusual expression, σκληρὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐπιβάτης ἔσται.

¹¹² Yahuda ar. 196, fol. 50b; the same interpretation is repeated verbatim in *al-Muntakhab*, chap. 33, p. 177.

¹¹³ Identified by Oberhelman, *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, p. 261, n. 406: "Two puns here: one on *epibatēs* ("rider" and "the one who embarks on"); the other, between *sklērochalinos* ("hard-mouthed") and *sklēros* ("obstinate").

¹¹⁴ Repeated in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 5571.

¹¹⁵ Also "to pursue, to practice."

Chapter 152 of the *Oneirocriticon* ("From the Indians on Horses") concludes with dreaming of a horse that entered a house, a field, or a city quarter. The only analogous dream in Artemidoros (iv.46)¹¹⁶ is mentioned in the story of a man who dreamt that a horse was brought into his bedchamber. The dream signified that the man would lose access to his mistress. The interpretation given in the *Oneirocriticon* is very different:

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἵππος εὐειδὴς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς οἶκον ἢ ἀγρὸν ἢ ῥεγεῶνα, ἀλλ' ἀγνώριστος καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ ἀχαλίνωτος, ἐλεύσεται ἐκεῖ ἐξουσιαστὴς μέγιστος ἀναλόγως τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ ἵππου· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἦν ὁ αὐτὸς ἵππος ῥινοφάλιος τετραπέδιλος, πλέων ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ μεγίστου.¹¹⁷

If someone dreams that a beautiful horse entered a house, a field or the quarter of a city, but it was unknown, without a saddle and without a bridle, a great nobleman will come there, analogous to the appearance of the horse. And if this horse had a patch of white on its nose and was shod on all four feet, the noble's power will be even greater.

This passage corresponds to one found in the Arabic dreambook of Ibn Shāhin (no. 5586):

ومن رأى فرسا مجهولا يدخل دارا أو أرضا لا يعرف صاحبها ولا يعرفه صاحبها فإنه يؤول بقدم رجل شريف، وإن عرف المكان كان قدوم ذلك الرجل إليه.

If someone dreamt that an unknown horse entered a house or a field, and the master <of the house or field> was not known, nor did he recognize the horse, this is interpreted as the arrival of a nobleman, and if the place was known, then this man will arrive at that very place.

Oberhelman observes that both Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* state that a horse is also interpreted as a woman.¹¹⁸ In Artemidoros, this is briefly mentioned; in the *Oneirocriticon*, on the other hand, horses are interpreted as women in three different chapters (154, 230, and 231¹¹⁹) with many more

¹¹⁶ Pack 272, 6-15.

¹¹⁷ Drexl 111, 19-23.

¹¹⁸ "Specific agreement," no. 38: "*Oneirocriticon* 154 = Artem. 4. proem. : horse = woman." I was unable to identify which part of Artemidoros's treatise is meant by Oberhelman's reference to "4.proem." (the introduction to book iv does not contain such an interpretation). But the final phrase of Artemidoros's excerpt does state that a horse in a dream can indicate a woman. As White observed (Artemidoros, *Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. White, p. 76, n. 59), "Achmes (p. 112, 7-10) also interprets a horse to mean a wife."

¹¹⁹ "From the Persians and Egyptians on Well-Bred Horses," "From the Indians, Persians and Egyptians on Male and Female Horses," and "From the Persians and Egyptians on the Colors of

details. Chapter 231 expounds on the interpretation of royal saddle horses according to their color:¹²⁰

ὁ λευκότετος ἵππος ἐν θεωρίᾳ βασιλέως εἰς πρόσωπον τῆς αὐγούστης κρίνεται. ὁ λευκὸς σιδηραῖος, εἰ ἐστὶν βασιλέως σελλάριον, εἰς ἐλάττονα τῆς αὐγούστης γυναῖκα κρίνεται· καὶ ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔσχεν αὐτόν, εἰς ἐλάττονα ἐξουσίαν τοῦτο κρίνεται. σελλάριον δὲ βασιλικὸν ἐάν ἐστί ροδόχρουν, εἰς γυναῖκα ἐπίχαριν κρίνεται· καὶ ὁ μέλας ἵππος ὁ βασιλικὸς εἰς γυναῖκα πλουσίαν καὶ θλιβεράν κρίνεται διὰ τὸ μέλαν.

A completely white horse, if dreamt by the emperor, is interpreted as the person of the empress. A gray horse, if it is a royal saddle horse, is interpreted as a woman of a rank lower than empress. If someone dreams that he possessed this horse, let this be interpreted as a lesser office. If a royal saddle horse is auburn, it is interpreted as a charming woman. A royal black horse is interpreted as a rich and oppressive woman because of the black color.

The interpretation of a horse as a woman can also be found in Ibn Qutayba, who states that "a beautiful horse is a noble woman" (والفرس الانق امرأة) (شريفة).¹²¹ In addition, al-Dinawarī, in a series of very brief chapters, discusses horses according to their color, and two of his interpretations, that of a black and that of an auburn horse, are almost identical with those found in the *Oneirocriticon*:

من رأى انه ركب فرسا اشهب تزوج امرأة هندية وان كان مطيعا تطيعه الزوجة ... قال ابن سيرين بل هي <الفرس الاهدم> امرأة متدينة موسرة في ذكر وصيت ... ومن رأى انه ركب فرسا اشقر فانه يتزوج امرأة ذات فرج وجمال ... الابلق امرأة مشهورة الجمال والمال ومن رأى انه ركب فرسا ابلق يتزوج امرأة بهذه الصفة

If someone dreamt that he rode a gray horse he will marry an Indian woman, and if the horse was obedient the wife will obey him.¹²² ... Ibn Sirin said: "A black horse is a devout woman who is wealthy because of her reputation and her renown."¹²³ ... If someone dreamt that he was riding an auburn horse he will marry a woman of joy and beauty.¹²⁴ ... A piebald horse signifies a woman who

Royal Horses and Saddle-Horses."

¹²⁰ Drexl 182, 17-23.

¹²¹ Bāh 31, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 51a.

¹²² Faṣl 21, bāh 3, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 209b.

¹²³ Faṣl 21, bāh 5, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 209b.

¹²⁴ Faṣl 21, bāh 6, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 209b. The Greek γυναῖκα ἐπίχαριν seems chosen in order to convey in one word a meaning expressed with two words in Arabic: ذات فرج وجمال (a

is important for her beauty and wealth. If someone dreamt that he was riding a piebald horse he will marry someone according to this description.¹²⁵

The examples of interpretations of horses from the *Oneirocriticon* that can also be found in Arabic dreambooks could easily be multiplied. Any further investigation into the extensive Greek and Arabic passages on horses would only strengthen the already evident conclusion: Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* share no common interpretation that does not also occur in Arabic dream interpretation. Moreover, the correspondence of the Byzantine interpretations with the Arabic ones is much more direct and sometimes extends even to the choice of words in Greek that closely reflect the Arabic original.

Sun

As Oberhelman observed, Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* agree that "to gleam like the sun means future rule for the dreamer."¹²⁶ The relevant passage in Artemidoros narrates a dream dreamt by a man and its fulfillment:¹²⁷

οἷον ἔδοξε τις "Ἡλιος γεγονέναι καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διέρχεσθαι ἔχων ἀκτῖνας ἔνδεκα· στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πόλεως καὶ μῆνας ἔνδεκα ἐπιζήσας τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀπέθανε διὰ τὸ μὴ τέλειον ἔχειν τῶν ἀκτίνων τὸν ἀριθμόν.

For example, someone dreamt that he became Helios, the sun god, and that he passed through the marketplace with eleven sun-rays. He was appointed chief magistrate of his native city and died after eleven months in office, since the number of sun rays was not complete.

The corresponding interpretation from the *Oneirocriticon* is repeated in two sentences: εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἀκτινοβολῶν ἐγένετο, ἀναλόγως τοῦ φωτὸς βασιλεύσει (If someone sees that he is emitting rays like the sun, he will rule by analogy to the light);¹²⁸ ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἐξήρχοντο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀκτῖνες κωλύουσαι τὸν λαὸν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν αὐτόν, καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεύσει (If someone sees that rays are coming out of him that make it impossible for the people to look at him, he will also rule).¹²⁹ An identical interpretation can be found in Arabic dreambooks. According to Ibn Qutayba,

woman of joy and beauty).

¹²⁵ *Faṣl* 21, *bāb* 7, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 209b.

¹²⁶ "Specific agreement," no. 45: "*Oneirocriticon* 166 = Artem. iv.49."

¹²⁷ Pack 276, 1-4.

¹²⁸ Drex1 127, 13-14.

¹²⁹ Drex1 127, 17-19.

"If someone dreams that he was transformed into the sun, he will obtain sovereignty by analogy to the rays, if his social origins are appropriate" (من رأى انه تحول شمسا اصاب مُلكاً بقدر الشعاع ان كان لذلك اهلاً),¹³⁰ and to al-Dīnawarī, "If someone dreams that he is transformed into the sun, he will obtain mighty sovereignty analogous to his rays" (فمن رأى في منامه انه تحول شمسا فانه يصيب مُلكاً عظيماً على قدر شعاعها).¹³¹

The *Oneirocriticon* and Artemidoros dedicate about two pages each to the interpretation of the sun,¹³² but there are no further correspondences between the ancient and the Byzantine material. Artemidoros interprets the sun in a wide variety of ways, while the *Oneirocriticon* repeatedly insists that the sun should always and only be interpreted as a sovereign:¹³³ ὁ ἥλιος εἰς πρόσωπον βασιλέως κρίνεται ἀπαράλλάκτως (The sun is unfailingly interpreted as the person of the king);¹³⁴ ὁ ἥλιος εἰς μέγαν βασιλέα κρίνεται (The sun is interpreted as a great king).¹³⁵ The condition of the sun in the dream generally refers to the condition of the king, while proximity to the sun means proximity to royalty for the dreamer. The equation of the emperor with the sun is a well-known metaphor of imperial rhetoric inherited from Rome and used throughout the Byzantine millennium.¹³⁶ Its presence in the *Oneirocriticon* is as much a reference to this established Byzantine image as it is a reflection of the interpretations found in Arabic dreambooks. The sun is already interpreted as a king in the earliest surviving Arabic dreambook, that of Ibn Qutayba, where the interpretation is supported by a verse from a pre-Islamic poet:¹³⁷

الشمس ملك عظيم و كل ما راه قد حدث بالشمس من تغير او كسوف او علة
فهو حدث بالملك من هم ومرض واشباه ذلك * ومن رأى انه تحول شمسا

¹³⁰ *Faṣl* 13, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 28b.

¹³¹ *Faṣl* 15, *bāb* 24; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 154a.

¹³² Artem. ii.36, Pack 160, 25-162, 27; *Oneirocriticon* 166, Drex1 127, 1-129, 11.

¹³³ In Byzantine Greek the term *basileus* generally refers to the Byzantine emperor. Only under certain circumstances was it applied to foreign rulers; see *ODB*, s.v. "Basileus." The chapter of the *Oneirocriticon* interpreting the sun as a *basileus* is attributed to the Indians, Persians and Egyptians together. Therefore, in the translations that follow, the term *basileus* will be consistently rendered as "king."

¹³⁴ Drex1 127, 3.

¹³⁵ Drex1 129, 8.

¹³⁶ See H. Hunger, *Reich der neuen Mitte. Die christliche Geist der byzantinischen Kultur* (Graz, Vienna, Cologne, 1965), pp. 96-103.

¹³⁷ *Faṣl* 13, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 28b.

اصاب ملكا بقدر الشعاع ان كان لذلك اهلا * ومن رأى ان استمكن من الشمس او ملكه نال من الملك بقدر ما ملك منها فان ملكها وهي سوداء مظلمة اضطر اليه الملك في امر يكون حاله منها [sic] كحالها قال النابغة الذبياني بانك شمس والملوك كواكب * اذا طلعت لم يبده منها [sic] كوكب.

The sun is a powerful king and whatever change or eclipse or defect the dreamer saw as having happened to the sun, <an analogous> sorrow or illness or the like will happen to the king. If someone dreams that he is transformed into the sun, he will gain sovereignty analogous to his rays, if his social origins are appropriate. And if someone dreams that he took command or possession of the sun, he will obtain sovereignty analogous to his possession of the sun. And if the dreamer possesses the sun, and it is black or darkened, the realm will be in need of him in a <certain> matter which will be in relation to it <?> like the sun's situation. Al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī said: "All other kings are stars and thou a sun. When the sun rises, lo, the heavens are bare!"¹³⁸

Almost every interpretation of the sun contained in the *Oneirocriticon* can be correlated with analogous interpretations found in the Arabic dreambooks, as is evident in the following passages:

Drexl 127, 7-9: εὖν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἐπλησίασε τῷ ἡλιακῷ δίσκῳ ἢ ὅτι κατέσχευ αὐτόν, εὐρήσει χαρὰν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνάλογον τῆς ἐγγύτητος.

If someone dreams that he approached or took hold of the solar disk, he will find from the king joy commensurate with <his> proximity <to the sun in the dream>.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 24, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 154a:

فان رأى انه تعلق بها [=الشمس] فانه ينال قوة وخيرا من وزير او كاتب... فان رأى انه ملك الشمس او يمكن منها فانه يكون مقبول القول عند الملك الاعظم.

If he dreams that he hung onto the sun he will receive power and beneficence through a royal minister or secretary.... If he dreams that he took hold of the sun or that he had power over it, his views will be well received by the greatest king.

¹³⁸ Lit.: "no star appears because of him," i.e., the light from the sun is so strong that no other luminary can compete with it, and therefore other luminaries are as if they did not exist; see also Kister, "Interpretation of Dreams," p. 95. Al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī (end of the 6th century) is one of the most famous poets of pre-Islamic Arabia. The line cited by Ibn Qutayba is from a poem addressed to his patron, King al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir Abū Qābūs of Ḥīra, after he fell out of favor with him. It is cited according to the translation of R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge, 1930; rpt. Surrey, 1993), pp. 122-23.

Drexl 127, 11-13: εἰ δὲ τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐμάχετο ἢ ἐπολέμει τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀκτινοβολοῦντι, βασιλέα πολεμήσει. εἰ δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ, ἀπὸ βασιλέως τιμωρηθήσεται.

If someone dreams that he was fighting or was at war with the gleaming sun, he will fight a king. If he is a commoner, he will be punished by the king.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 24, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 154b:

فان رأى انه نازع الشمس فانه يخرج على الملك خارجيا ان كان كذلك اهلا.

If he is fighting the sun, he will revolt against the king, if his social background is appropriate.

Drexl 127, 16-17: γυνὴ εὖν ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐγέννησε ἡλίον, βασιλέα τέξεται, ἥ τις ἂν ἦ.

If a woman dreams that she gave birth to the sun, she will give birth to a king, whoever she might be.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 24, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 154b:

فان طلعت <الشمس> في فرجها فانه تلد ملكا.

If <a woman dreams that> the sun rose from her genitals, she will give birth to a king.

Drexl 127, 20-22: Εὖν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι τὴν σφαῖραν τοῦ ἡλίου κρατεῖ ἄνευ ἀκτίνων οὖσαν, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀσθενὴς ἢ ἐν θλίψει ὁ ἰδὼν, ὑγιαίνει καὶ χαρήσεται....

If someone dreams that he was holding the sphere of the sun without rays, if the dreamer is sick or troubled, he will get well and be happy....

Cf. Ibn Shāhīn, no. 127:

ومن رأى انه اخذ الشمس بيده لكن لا من السماء ولا نور لها ولا شعاع وأنها لم تكن مظلمة يحصل له الفرج من الغموم.

If someone dreamt that he took the sun in his hand but not from the sky, and <if the sun> had no light or rays but neither was it dark, he will be relieved from his sorrows.

Drexl 127, 24-26: εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἀκτῖνας ἐξέλαμψεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἔνδον ἀσυνήθως, χαρὰν καὶ πλοῦτον εὐρήσει παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναλόγως τοῦ φωτός....

If someone dreams that the sun unexpectedly shone with its rays inside his house, he will receive from the king joy and wealth commensurate with the light.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 24, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 154a:

فان طلعت «الشمس» في بيته نال سعدا من السلطان.

If the sun rose in his house, he will receive good fortune from the sovereign.

A similar interpretation is attributed by al-Dīnawarī to the Christians (*faṣl* 15, *bāb* 24, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 155a):

فان رأى ان الشمس طلعت في الدار فأضاءت الدار كلها فانه نال عزا
وكرامة وذكرًا وشرفًا وجاها ومرتبة

If someone dreamt that the sun rose in <his> house and cast light on all of it, he will obtain power, honor, reputation, distinction, glory and high rank.

DrexI 127, 26-29: εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ὁ ἥλιος ἦτοι ὁ δίσκος εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς, γεννήσει βασιλέα, εἰ δὲ μέγιστος ἢ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ, ὑψωθήσεται καὶ χαρήσεται, τάχα καὶ βασιλείαν ὑποδέξεται.

If someone dreams that the sun, that is, the solar disk, entered his house, if he is a king, he will beget a king; if he is a nobleman or a commoner he will rise <to a position of power> and rejoice, and perhaps will even receive royal status.

Cf. *al-Muntakhab*, p. 217 sup:

وان اخذها في كفه او ملكها في حجره او نزلت عليه في بيته
بنورها ووضيائها تمكن من سلطانه وعز مع ملكه ان كان ممن يليق
به ذلك.

If <the dreamer> took the sun in his palm or took hold of it in his lap, or <the sun> descended upon <the dreamer's> house with its light and shine, <the dreamer> will come to possess sovereign power and will be strong in his dominion, if he is fit for such a thing.

DrexI 128, 2-5: εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐν ὁδῷ ἐθέρμαινεν αὐτὸν ἢ τοῦ ἡλίου φλόξ, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναλόγως τῆς θερμάνσεως· εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι πλεῖστα ἀπέκασεν αὐτόν, εὐρήσει τιμωρίαν ἀναλόγως τῆς καύσεως.

If he sees that the flame of the sun warmed him while on a trip, he will receive wealth from the king by analogy to the warmth. If he sees that it burnt him severely, he will receive punishment analogous to the burning.

DrexI 128, 22-24: ἐκ πάντων γνῶθί τε, ὅτι ὁ ἥλιος εἰς βασιλέα κρίνεται· καὶ εἴ τις ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὠφελῇ ἢ βλαβῇ, ἀναλόγως προσδοκάτω.

Overall you should know that the sun is interpreted as a sovereign. If someone incurs benefit or damage from the sun, he should expect things to turn out accordingly.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 24, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 154b:

فان رأى خرجت من الشمس نار احترقت نجوما من حواليتها فان الملك يطرر
حاشيته.

If he saw that fire came forth from the sun that burnt stars among those around it, the king will dismiss his entourage.

Cf. also *al-Muntakhab*, p. 218 inf:

فان رأى نارا خرجت من اشمس فأحترقت ما حواليتها فان الملك يهلك اقواما
من حاشيته.

If he sees fire come forth from the sun and burn what is around it, the king will destroy members of his entourage.

DrexI 128, 6-10: 'Εὰν ἴδῃ τις τὸν ἥλιον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀφώτιστον καὶ ἄνευ ἀκτίνων, τὸ πάθος καὶ ἡ ἀδοξία εἰς πρόσωπόν ἐστι τοῦ βασιλέως· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἰδὼν ἐκ τῶν μεγιστάνων, καταφρονήσει τοῦ βασιλέως· εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ὁ λαὸς ὁμοίως αὐτῷ ἐθεώρει τοῦτο, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐξουθενήσει τὸν βασιλέα.

If someone sees the sun in the sky without light and rays, the damage and ignominy should be reckoned at the expense of the person of the king. If the dreamer is one of the noblemen, he will disdain the king. If he dreams that the people were also looking at this sight with him, the people will likewise destroy the king.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 24, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 154b:

فان رأى الشمس خمدت فانه فساد في مملكته باق.

If he dreamt that the sun died out, this is permanent disorder in his realm.

Cf. also al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 24, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 154b:

فان رأى الشمس وليس لها شعاع فانه ينقص من هيبة الملك بقدر ما نقص
من شعاعها فان رأى ان شعاعها يقع عليه فان كان صاحب الرؤيا سلطانيا
فان هيبة الملك يوضع عنه وان كان قائدا فان جاهه يذهب فان كان واليا فانه
يعزل.

If he saw the sun and it had no rays, this is damage to the dignity of the king commensurate with the damage to the rays of the sun, and if he saw that its rays fell upon him, if he is a royal <person> he will be stripped of his royal dignity,

and if he is a military officer (*qā'id*) his glory will vanish, and if he is a local governor (*wālī*) he will be deposed.

Cf. also Ibn Shāhīn, no.131:

ومن رأى الشمس على الارض ولا ضوء لها يدل على عزل ملك ذلك المكان.

If someone dreamt that the sun was upon the earth without shining, this signifies the removal of the king from that place.

Drexl 128, 10-15: εἰδὲν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι τοῦ ἡλίου ἐγένετο ἔκλειψις, θλίψιν καὶ πόλεμον ἐχθρῶν εὐρήσει ὁ βασιλεύς· εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἀπεκαθαρίσθη, εἰς νίκας ἔσται τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰ δὲ μή, τὸναντίον. εἰ δὲ τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι νεφέλαις ἐκαλύφθη, εὐρήσει θλίψιν ὁ βασιλεύς καὶ νόσους ἀναλόγως τῆς καλύψεως.

If someone dreams that the sun was eclipsed, the king will face sorrow and war against enemies. If he dreams that the sun became visible again, this indicates that the king will be victorious. If not, the opposite. If someone dreams that <the sun> was covered with clouds, the king will face sorrow and sickness commensurate with the covering.

The same interpretation is repeated in Drexl 128, 19-20:

εἰδὲν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι νεφέλαις λεπταῖς ἐκαλύφθη ὁ ἥλιος, θλίψιν καὶ νόσημα ἐλάττονα εἰς τὸν βασιλέα νοεῖτω· εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἀπεκαθαρίσθη, εἰς υὔγειαν καὶ χαρὰν μεταβάλλεται ὁ βασιλεύς.

If someone dreams that the sun was covered with thin clouds, he should reckon <this> as sorrow and a minor sickness of the king. If he sees <the sun> become clear again, the king will return to health and joy.

Cf. al-Dīnawārī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 28, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 156b:

ومن رأى سحاب غطى الشمس حتى ذهب نورها فان الملك يمرض .

If someone dreamt that clouds covered the sun until its light vanished, the king will become sick.

Cf. *al-Muntakhab*, p. 216 inf:

وان رأى بها كسوفاً او غشاها سحاب او تراكم عليها غبار او دخان حتى نقص نورها... كان ذلك دليلاً على حديث يجرى على المضاف اليها اما من مرض او هم او غم او كرب او خبر مقلق.

If someone saw that the sun was eclipsed, or that a cloud concealed it, or that dust clouds or smoke gathered upon it until they obscured its light ... this signifies that

something will happen to the person who is symbolized by the sun, either sickness or trouble or grief or worries or disquieting news.

Drexl 128, 15-19: εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ αὐτὸν ἀνατείλαντα καθαρῶς ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἔχει γυναῖκα, λαμβάνει πλουσίαν, εἰ δὲ ἔχει, συμφιλιώσει πλουσίαν καὶ εὐρήσει ἐξ αὐτῆς χαρὰν εἰς βασιλεία καὶ ἀξίωμα καὶ ὕψος ἀναλόγως τοῦ φωτός.

If someone sees <the sun> rising brightly in his bed, if he does not have a wife, he will get a rich one. If he does have a wife, he will make love to a rich woman and, through her <influence>, will gain favor in the palace as well as an office and high rank commensurate with the light.

Cf. al-Dīnawārī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 24, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 154b:

فان <الشمس> طلعت في بيته تزوج .

If the sun rises in his house he will get married.

Cf. also Ibn Shāhīn, no. 129:

ومن رأى الشمس مضيئة قد طلعت في بيته خاصة يخطب امرأة من اقاربه وإن راها طلعت في بيت غيره يخطب امرأة من الأجانب وفي كلاهما يحصل له خير ومنفعة من اهل تلك المرأة.

If someone dreams of the sun shining and just rising in his house only, he will propose to a woman from among his relatives. And if he sees the sun rising in the house of one of his friends, he will propose to a woman from outside <his own> clan and both of them will receive wealth and benefits from the family of the woman.

Drexl 128, 25 ff: 'Εἰδὲν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πάντες μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου φωτός συνήχθησαν εἰς ἓνα τόπον, καὶ εἶδεν, ὅτι ἐξουσίασεν αὐτῶν, βασιλεύσει ἢ γενήσεται τοιοῦτος, ὥστε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διοικεῖσθαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντα.... εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες συνήχθησαν ἀφώτιστοι καὶ σκοτεινοὶ καὶ ἐξουσίασεν αὐτῶν, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ μεγιστάνος, εἰς ἀπώλειαν καὶ τιμωρίαν ἐκ παντός ἥξει διὰ τὸ σκότος· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶ βασιλεύς, ἀπὸ πάντων κυκλούμενος πολεμηθήσεται καὶ εἰς θλίψιν μεγάλην ἥξει.

If someone dreams that the sun, the moon and all the stars with their proper light gathered in one place, if he saw that he had power over them, he will either become king or become so <powerful> that the king and everyone else will be controlled by him If someone dreams that the sun, the moon and the stars were gathered <but were> dark and without light, he will by all means end up destroyed and punished, because of the darkness <of the heavenly bodies>. And if he is king, he will be surrounded and attacked by all and will come into great sorrow.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 26, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 156a:

قال المسلمون من رأى ان الشمس والقمر والنجوم اجتمعت في موضع فملكها وكان لها نور فانه مقبول القول عند الملك والوزير واشراف الناس فان لم يكن نور فانها مصيبة لصاحب الرؤيا... فان رأى الشمس والقمر والنجوم مجتمعات في موضعها من السماء بنورها وشعاعها وكان من راهن يصلح الملك والسلطان ملك امر الملك وامر وزرايه وان لم يكن لهن نور وشعاع فهو دمار صاحب الرؤيا.

The Muslims said: "If someone dreamt that the sun, the moon and the stars were gathered in one place and that he had power over them, and that they were lit, his views will be well received by the king, the minister, and the noblemen among the people. But if they had no light, this is a disaster for the dreamer.... If he dreamt that the sun, the moon, and the stars were gathered in their place in heaven with their light and rays, if the dreamer was suitable for sovereignty and power, he will come to possess the rank of a king and his minister. But if they had no light or rays, this is ruin for the dreamer.

Cf. also *al-Muntakhab*, p. 219 inf:

ومن رأى الشمس والقمر والنجوم اجتمعت في موضع واحد وملكها وكان لها نور وشعاع فانه يكون مقبول القول عند الملك والوزير والرؤساء فان لم يكن نور فلا خير فيه لصاحب الرؤيا.

If someone dreamt that the sun, the moon and the stars were gathered in one place and that he had power over them and that they had light and rays, his views will be well received by the king, his minister and the magistrates. However, if <the heavenly bodies> had no light, this is not a good omen for the dreamer.

Drexl 129, 8-11: Ο ήλιος εις μέγαν βασιλέα κρίνεται· καὶ εἰ εἰς τὸν ἰδὼν τὰς εἰρημένας ὁψεις καὶ κρίσεις ἢ ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἢ ἐν τοῖς θέμασι τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀποβήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ, εἰ δὲ ἄλλης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ὁμοίως ἀποβήσεται εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

The sun is interpreted as a very powerful king. If the person who dreamt the aforementioned dreams and their attendant interpretations is either in the lands or the provinces of the king, the outcome <of the dream> pertains to the king. If <the dreamer was in the territory> of another authority and power, the outcome <of the dream> likewise pertains to the local leader.

Cf. *al-Muntakhab*, p. 216:

وربما دلت «الشمس» على ملك المكان الذي يرى الرؤيا فيه.

Possibly the sun signifies the ruler of the place where the dream was dreamt.

Moon

According to Oberhelman's list of "specific agreements," Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* agree that the moon symbolizes a queen,¹³⁹ though why he says so is unclear: neither Artemidoros nor the *Oneirocriticon*—not even in Oberhelman's own translation—gives such an interpretation. The only analogy between the two dreambooks on the subject is that Artemidoros considers the moon to be the wife of the dreamer (Σελήνη γυναῖκα σημαίνει τοῦ ἰδόντος¹⁴⁰) and the *Oneirocriticon* that the dreamer will get married if he dreams of the moon in his home or close to him.

In Artemidoros the moon generally stands for a woman. In a dream it can indicate either the wife, mother, daughter, or sister of the dreamer, or that the events foretold in the dream will not take place without the agency of a woman.¹⁴¹ The word "moon" in Greek is feminine, and the Moon (Selene) was accordingly a female deity. The interpretation of the moon in the *Oneirocriticon*, on the other hand, which covers approximately one printed page, refers primarily to a man, in fact the second most powerful man after the king (ἡ σελήνη εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀπὸ βασιλέως δευτέρου ἐξουσιαστοῦ <κρίνεται>);¹⁴² and again, καὶ ἡ σελήνη, ὡς εἴρηται, εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ δευτέρου ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως (The moon, as was mentioned, is the second in command after the king);¹⁴³ ἡ σελήνη εἰς τὸν δεῦτερον ἦτοι τὸν ἐλάσσονα τοῦ βασιλέως κρίνεται (The moon is interpreted as the man who ranks second after, that is inferior to, the king).¹⁴⁴ This is somewhat surprising, until one realizes that the moon (*qamar*) in Arabic is masculine. Arabic dreambooks, from where the interpretations of the *Oneirocriticon* were lifted, interpret the moon primarily

¹³⁹ "Specific agreement," no. 47: "*Oneirocriticon* 166 = Artem. ii.36: moon = queen."

¹⁴⁰ ii.36, Pack 163, 1.

¹⁴¹ Artemidoros ii.36, Pack 163, 1-3 and 164, 4-5.

¹⁴² Drexl 127, 4-5.

¹⁴³ Drexl 129, 12-13.

¹⁴⁴ Drexl 130, 18-19. The "second in authority after the king" cannot be construed as the queen, because the *Oneirocriticon* repeatedly and consistently states that the planet Venus symbolizes the wife of the king. Moreover, the word used to refer to "the second most powerful person after the king" in Greek is of masculine gender.

as the royal vizier. Ibn Qutayba states that "the moon seen in the sky in its proper condition is the vizier of the king" (وانما يكون القمر وزير الملك ما).¹⁴⁵ According to al-Dīnawarī, "The full moon is the vizier, since the sun is the caliph or the most powerful king" (البدر هو).¹⁴⁶ *Al-Muntakhab* concurs: "The moon is primarily the vizier of the most powerful king or a ruler other than the most powerful king" (القمر في الاصل وزير الملك الاعظم او).¹⁴⁷ (سلطان دون الملك الاعظم).

In the course of the ninth and the tenth centuries the vizier (*wazīr*) was the caliph's prime minister, usually responsible for financial administration. The name of the office alludes to the Quranic designation of Aaron as the "support" (*wazīr*) of Moses and indicates that its holder was considered to be the caliph's primary assistant and the agent of his authority. The interpretations in the *Oneirocriticon*, lifted from Arabic sources that were written before the end of the tenth century, reflect the prestige of the vizier under the early Abbasids.¹⁴⁸ In the Byzantine court, on the other hand, there existed no single dignitary regarded as second in rank to the emperor. The most influential individuals after the emperor in the ninth and the tenth century held a variety of titles: Bardas was *caesar*; Stylianos Zaoutzes was *basileopator*; Basil the Bastard was *proedros*. The absence of a Byzantine equivalent is reflected in the periphrastic, descriptive, and rather inconsistent manner by which the rank of the vizier is rendered in Greek in the *Oneirocriticon*: "ὁ δεύτερος ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως" (the second in command after the emperor) or "ὁ πρωτεύων ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως" (the first in command after the emperor) or "ὁ δεύτερος ἥτοι ὁ ἐλάσσων τοῦ βασιλέως" (the man who ranks second after, that is inferior to, the emperor).

What is the source of the interpretation of the moon as marriage? Could it be the influence of Artemidoros's interpretation of the moon as a woman? It is a topos in Arabic literature to liken both male and female beauty to the beauty of the moon. In the words of *al-Muntakhab* (p. 220), نور القمر <

¹⁴⁵ *Bāb* 13, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 29a.

¹⁴⁶ *Faṣl* 15, *bāb* 11, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 151b.

¹⁴⁷ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 220.

¹⁴⁸ For the evolution of the vizierate, see Sourdel and Sourdel, *La civilization de l'Islam classique*, pp. 247-51.

يشبه به ذو الجمال من النساء والرجال فيقال كانه البدر وكأنه فلقة قمر (The light of the moon is like someone who possesses beauty, either woman or man, because it is said that he is like a full moon and like a half moon). Therefore, the brief passages of the *Oneirocriticon* that interpret the moon as marriage by a man to a woman (and also by a woman to a man) are not influenced by Artemidoros but reflect the logic of Arabic dreambooks. Proof is furnished by the Arabic interpretations that match those of the *Oneirocriticon*, as is evident from the following examples (*Drexl* 129, 19-22 and 130, 21-29):

Ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις τὴν σελήνην ἐπιλάμψασαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, εὐρήσει χαρὰν καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως· καὶ ἐὰν ἐστὶν ἄγαμος, λαμβάνει γυναῖκα τῆς χαρᾶς καὶ πλουτήσει.

If someone dreams that the moon shone on him in his house, he will receive joy and succor from the king;¹⁴⁹ if he is a bachelor, he will acquire a woman of joy¹⁵⁰ and become rich.

εἰ δὲ ἐγγύθεν ἴδῃ αὐτὴν ἢ ἐν τοῖς κόλποις ἢ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ κατάσχη, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἀνὴρ, λήψεται γυναῖκα χαρίεσσαν ἀναλόγως τῆς πληρώσεως τοῦ πεφωτισμένου δίσκου, εἰ δὲ γυνή, ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὴ λήψεται ἄνδρα καὶ οὕτως ἀποβήσεται αὐτῇ ... εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ὥράθη αὐτὴ σκοτεινὴ καὶ ἀσέληνος, ἐπὶ κατάρᾳ καὶ ἀπωλείᾳ γυναῖκα λήψεται, τάχα καὶ τιμωρηθήσεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

If one dreams that one was close <to the moon> or that one was holding it in one's lap or hand, if he is a man he will acquire a charming woman analogous to the fullness of the lit disk. If the dreamer is a woman, she will also acquire a husband, and the fulfillment of her dream will be similar.... If he dreams that <the moon> appeared dark and without light, he will acquire a woman who will bring about a curse and perdition, and <the dreamer> will soon be punished by the king.

These interpretations correspond to the following Arabic passages:¹⁵¹

وانما يكون القمر وزير الملك ما رُئي في السماء على حاله فان راه عنده او في حجره او في يديه تزوج زوجا بقدر ضوءه ونوره رجل كان او امرأة .

The moon seen in the sky in its proper condition is the vizier of the king. But if <the dreamers> see it next to them or in their lap or in their hands, they will marry

¹⁴⁹ Possibly the Greek should read ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτεύοντος ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως (from the most powerful man after the king).

¹⁵⁰ The meaning of γυναῖκα τῆς χαρᾶς is unclear. It could be "a woman with a cheerful character" rendering something like امرأة ذات فرج or "a woman meant for pleasure," rendering something like جارية or امة (a slave girl), as can be found in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 149 (quoted below).

¹⁵¹ *Bāb* 13, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fols. 28b-29a.

a spouse analogous to the shine and light of the moon, whether <the dreamer be> man or woman.¹⁵²

The same interpretation, accompanied by an additional detail that also appears in the *Oneirocriticon*, is repeated by al-Dīnawarī:¹⁵³

فإن رأى في حجره أو في يده غير ساقط ولا منقطع في الأرض فإنه يتزوج زوجا بقدر ضوء ذلك القمر رجلا راه أو امرأة... فإن راه كدرا تزوج غير كفو له.

If someone dreamt <that the moon> was in his lap or in his hand and it did not fall or break on the earth, he will marry a spouse analogous to the shine of this moon, whether <the dreamer be> man or woman ... and if he saw that the moon was murky, he will marry someone who is not an appropriate match for him.

An even better developed version of this interpretation can be found in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 148:

وقال جابر المغربي: من رأى القمر في يده أو عنده يدل على أنه يخطب امرأة، فإن كان القمر هلالا فإنه تكون المرأة دون في أصل والنسب، وإن كان نصف القمر مظلما تكون المرأة من أولاد الموالى، وإن كان بدرا تكون أعلى منه في الأصل والنسب، وإن رأت هذه الرؤيا امرأة يطلبها بعل ويكون حكم ذلك التعبير على ما تقدم.

Jābir al-Maghribī said: "If someone dreams that the moon is in his hands or near him, it signifies that he will become engaged to a woman. If the moon is a crescent, the woman will be inferior to him in descent and lineage. If one half of the moon is dark, the woman will belong to the offspring of the *mawālī*.¹⁵⁴ If the moon is full she will be superior to the dreamer in descent and lineage. If the dreamer is a woman, a husband will propose to her and the interpretation of her dream will be analogous to the form of the moon as was described above.

Ibn Shāhīn (no. 149) also contains an interpretation that directly corresponds to the structure and contents of Drexl 129, 19-21:

¹⁵² Ibn Qutayba further emphasizes the interpretation of the moon as a spouse by telling the dream of 'Ā'isha, the daughter of Abū Bakr, one of the most prominent female figures in Islam. She saw that the moon fell in her room, and the interpretation was fulfilled when she married the Prophet (*bāb* 13, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 29a).

¹⁵³ *Faṣl* 15, *bāb* 8, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 150a.

¹⁵⁴ The *mawālī* were non-Arab converts to Islam who were adopted into Arab tribes by becoming "clients" of an Arab patron. The *mawālī* in the Islamic state were second-class citizens, which generated considerable resentment. The *mawālī* system was abolished during the reign of the Umayyad caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (d. 720).

وإن رأى القمر نقيا قد طلعت في بيته يدل على أنه يحصل له خير من قبل ملكه أو يخطب امرأة ويشترى أمة.

If he dreamt that an immaculate moon rose in his house, it signifies that he will obtain wealth and beneficence from the king or that he will be betrothed to a woman and buy a slave girl.

Passages that strictly interpret the moon as the vizier are:

Drexl 130, 18-21: ἡ σελήνη εἰς τὸν δεῦτερον ἦτοι τὸν ἐλάσσονα τοῦ βασιλέως κρίνεται. εἰάν τις ἴδῃ αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καθὼς ἐστὶ μετὰ τοῦ φωτός αὐτῆς πλήρης, εὐρήσει χαρὰν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πλοῦτον ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

The moon is interpreted as the second, that is, the one immediately next in rank after the king. If someone sees it in the sky as it <usually> is, full and with its attendant light, he will receive joy and wealth from the king.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 8, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 150a:

ومن رأى القمر تاما منيرا في موضعه من السماء فإن وزير الملك ينفع أهل ذلك البيت

If he saw the complete moon lighting in his part of the sky, the vizier of the king will benefit the people of that house.

Cf. also Ibn Shāhīn, no. 156:

ومن رأى أنه مدن من القمر يدل على أنه يحصل له من ملك أو وزير خير ومنفعة

If someone dreams that he is close to the moon, it signifies that he will obtain from the king or the vizier wealth and benefits.

Drexl 129, 22-25: εἰάν τις, ὅτι αὐτὸς τὸν δίσκον τῆς σελήνης ἦγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἢ ὅτι ἐδέσποσεν αὐτοῦ, κυριεύσει τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ πρωτεύοντος διατασσόμενος αὐτούς.

If someone dreams that he led the lunar disk in his house by himself, or that he exercised power over it, he will control and dispose of the wealth and power of the most important <courtier>.

Cf. Ibn Shāhīn, no. 140:

قال دانيال: يؤول إما بوزير الخليفة أو بوزير الملك أو بمن يقوم مقامهما فمن رأى أنه أمسك القمر أو جعله في ملكه يدل على أنه يكون وزير للملك أو مقرباً عنده أو خاصاً من خواصه.

Daniel said: "<The moon> is interpreted either as the vizier of the caliph or as the vizier of the king or as the person who occupies that position. If someone dreamt that he seized the moon or had it in his possession, it signifies that he will become the vizier of the king or one of the people in his entourage or one of his favorites."

Drexl 129, 25-31: εὖν ἴδῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν σελήνην σκοτισθεῖσαν ἢ ἐκλείψασαν, εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ ἐναντίωσιν αὐτοῦ ἥξει ὁ πρωτεύων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ φωραθήσεται ἐν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ ἄλλος τις ἴδῃ τοῦτο, εἰς πρόσωπον ὁμοίως τοῦ πρωτεύοντος ἀποβήσεται. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι πάλιν ἐκαθαρίσθῃ καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ φῶτα αὐτῆς, πάλιν ἀνακαλεῖται καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐπανελεύσεται.

If the king dreams that the moon is darkened or eclipsed, the most important man after himself will oppose and plot against him, and this will become known among his people. If somebody else dreams this, the outcome of the dream will likewise regard the person of the most important man <after the king>. But if he dreams that the moon becomes clear again and that it regains its light, <this man> will be recalled and restored to his glory.

Cf. Ibn Shāhīn, no. 151:

وان رأى القمر منخسفا يدل على رداءة حال ملك ذلك الزمان أو حال وزير مثل عزل الملك عن مملكته أو الوزير عن وزارته خصوصاً إذا انخسف بتمامه.

If someone dreamt that the moon was eclipsed, it signifies a bad situation for the king of that time, or for the vizier, such as the removal of the king from his kingdom or the removal of the vizier from his office, especially if the moon was completely eclipsed.

The Stars

Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* concur that the stars signify men in proportion to their size: the bigger the star the more important the man symbolized by it.¹⁵⁵ Artemidoros gives this interpretation in a succinct form:¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Oberhelman, "Specific agreement," no. 46: "*Oneirocriticon* 166 = Artem. ii.36: the greatest of the stars = powerful men; the smaller stars = insignificant men."

¹⁵⁶ ii.36; Pack 165, 11-14.

οὔτε δὲ καταπίπτοντες εἰς γῆν οἱ ἀστέρες εἰσὶν ἀγαθοὶ (πολλῶν γὰρ ὄλεθρον μαρτυροῦνται, καὶ ἀξιολόγων μὲν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μεγάλοι, λιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἀσήμων οἱ λεπτοὶ καὶ ἀμαυροί)....

It is inauspicious to see stars falling down upon the earth. For they prophesy the death of many men: large stars, the death of important men; small, dim stars, the death of simple, insignificant men....

The corresponding interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* is far more detailed (Drexl 127, 3-7):

Ὁ ἥλιος εἰς πρόσωπον βασιλέως κρίνεται ἀπαρallάκτως καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀπὸ βασιλέως δευτέρου ἐξουσιαστοῦ, ἡ Ἀφροδίτη εἰς πρόσωπον τῆς αὐγούστης, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀστέρων εἰς τοὺς μεγιστάνους ἀνδρας τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀστέρες εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον.

The sun is unfailingly interpreted as the person of a king, and the moon as the person of the man second in command after the king, Venus as the person of the queen, and the rest of the great stars as the noblemen of the king, and the remaining stars as the common people.

The *Oneirocriticon* names the seven planets one by one and matches them with specific members of the royal court (Drexl 129, 12-18):

Καὶ ἡ σελήνη, ὡς εἴρηται, εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ δευτέρου ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη εἰς πρόσωπον τῆς αὐγούστης· καὶ ὁ Ἑρμῆς εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ πρώτου τῶν γραφέων τοῦ βασιλέως κρίνεται καὶ ὁ Ἄρης εἰς τὸν πρώτον πολεμιστὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς εἰς τὸν πρώτον τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς διοικήσεως τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ὁ Κρόνος εἰς <τὸν> πρώτον ποιναιστήν καὶ παιδευτὴν κρίνεται.

The moon, as was mentioned, is the person who is second in authority after the king, and Venus is the queen. Mercury is interpreted as the chief among the scribes of the king, Mars as the chief warrior of the king, Jupiter as the one in charge of the wealth, administration, and gold of the king, and Saturn is interpreted as the chief punisher and chastiser.

It is immediately apparent that these courtly dignities are not Byzantine, except for the *basileus* and the *augusta*, that is, the emperor and the empress. Indeed, this passage translates in Greek as literally as possible the Arabic interpretation of the planets that is found in four out of the five Arabic dreambooks examined. Ibn Qutayba states:¹⁵⁷

والقمر في التاويل وزير الملك والزهرة امراته و عطارد كاتبه و بهرام

¹⁵⁷ Bāb 13, Yahuda ar. 196, fol. 28b.

صاحب حربه والمشتري صاحب ماله وزحل صاحب عذابه وسائر النجوم
العظام اشراف الناس.

The moon in dream interpretation is the vizier of the king; Venus is his wife; Mercury is his secretary;¹⁵⁸ Mars is his minister of war; Jupiter is his treasurer; Saturn is his chastiser. The other great stars are the nobles among the people.

A similar interpretation can be found in al-Dīnawarī (*faṣl* 15, *bāb* 18, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fols. 152b-153a):

النجوم الخمسة هي زحل والمشتري و المريخ والزهرة وعطارد قوم مشاهير
وهم عدول اشراف وقالوا بل زحل صاحب عذاب الملك * والمشتري صاحب
بيت ماله والمريخ صاحب حربه ووالى جيشه وقالوا بل هو الشرطى *
والزهرة وهي من المسرح امرأة فمن راها خطب امرأة جميلة مفتنة الناس لا
تكون بينه وبينها قرابة وعطارد كاتبه...

The five planets are Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, a group of important people and just noblemen. <Dream interpreters> said rather that Saturn is the executioner in the service of the king, Jupiter is the one in control of his financial department and Mars his minister of war and leader of the army. <Other dream interpreters> said, however, that he is the policeman. Venus, because of the comb, is a woman, and whoever dreams of her will be betrothed to a beautiful woman who charms people and is unrelated <to the dreamer>. And Mercury is the secretary <of the king>.

The interpretation found in *al-Muntakhab* (p. 224) is even closer to the relevant paragraph of the *Oneirocriticon* than the interpretation of al-Dīnawarī: أما
الخمسة سيارة فزحل صاحب عذاب الملك والمشتري صاحب مال الملك
والمريخ صاحب حرب الملك والزهرة امرأة الملك وعطارد كاتب الملك.
(As for the five planets, Saturn is the king's chastiser, Jupiter is the king's minister of finance, Mars is the king's minister of war, Venus is the king's wife and Mercury is the king's secretary). Ibn Shāhīn's interpretation is identical, except that it calls the one in charge of the financial administration the *صاحب خزنة* (master of the king's treasury of wealth).¹⁵⁹

The dignitaries enumerated in the interpretation of the planets correspond, at least in part, to officials at the caliphal court. In addition to the vizier, two

¹⁵⁸ Lit.: "scribe" (*kātib*).

¹⁵⁹ Ibn Shāhīn, introductory paragraph to *faṣl* 3, "On Dreaming of the Planets" (before no. 164). For a comparison of the interpretation of the planets in the *Oneirocriticon* and other Arabic dreambooks that come to the same conclusions, see Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," p. 320, table 11.

other officials—the *kātib*, or royal secretary (too literally and therefore mistakenly rendered in Greek as *grapheus*, scribe),¹⁶⁰ and the *ṣāhib al-ʿadhāb*, or chastiser¹⁶¹—are known to have existed in the Abbasid administration: But in Abbasid times the commander of the army was called *ṣāhib al-jaysh* (master of the army) and not *ṣāhib al-ḥarb* (master of war), and the head of the financial bureaucracy was called *ṣāhib al-kharāj* (master of taxes) and not *ṣāhib al-māl* (master of wealth), though *bayt al-māl* (house of wealth) was the term for the department of finance. Moreover, while the list includes the relatively low-ranking *ṣāhib al-ʿadhāb*, it omits important offices of the Abbasid administration, such as the *hājib* (chamberlain), the *ṣāhib al-barīd* (minister of the post) and the *ṣāhib al-shurṭa* (chief of police¹⁶²). It is impossible to know whether the source of the *Oneirocriticon* included a list of Abbasid offices and, if it did, whether the Greek author would be able to recognize it as such. But the overall interpretation of the planets seems to have been inspired mainly by Chaldaean and Graeco-Roman astrology, which had also been adopted by the Arabs.¹⁶³ Whether out of ignorance, lack of imagination, or deliberate choice, the author of the *Oneirocriticon* did not attempt to make the list of dignitaries conform to the titles then in use at the Byzantine court. After all, it is contained in a chapter attributed to the Indians, Persians and Egyptians together, which seems to justify its nonconformity to the Byzantine court system.

Further interpretations about the stars given in the *Oneirocriticon* can also be found in Arabic dreambooks, as is evident in the examples given below:

¹⁶⁰ On the duties and education of the Abbasid secretaries, see Sourdel and Sourdel, *La civilisation de l'Islam classique*, pp. 370-72.

¹⁶¹ Lit.: "master of punishments." The only mention of the *ṣāhib al-ʿadhāb* that I found was in the section of al-Dīnawarī's dreambook that interprets dreams about the members of the royal entourage and various administrative officials. The most common term for the executioner is *jallād*, which is also used in al-Dīnawarī. It is unclear what the difference between the two was. Dreaming of them is interpreted as follows (al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 9, *bāb* 8, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 99a, l. 5): والجلاد رجل شتام (The *jallād* is <interpreted as> an abusive man) and *bāb* 14, *ibid.*, ult. line: وصاحب العذاب رجل مؤذ (The *ṣāhib al-ʿadhāb* is interpreted as a harmful man); see also Fahd, "Les corps des métiers aux IV/Xe siècle à Bagdad," p. 206, n. 2.

¹⁶² Possibly in al-Dīnawarī's interpretation of Saturn one should read صاحب الشرطة (chief of police) instead of الشرطي (the policeman). For a description of the Abbasid administration with reference to the relative Arabic terms, see Ph. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 10th ed. (New York, 1970), pp. 317-31.

¹⁶³ See Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, vol. 1, p. 227.

Drexl 131, 3-18: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων τῶν μεγίστων εἰς τοὺς εὐγενεῖς καὶ πλουσίους διακρίνονται ἀναλόγως καὶ τοὺς ἔγγιστα τοῦ βασιλέως κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ παντός τόπου· καὶ πλείονα κρίσιν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἔγγιστα, ἐλάσσονα δὲ οἱ μακράν. ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρον πολὺφωτα συνημένα, σύναξιν καὶ χαρὰν παρὰ τῶν εἰρημένων κοινὰ νοεῖται· ὁμοίως καὶ ἐὰν ἴδῃ ταῦτα ὀλιγόφωτα καὶ διεσκορπισμένα ἢ σκοτεινὰ, τὸ πάθος εἰς τὸν εἰρημένον λαὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ βασιλέως διακρίνεται· εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι μερικῶς ἢ ἔπαθον ἢ ἐφωταγώγουν, μερικὴν κρινέτω καὶ τὴν χαρὰν καὶ τὴν λύπην.

Ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἐδέσποσε τῶν ἀστέρων πάντων, δεσπόσει πάντων λαῶν καὶ, ἐὰν ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδειος, βασιλεύσει. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐδέσποσεν αὐτῶν μερικῶς, δεσπόσει λαοῦ. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ποιμαίνει καὶ διευθετεῖ καὶ εἰς κατὰστασιν φέρει τὰ ἄστρον, ἐξουσίαν λήσεται λαοῦ παρὰ τοῦ μεγίστου βασιλέως ἀνάλογον τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τῆς διευθετήσεως τῶν ἀστέρων.

The multitude of the other big stars is similarly interpreted as the noblemen, the wealthy, and <generally> those who are close to the king in every land. The nearest <stars> have a stronger interpretation than the farthest ones. If someone dreams that the greatest among the rest of the stars were bright and were gathered together, he should reckon a gathering and joy shared by the aforementioned people. Likewise, if someone sees them dimly lit and scattered or darkened, <analogous> suffering will befall the aforementioned people and the magnates of the king. If he sees that the stars suffered partial damage or that they were partially lit, he should reckon the joy or sorrow as partial as well.

If someone dreams that he had power over all the stars, he will have power over all nations, and, if he is suitable, he will become king. If he sees that he only had partial control over them, he will rule a people. If he sees that he is shepherding or arranging the stars in an orderly position, he will receive from the greatest of kings sovereignty over a people analogous to the limpidity of the heavens¹⁶⁴ and the condition of the stars.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 11, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 151b:

من رأى سائر النجوم في موضعها من السماء مجتمعة فهو يقوم حال الاشراف واجتماع امرهم وحسن شوؤنهم فان راها متفرقة في السماء فهو يفرق اشراف الناس في ذلك الموضع فان رأى بها حدثا فهو حدث بهؤلاء * فان رأى انها صافية فهو صلاح احوالهم واذا رأى نورها مطموسا فهو تغير امورهم ومن رأى انه ملك النجوم فانه يملك اشراف الناس كلهم * فان رأى النجوم مجتمعة في داره ولها شعاع ونورها فانه يصيب فرحا وسرورا واجتمع عنده اشراف الناس على سرور فان لم يكن لها نور فهي مصيبة تجمع عند اشراف الناس.

¹⁶⁴ ὁ καιρὸς = the weather at night in the dream.

If someone dreamt that the wandering stars gathered in their proper place in heaven, this is the condition of the noblemen, the coalition of their power, and the good order of their affairs. If he sees them scattered all over the sky, <the fulfillment of> this <dream> will divide the noblemen in this place. If he sees that something happened to the stars, something <analogous> will happen to the noblemen. If he dreamt that the stars were limpid, this is goodness in the condition of the noblemen. If he saw that their light was obliterated, this signifies change <for the worse> in their affairs. If someone dreamt that he had the stars in his power, he will have all the noblemen in his power. If he dreamt that the stars with their light and rays gathered in his house, he will receive happiness and joy, and the noblemen will happily congregate in his home. And if the stars did not have light, a calamity will befall the noblemen.

Drexl 131, 18-22: ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι τρώγει ἄστρον, ἀναλώσει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀναλόγως τῆς βρώσεως. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι κατέπιεν αὐτὰ ἀμασήτως, ἀσυνήθεις ἄνδρες εἰσελεύσονται ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ συναναμιγήσονται αὐτῷ φιλικῶς.

If someone dreams that he is eating stars, he will destroy people by analogy to what he ate. If he dreams that he swallowed them without chewing, unusual men will arrive at his house and associate with him in friendly terms.¹⁶⁵

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 14, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 152b:

قال المسلمون من رأى انه اكل الكواكب فانه يستاكل الناس ويأخذ اموالهم ويهلكهم ومن <*> من غير اكل يداخله اشراف الناس في امره و سره.

The Muslims said: "If someone dreamt that he ate the stars, he will destroy people, take their money and ruin them. And if someone <*>¹⁶⁶ without chewing, noblemen will mix with him in his affairs and secrets.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Eating the stars is also discussed by Artemidoros (ii.36, Pack 165, 19-22), but the interpretations given by him are different from the ones recorded in the *Oneirocriticon*. According to Artemidoros, dreaming of eating the stars is a good portent only for clairvoyants and people whose profession requires observing the heavens. For the rest it predicts death.

¹⁶⁶ One or two words are illegible in the manuscript.

¹⁶⁷ The corresponding phrase in the Greek interpretation, ἄνδρες εἰσελεύσονται ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ συναναμιγήσονται αὐτῷ φιλικῶς (Men will arrive at his house and associate with him on friendly terms), renders both form I and III of the verb *dakhala*, the basic meaning of which is "to enter." Form I also means "to pay someone a visit"; in form III, which is found in al-Dīnawarī, the verb داخلوه means "they mixed with him in his affairs," or "they mixed with him socially," or "they became intimate with him" (see Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. دخل 3). Form I of the verb is common; form III is rarer, but apparently the author of the *Oneirocriticon* had داخل (form III) in front of him, a form with which he was probably unfamiliar, so he gave it the meaning of form I, which he did know. The meaning of form III written next to the meaning of form I might have been intended as a correction, but both the old, incorrect, and the new, correct rendering seem to have been retained in the final version.

A correction should be introduced to Drexl's text on the basis of the Arabic parallels. The *Oneirocriticon* contains the following interpretation (Drexl 129, 4-6): καὶ τὸ σκότος τῶν ἀστέρων τῷ ἰδόντι ἀνθρώπῳ εἰσκόμισιν χρυσοῦ καὶ πλούτου αὐτοῦ σημαίνει (The darkness of the stars signifies for the dreamer the *eiskomisis* of his money and wealth). The word *eiskomisis* is a *hapax* in Greek, and its meaning is unclear.¹⁶⁸ One of the manuscripts consulted by the editor (V) has, instead of εἰσκόμισιν, the reading εἰς κορπισμόν, which should be read εἰς σκορπισμόν. The Greek solecism that results from the acceptance of the reading from manuscript V, σημαίνει εἰς ("it signifies" expressed with the verb and an unnecessary preposition), corresponds to the perfectly regular Arabic يدل على ("it signifies" expressed with the verb and the preposition with which it is usually construed). The substitution of the strange εἰσκόμισις with σκορπισμός (squandering) results in the following interpretation: "The darkness of the stars signifies for the dreamer the squandering of his money and wealth." This would correspond to the interpretation found in the dreambook of al-Nābulusi:¹⁶⁹ ومن رأى ان الكواكب قد ذهبت من السماء فانه يذهب ماله (If someone dreamt that the stars disappeared from the sky, his money will disappear).

The sun, the moon, and the stars in the *Oneirocriticon* are primarily interpreted in connection with the royal court and rulership. This is an important component of the corresponding chapters in the Arabic dreambooks. Every Arabic dreambook, however, beginning with Ibn Qutayba, also mentions that the sun, the moon, and the stars could signify the parents and siblings of the dreamer, according to the interpretation of Joseph's dream that is narrated in Qur'an 12:4-5 and the Old Testament (Genesis 37:5-11).¹⁷⁰ It is therefore hard to imagine that the Arabic source of the *Oneirocriticon* did not mention such an interpretation. But the *Oneirocriticon* itself completely ignores it, as it does other episodes from the story of Joseph. One can only speculate about the

¹⁶⁸ See Drexl, p. 249, index rerum et verborum, s.v. "εἰσκόμισις." Conceivably, εἰσκόμισιν could be corrected to the attested εἰσκόμισιν or εἰς κόμισιν (a bringing in, an import, an introduction). However, according to the critical apparatus in Drexl 129, 5, none of the Greek manuscripts that he consulted gave the reading εἰσκόμισιν or εἰς κόμισιν.

¹⁶⁹ Al-Nābulusi, vol. 2, p. 194, s.v. كوكب .

¹⁷⁰ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 13, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 29a; al-Dinawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 24, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 154a, for the sun as father; *al-Muntakhab*, introduction, p. 21; Ibn Shāhīn, no. 164; al-Nābulusi, vol. 2, p. 7, s.v. شمس.

reasons for this omission. It is possible that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* found the story of Joseph thoroughly appropriated by Islam and therefore avoided referring to it. But he might have chosen to single out the royal interpretation of the heavenly bodies because his dreambook was meant for use by royalty and members of the imperial court.

Eating Honey

As Oberhelman has pointed out,¹⁷¹ both Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* maintain that honey is interpreted as wisdom. Artemidoros asserts this in an anecdote:¹⁷²

ἔδοξέ τις ἄρτον ἀποβάπτων εἰς μέλι ἐσθίειν. ἐπὶ λόγους φιλοσοφικοὺς ὀρμήσας καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς σοφίαν εὐπορίσατο καὶ περιεβάλετο χρήματα πολλά· ἐσήμαινε γὰρ τὸ μέλι τὴν εὐέπειαν τῆς σοφίας, ὡς εἰκός, τὸν πορισμὸν δὲ ὁ ἄρτος.

Someone dreamt that he dipped bread into honey and ate it. The man devoted himself to philosophical endeavors, and he acquired not only the wisdom that philosophy contains but great wealth as well. For the honey naturally signified the sweet words of wisdom and the bread signified financial gain.

The *Oneirocriticon* mentions that honey signifies wisdom in the course of a paragraph that comprises a number of additional interpretations (Drexl 196, 24):

εἰ δὲ ἔφαγε κηρίον μέλιτος ἀπὸ μελισσῶνος, εὐρήσει, ἃ οὐδεὶς ἤλπιζε, καὶ σοφὸς ἔσται διὰ τὸ σοφὸν τοῦ ἔργου τῆς μελίσσης· εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔκλασε τὸν μελισσῶνα, ἐλευθερίαν δοῦλοις ποιήσει· εἰ δὲ ἔστι δοῦλος ὁ ἰδὼν, ἐλευθερουῖται, εἰ δὲ πτωχός, πλουτήσει. ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐὰν ἴδῃ, ὅτι προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ κηρίον μέλιτος καὶ ἔφαγεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, εἰσκομιδὰς γλυκείας καὶ χαρὰν δέξεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ· εἰς ἔργον γὰρ λαοῦ τὸ κηρίον ἐκρίθη. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι κηρίον μέλιτος ἦνεγκαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἦν κενὸν μέλιτος, αἱ εἰσκομιδαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐλλειπεῖς.

If he ate a honeycomb from a beehive, he will find what no one had hoped for, and will be wise, because of the wisdom of the bee's work. If he sees that he broke the beehive, he will free slaves. If the dreamer is a slave, he will be freed, and if he is poor, he will become rich. If the king dreams that he was brought a honeycomb and ate from it, he will receive sweet revenues and joy from his people. For the honeycomb is interpreted as the work of the people. If he dreams that he was brought a honeycomb empty of honey, his revenues are wanting.

¹⁷¹ "Specific agreement," no. 78: "*Oneirocriticon* 241 = Artem. v.83: to eat honey means wisdom."

¹⁷² v.83, Pack 322, 10-14.

Arabic dreambooks interpret honey much as the *Oneirocriticon* does. According to al-Dinawari, it signifies lawful money and wisdom: وقيل العسل مال مجموع حلال لقوله تعالى فيه شفاء للناس وقيل هو علم يرزق الانسان

(It is said that honey signifies collected lawful money, according to the saying of God Almighty "wherein is healing for mankind" [Qur'ān 16:69].¹⁷³ It is also said that it <signifies> knowledge bestowed on people).¹⁷⁴

Similar interpretations are repeated throughout the Arabic dreambooks.¹⁷⁵ The significance of honey as freedom for slaves is mentioned in a paragraph from Ibn Shāhīn (no. 4379) that contains interpretations attributed to al-Kirmānī:

قال الكرمانى من رأى انه اكل عسلا او جمعه او يؤتى به اليه فإنه يصيب مالا وغنيمة وفرحا، وان كان عبدا عتق، وإن كان مريضا شفى، وربما دل العسل على كلام البر وطلب القرآن والعلم على وجه حسن...

Al-Kirmānī said: "If someone dreamt that he ate or collected honey, or that honey was brought to him, he will obtain wealth and booty and joy, and if he is a slave he will be freed, and if he is sick he will be healed. Possibly honey signifies words of righteousness, and zeal for the Qur'ān and for knowledge in a seemly manner...."

After the paragraph of the *Oneirocriticon* on dreaming of a honeycomb, *Vat. gr.* 573 (fol. 209b) adds further interpretations that are missing from the text of the critical edition. A usual philological assumption about works on the popular sciences that have a complicated textual tradition like the *Oneirocriticon* is that later scribes tampered with the original composition by adding passages which, most of the time, they found in other works on similar topics rather than inventing them themselves. The additional interpretations of *Vat. gr.* 573, however, are not later additions, but part of the original composition,

¹⁷³ Al-Dinawari's quotation that refers to honey comes from the verse 69 of the Quranic "Chapter of the Bee," which points to the bee and its activities as an example of duty, usefulness, and God's providing for the creation. The complete sentence is, "There cometh forth from their [= the bees'] bellies a drink of divers hues, wherein is healing for mankind."

¹⁷⁴ *Faṣl* 23, *bāb* 39 on شهد (honeycomb), *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 241b.

¹⁷⁵ Honey also signifies knowledge of the Qur'ān. See also al-Dinawari's chapter on the bee (*faṣl* 21, *bāb* 146) and on honey (*faṣl* 23, *bāb* 47). Al-Dinawari's interpretations are repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, pp. 129-30. Parts of *al-Muntakhab* are repeated in Ibn Shāhīn. Al-Nābulusi's chapters on honey (vol. 2, pp. 94-95, s.v. عسل) and honeycomb (ibid., pp. 19-20, s.v. شهد) are a combination of al-Dinawari and *al-Muntakhab*.

since analogous interpretations can be found in Arabic dreambooks. *Vat. gr.* 573 states: εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ τις ὅτι εὗρεν μέλι μετὰ κηρίου αὐτοῦ, εὐρήσει ἀνάλογον τοῦ μέλιτος πλοῦτον, πλὴν δὲ μετὰ βίας ὀλίγης (If someone dreams that he found honey in its honeycomb, he will find wealth commensurate with the honey, though through the use of some violence). Honey was already interpreted as wealth from booty by al-Kirmānī, as is evident in the passage from Ibn Shāhīn quoted above. A comparable interpretation is also recorded by al-Dinawari:¹⁷⁶ فإن الشهد وحده فإنه مال حلال من غنيمة (As for the honeycomb by itself, it is lawful wealth from booty).

In addition, *Vat. gr.* 573 (fol. 209b) contains a negative interpretation of desserts prepared with honey: εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ ὅτι εὗρεν ἢ ἤρεν ἢ ἔφερον αὐτῷ μέλι ἐψητὸν ἢτοι γλυκίσμα μετὰ ἀρωμάτων [*sic*], εὐρήσει θλίψιν καὶ στενοχωρίαν, ἀναλόγως τοῦ γλυκίσματος (If he dreamt that he found or took or was brought boiled honey, that is, a dessert with spices, he will find sorrow and trouble commensurate with the dessert). Other desserts are interpreted positively (*Drexl* 198, 2-3): εἰ δὲ ἐσθίει πλακοῦντας, εὐρήσει ἀγαθὸν ἐπιθυμητικόν (If he is eating flatcakes, he will receive something good and desirable). Likewise, Ibn Shāhīn (nos. 4381-4382) quotes a negative interpretation of desserts prepared with honey, as opposed to desserts prepared with sugar: فمن رأى انه ياكل حلواء سكر فإنه عز ورفعة ... ومن رأى انه ياكل ذلك حلواء من عسل فإنه ذون ذلك (If someone dreamt that he ate a dessert made with sugar, this is power and a lofty position ... but whoever dreamt that he ate a dessert made with honey, this is less than that). Once more, this additional interpretation from *Vat. gr.* 573 should be considered an integral part of the original composition, since it can also be found in the Arabic tradition.

The closeness of the *Oneirocriticon*, not so much to Artemidoros as to Arabic dreambooks, in this example further indicates that Arabic dreambooks furnished the immediate source of the Byzantine work.

Elephant

Artemidoros's interpretation of an elephant is the following:¹⁷⁷

Ἐλέφας ἔξω μὲν Ἰταλίας καὶ Ἰνδίας ὁρώμενος κίνδυνον καὶ φόβον σημαίνει διὰ τὸ χρῶμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος· φοβερὸν γὰρ τὸ ζῷον, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς μὴ ἠθάσιν

¹⁷⁶ *Faṣl* 23, *bāb* 39, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 241a.

¹⁷⁷ ii.12; *Pack* 123, 2-18.

and be relieved from all sorrow. If someone dreams that he found elephant bones or dung, this is interpreted as wealth.

The interpretation of an elephant as a powerful foreigner appeared in every single Arabic dreambook examined. It is inspired by a Quranic chapter (sūra 105, also known as "The Chapter of the Elephant") that refers to a well-known historical event of ca. 570: Abrahah, the Christian viceroy of the Abyssinian Negus and ruler of the Yemen, campaigned against Mecca in order to destroy the Ka'ba and was turned back through divine intervention. Abrahah's army included at least one elephant, which seems to have greatly impressed the north Arabians. The Qur'ān refers to the foreign invaders as "the people of the elephant"; the year of the invasion was subsequently called "the year of the elephant" and is generally considered also to be the year of the Prophet's birth. The interpretation of the elephant in the *Oneirocriticon* as a powerful foreigner who can be defeated in battle seems to reflect the Islamic perception of the animal. For example, Ibn Qutayba writes the following:¹⁷⁹

من رأى أنه ركب فيلا يملكه وعليه آلة الفيل أصاب سلطانا عظيما أعجميا أو قهر سلطانا أو أعجميا... فإن رأى أنه أكل لحم فيل أصاب مالا من سلطان وكذلك كل ما نال من أعضائه أو جلده أو عظامه أو عصبه أو شعره * فإن رأى أنه ركب في أرض حرب على أي هيئة كان كانت الدبرة على أصحاب تلك الأرض لقصة أصحاب الفيل... ومن قتل فيلا قهر رجلا ضمنا أعجميا.

If someone dreams that he rode an elephant and was able to dominate it and that the elephant was in full riding gear, <the dreamer> will gain a mighty foreign dominion, or will vanquish a sovereign or a foreigner And if he dreams that he ate the meat of an elephant, he will obtain money from a sovereign; likewise for whatever part <of the elephant> the dreamer received, whether for its skin or bone or sinew or hair. And if he dreams that he rode <an elephant> in a land at war, the people of the land on whose side the elephant was will be routed, according to what happened in the story of the people of the elephant Whoever slays an elephant will triumph over a great foreign man.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Bāb 39, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fols. 54b ff.

¹⁸⁰ A part of Ibn Qutayba's chapter on the elephant is repeated, slightly rephrased, by Ibn Shāhīn (nos. 5868-69), where it is attributed to the author of the very first Arabic dreambook, al-Kirmānī. It seems that this ancient treatise is indeed the source of the following interpretations: قال الكرماني من رأى أنه راكب على فيل ببلس وهو مطيع له فإنه يدل على متابعتة ملكا أعجميا، ورؤيا جلد الفيل ولحمه وعظمه وشعره يؤول بحصول مال ومنفعة ونعمة من السلطان. ومن رأى أنه راكب فيلا في الحرب فإنه يدل على قهر عدو ضخم، وقيل يقهر العدو السلطان. وهذا القول دليل على قصة أصحاب الفيل (Al-Kirmānī said: "If someone dreams that he was

Ibn Qutayba not only gives the interpretation of an elephant that Artemidoros and the *Oneirocriticon* agree on, but also adds two interpretations that appear in the Byzantine text: riding an elephant foretells rulership (while in Artemidoros it only foretells deriving benefits from the powerful person signified by the elephant) and acquiring the bones of an elephant indicates the acquisition of wealth. Al-Dīnawarī interprets the elephant similarly: "It is said that an elephant is a great king" (قيل أنه ملك ضخم). He also adds a couple of interpretations that correspond to those found in the *Oneirocriticon*: "If someone dreams that he rode an elephant, he will be appointed minister or local governor, and if he takes the elephant's dung he will obtain money <that belongs to the aforementioned officials>" (فإن ركب نال وزارة وولاية فإن اخذ من روثه).¹⁸¹ In addition, Ibn Shāhīn (no. 5865) states that slaying an elephant means slaying a king, which reminds one of an analogous interpretation in chapter 239 of the *Oneirocriticon*: ومن رأى أنه قتل فيلا فإنه يؤول بقتل ملك على يديه أو بواسطته (If someone dreams that he slew an elephant, this is interpreted as slaying a king with his own hands or through his own intervention).

The following conclusions can be drawn from comparing the texts of Artemidoros, the *Oneirocriticon*, and the Arabic dreambooks: (1) The author of the

riding an elephant with large sacks of straw and that the elephant obeyed him, this signifies that he will follow a foreign king. Dreaming of the elephant's skin, meat, bones and hair is interpreted as acquisition of money, profits, and benefits from the sovereign. If someone dreams that he was riding an elephant to war, it signifies that he will vanquish a great enemy, and it is said that the enemy will be vanquished, and this saying alludes to the story of the people of the elephant".

¹⁸¹ Faṣl 21, bāb 104, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 224a-b. The second excerpt from al-Dīnawarī's chapter is attributed to the Jews. However, the interpretations of the elephant found in the Babylonian Talmud (*Berākōt* IX, 1-2, fol. 54b; trans. Cohen, pp. 371-72) are different from the Jewish interpretations of al-Dīnawarī. Al-Dīnawarī also quotes a few interpretations of the elephant attributed to the Christians that do not essentially differ from those of the Muslims and Jews (dreaming of an elephant and not riding him indicates the decline of one's status and financial ruin; but riding one means obtaining sovereignty (ملكاً). A slain elephant means that the king or some other important man will die). *Al-Muntakhab*, pp. 189-90, for the most part repeats the interpretations of al-Dīnawarī, with a very few additions at the end that do not correspond to anything found in the *Oneirocriticon*. Al-Nābulusi's entry (vol. 2, pp. 130-32) is a combination of al-Dīnawarī and *al-Muntakhab* with some additions that closely repeat the interpretations of Ibn Qutayba (e.g., إن رأى أنه أكل لحم فيل أصاب مالا من سلطان وكذلك إن اخذ من أعضائه أو جلده أو عظامه (If someone dreams that he ate meat from an elephant he will obtain money from a sovereign [sulṭān] and likewise if he took something from its limbs or its skin or its bones).

Oneirocriticon did not use the Greek text of Artemidoros as a source for his own composition. (2) The Arabic sources used by the author of the *Oneirocriticon* did contain interpretations similar to those found in Artemidoros. However, contrary to the practice followed by al-Dīnawarī, they did not, in all likelihood, quote Ḥunayn's text verbatim. (3) The author of the *Oneirocriticon* did not always slavishly translate the Arabic text in front of him, but adapted concepts when necessary. At the same time, he did not completely depart from his sources in order to create interpretations *ex nihilo*, but tended to work on the basis of existing material, as is evident in his interpretation of crucifixion, the cross, kings, and temples. In other words, he seems to have adapted existing interpretations, and not to have invented new ones. It is also evident that he made an effort to adapt in Greek some of the Arabic interpretations based on etymology. Sometimes a coincidence helped him (e.g., *rā's* - *riyāsa* - *rā's māl* / *kephalē* - *kephalaion*, resulting in interpreting heads as leadership and capital). At other times he had to invent a Greek expression (*rakaba farasan* - *irtakaba ma'siyatan* / ἐπέβαινε ἵππῳ σκληροχαλίνῳ—σκληρᾶς ἀμαρτίας ἐπιβάτης γενήσεται = he was riding on a hardmounted horse—will embark on a course of obstinate sinning). But there are also instances where the etymological game played in the interpretation is lost in Greek (*ghannam* [sheep] and *ghanima* [booty] leading to the interpretation of a sheep's head as booty).

All this can be said with some confidence, since the extant Arabic sources furnish a relatively secure ground for comparison. Other questions, however, such as the Greek author's treatment of the Old Testament and the Quranic story of Joseph cannot be answered, at least not on the basis of the material that has come to light so far, since we do not know exactly what the contents of his Arabic models were. His omission of the initial chapter on God can be hypothesized with some certainty, given the structure and contents of Arabic dreambooks; this omission indicates that he did leave out Arabic passages that he did not want—or did not know how—to Christianize.

CHAPTER SIX

SYRIAC AND CHRISTIAN ARABIC DREAM INTERPRETATIONS

The *Oneirocriticon* is not a direct translation but a Christian adaptation of Islamic material. The analysis of certain peculiarities in the grammar and syntax of the Greek text demonstrated that its source was written in Arabic. What remains to be addressed is whether the *Oneirocriticon* was translated into Greek from a Christian (as opposed to Muslim) Arabic source and whether the Byzantine author copied his interpretations from an Arabic version already adapted for Christians or made these adaptations himself at the same time that he was translating an Islamic text. Both Syriac and Christian Arabic dream interpretation must be taken into account, since both Syriac and Arabic were spoken by the Christian communities living in Arab Muslim lands at the time that the *Oneirocriticon* was composed, and translations from Syriac into Arabic were all the more frequent as Arabic gained ground as the language of communication among Christians. This leads to the following questions: Are there any examples of Christianized dreambooks in Syriac or Arabic that were based on Islamic sources? Was there a tradition of dream interpretation in either Arabic or Syriac that could be labeled as Christian and that was distinctively different from the Muslim tradition of dream interpretation? In other words, if the Greek author of the *Oneirocriticon* was interested in transmitting Oriental Christian dream interpretations, would he have found any on which to base his work? Moreover, if a Christian tradition did exist, are any of its elements reflected in anything found in the *Oneirocriticon*?

Little is known about dream interpretation in Syriac. In the same vein as the *Oneirocriticon* is a brief work on dream interpretation contained in a Syriac manuscript in the British Library, Or. 4434, fols. 78a-93b.¹ Its editor had no doubt that it was translated from the Arabic, since the Syriac word for "chapter" used in the text is the equivalent of the Arabic *bāb* and the style of the work is also "*fortement arabisant*."² The date of the text is unclear; the

¹ Published by G. Furlani, "Une clef des songes en syriaque," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 22 (1920-21), 118-44 and 225-48, Syriac text and French translation; Furlani notes that "jusqu' à présent on ne connaissait pas d'ὄνειροκριτικὸν en langue syriaque" (p. 118).

² Ibid., p. 118.

only *terminus ante quem* that can be established is the date of the manuscript itself, and it was copied in the nineteenth century.³

The Syriac dreambook in BL Or. 4434 starts with a chapter on the theory of dream interpretation. Seven categories of dreams are identified, according to their causes: dreams in the first four categories are caused by the overflow of one of the four bodily humors;⁴ dreams in the fifth category are caused by the dreamer's imagination being incited by demons; those of the sixth category are caused by the dreamer's preoccupations during the daytime; dreams in the seventh category, including revelations and visions, come from God according to Mar Ephraim.⁵ The dream of Joseph, husband of the Virgin Mary,⁶ can persuade Christians of the divine provenance of dreams in this category, while the dreams interpreted by Joseph,⁷ son of Jacob, can persuade the Jews. When waking up from a God-sent dream, the dreamer is calm and remembers the whole dream. A truthful dream is dreamt while sleeping on the left side. The time required for a dream to be fulfilled is commensurate with the time of night at which it was dreamt. If it was dreamt during the night and before the cock crows, it will be fulfilled within twenty years. If it was dreamt after the cock crows but before the sun rises, it will be fulfilled within thirty years. Finally, if dreamt at sunrise, it will be fulfilled in the next one or two days. A dream should be narrated to a wise person or a friend, but never to a woman. Advice is offered on how to diffuse the potential harm of a bad dream. Finally, the dreamer is warned that in the month of February and during the time when leaves grow, dreams are false.⁸

These principles of dream interpretation are different from those put forth in chapters 2 and 301 of the *Oneirocriticon*, which are dedicated to a similar

³ Description and date of the manuscript in G. Margoliouth, *Descriptive List of Syriac and Karshuni Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since 1873* (London, 1899), p. 42; G. Furlani, "Ancora un trattato palmomantico in lingua siriana," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 27 (1918), p. 316.

⁴ The four bodily humors in the Galenic system are blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile. Something is missing from the text because only three humors are mentioned: red bile, phlegm and black bile (according to Furlani's translation, p. 134, *fiel rouge*, *matière pituiteuse*, *fiel noir*). All references to the Syriac dreambook will be given according to Furlani's French translation which accompanies the Syriac text.

⁵ Ephraim (306-73) wrote in Syriac, but his works were also translated into Armenian, Greek, Latin, and Old Church Slavonic. For a discussion of Ephraim's ideas about dreams, see E. Beck, *Ephraim des Syrers Psychologie und Erkenntnislehre* (Louvain, 1980), esp. pp. 46 ff., 49 ff., 80 ff.

⁶ Matthew 1:18-25; 2:13-14; 2:22.

⁷ Genesis 40:1-42:36.

⁸ Compare these with the theoretical principles of Christian dream interpretation quoted in the dreambook of al-Dinawari, given in Appendix 3.

discussion. The *Oneirocriticon* supposes that all dreams come from God, and the dream of Joseph, the husband of Mary, and the dreams interpreted by Daniel are given as examples (Drexl 2, 1-24). The time required for the fulfillment of a dream depends on the time of night that it was dreamt, but the time spans given are different from those in the Syriac dreambook (Drexl 241, 1-14). Finally, the condition of the leaves on the trees is related to the good or bad outcome of a dream, but in a way almost opposite to that in the Syriac dreambook (Drexl 240, 21-29). In short, the theoretical exposition of dream interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* is very different from that in the Syriac dreambook, even when both works discuss the same subject.

The theoretical principles explained in the Syriac dreambook are, however, closely related to those expounded in a number of Islamic Arabic dreambooks that are, to some extent, adapted from Artemidoros,⁹ Aristotle,¹⁰ and Hippocrates,¹¹ with the addition of Arabian and Islamic precepts. The introduction of the Syriac dreambook is followed by interpretations organized in thirty-one chapters according to subject.¹² The arrangement of the book is again somewhat different from that in the *Oneirocriticon*, in that the planets, natural phenomena that come from the sky (rain, snow, hail, etc.), and the elevations of the earth (mountains, hills, etc.), are placed immediately after the dreams of God, Heaven, the throne of God,¹³ and angels, and before the chapter on the Holy Writ, churches, and the sacraments. In spite of the differences with the *Oneirocriticon*, this organization is consistent with the arrangement of chapters in some Arabic dreambooks, such as that of Ibn Shāhīn. A number of interpretations offered in the Syriac dreambook agree with those that appear in the *Oneirocriticon*. In a short article, Drexl enumerated similar passages in the two texts, noting about ninety interpretations that they had in common, but did not draw any conclusions and avoided saying whether or not he thought that the Greek

⁹ i.Proem., Pack 3, 9-19, 4.

¹⁰ Treatises Περὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἐγρηγόρσεως, Περὶ ἐνυπνίων, Περὶ τῆς καθ' ὕπνον μαντικῆς; published in Aristotle, *Parva Naturalia*. Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pp. 318-85.

¹¹ Treatise Περὶ διαίτης Δ ἢ περὶ ἐνυπνίων; published in Hippocrate, *Du régime*, ed. R. Joly (Paris, 1967), pp. 97-109.

¹² Furlani, "Une clef des songes en syriaque," pp. 135-36.

¹³ This is the عرش, the Throne of God and the highest sphere of Heaven, according to the Muslim tradition; it appears in almost all the Arabic dreambooks. However, the problem of the relationship between the Syriac dreambook and Islamic dream interpretation will not concern us here.

Oneirocriticon relied on Arabic sources by way of a Syriac intermediary.¹⁴

BL Or. 4434 includes a second dreambook, written in modern Syriac (more commonly known as Neo-Syriac). The publication of this Neo-Syriac dreambook has never materialized, though announced by Furlani in 1921, but according to him, it is similar to the published Syriac text in several respects.¹⁵ It is possible that the contents of the manuscript were translations or abridgments directly or indirectly based on medieval Arabic material;¹⁶ the derivation of both Syriac dreambooks from the same kind of source would explain the similarities between them, as well as the similarities between the *Oneirocriticon* and the published Syriac text.

In addition to the two Syriac dreambooks from BL Or. 4434, we know of one further dreambook written by a Christian, though this time not in Syriac but in Arabic. It is called *Ta'bīr al-ru'yā 'alā ikhtīṣār* (Dream Interpretation in Abridgment), and constitutes chapter 49 of the *Kitāb al-Dalā'il* (Book of Signs),¹⁷ a miscellany of practical information on various subjects,¹⁸ which was written in Arabic by Ibn al-Bahlūl, a tenth-century Nestorian Christian.¹⁹ It has recently been demonstrated that the chapter on dream interpretation in the *Book of Signs* is an abridgment of the Muslim Arabic dreambook by Ibn Qutayba.²⁰ The manner in which this abridgment was made suggests that the

¹⁴ F. Drexler, "Achmet und das syrische Traumbuch des cod. Syr. Or. 4434 des Brit. Mus.," *BZ* 30 (1929-30), pp. 110-13.

¹⁵ Furlani, "Une clef des songes en syriaque," p. 118.

¹⁶ Dream interpretation is a practice still very much alive in the Middle East, and it is easy to buy a dreambook at the bazaars. These printed dreambooks are essentially versions of medieval Arabic works, and one of the most popular is the *Muntakhab* used in the present study for comparison with the *Oneirocriticon*. On this topic, see also the remarks by J. Lamoreaux, "Some Notes on the Dream Manual of al-Dāri," p. 47.

¹⁷ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 333, no. 14 and pp. 225-26, and nn. 5 and 6. Facsimile edition in Ḥasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *The Book of Indications (Kitāb al-dalā'il) by al-Ḥasan ibn al-Bahlūl (Tenth Century A.D.)*, ed. F. Sezgin (Frankfurt am Main, 1985); critical edition in Ḥasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitāb al-dalā'il li-l-Ḥasan b. al-Bahlūl*, ed. J. Ḥabbī (Kuwait, 1987). An additional manuscript of the text has recently been discovered; cf. J. Lamoreaux, "New Light on the Textual Tradition of Bar Bahlūl's *Book of Signs*," *Le Muséon* 112 (1999), pp. 227-30.

¹⁸ It contains a calendar of feasts celebrated by Eastern Christians and other religious communities, as well as information on the prediction of the weather, medical advice, instructions on various forms of divination, etc. See J. M. Fiey, "Sur le calendrier syriaque oriental arabe de Bar Bahlūl (942/968 A.D.)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 106 (1988), pp. 259-71.

¹⁹ For biographical information in Ibn al-Bahlūl, see J. Ḥabbī, "Le Livre des Signes de al-Ḥasan b. Bahlūl," *Oriens Christianus* 68 (1984), pp. 210-12.

²⁰ See Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 264-80 and esp. 272 ff. Cf. also idem, "The Sources of Ibn Bahlūl's Chapter on Dream Divination," *Studia Patristica* 33 (1997), pp. 553-57.

goal was not to Christianize the Muslim manual, but rather to make it appealing to any adherent of a monotheistic religion, whether Judaism, Christianity or Islam.²¹ True, both Christian adaptations of Islamic dreambooks that are extant are rather concise, and do not allow space for much detail or comment on the dream symbols interpreted. But neither of the two Christianized versions particularly emphasizes its Christian character, not even the Syriac dreambook which, by virtue of its language, is exclusively addressed to Christians and cannot have aspired to as religiously diverse a readership as Ibn al-Bahlūl's *Book of Signs*, which was written in Arabic. Compared with the published Syriac dreambook of BL Or. 4434 and the abridgment of Ibn Qutayba by Ibn al-Bahlūl, Muslim dreambooks have a much more pronounced religious character, equal in the frequency and importance of its references to religion to those found in the *Oneirocriticon*.

The evidence, scarce as it is,²² suggests that there were works on dreams written by Christians, both in Syriac and in Arabic, independent of the Muslim tradition of dream interpretation. First and foremost among them are the expositions on the nature of sleep and dreams found as chapters in longer treatises on religious and philosophical subjects, such as the chapters on dreams found in Bar Hebraeus's²³ Syriac works, *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary*,²⁴ *Book of the Speech of Wisdom*,²⁵ and *Ethikon*.²⁶ Brief discussions on sleep and dreams were part of the literary genre that Bar Hebraeus cultivated with the *Candelabrum* and the *Ethikon*; they are incorporated in works on asceticism, such as the *Scala Paradisi*, as well as in philosophical-theological works, like

²¹ See Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 276-77.

²² The only reference to dream interpretation in Graf's exhaustive enumeration of Christian Arabic writings occurs in a spurious patristic work, written in the form of questions and answers, purportedly by Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil the Great, where dream interpretation is condemned; see G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1 (Vatican City, 1944), p. 326.

²³ Gregory Abū'l-Faraj, also known as Bar Hebraeus (1225-86), was a Syriac scholar and Maphrian of the East (primate of the Monophysite community in the former Persian territories).

²⁴ On the *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary*, see W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (Amsterdam, 1966), which reprints Wright's article on Syriac literature from the 10th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 22 (1887), pp. 274-75. For the passage on dreams from the *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary*, see Bar Hebraeus, *Psychologie de Grégoire Aboulfaradj, dit Barhebraeus*, ed. and trans. J. Bakoš (Leiden, 1948), pp. 68-71.

²⁵ See Bar Hebraeus, *L'entretien de la sagesse. Introduction aux oeuvres philosophiques de Bar Hebraeus*, trans. H. Janssens (Liège and Paris, 1937), pp. 321-22.

²⁶ On the *Ethikon*, see Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, p. 277. For the part on sleep and dreams, see Bar Hebraeus, *Ethikon, Memrā I*, trans. H. G. B. Teule (Louvain, 1993), pp. 38-45.

Nemesius's *Peri physeōs anthrōpou* (On the Nature of Man).²⁷ Such discussions probably existed in works by other Syrian Christian writers as well. But, insofar as they dealt with dream interpretation, they only addressed theoretical problems and did not, except for well-known biblical examples, offer any concrete interpretations. The theoretical discussion of dreams in the *Oneirocriticon*, which assumes that all dreams are sent from God to all humans, even the greatest sinners, differs from the discussions of these Christian writers.²⁸

Another type of writing on dreams very different from the *Oneirocriticon* is exemplified by an unpublished Syriac work attributed to Jacob of Edessa (ca. 633-708),²⁹ who discussed the veracity of dreams according to the day of the week on which they were dreamt.³⁰ Similar texts are known in both Greek and Arabic.³¹

One source of information on Christians who wrote about dream interpretation was a list of dream interpreters (*Ṭabaqāt al-muʿabbirīn*) compiled by al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khallāl. This work is now lost, but an abridged version of it is included as the fifteenth (and last) *maqāla* to the introduction

²⁷ Chap. 12, PG 40. For a brief discussion on the ideas about dreams expressed in ancient medicine, particularly their tripartite division by Herophilus of Chalcedon (4th/3rd century B.C.) and its influence on later Christian and patristic writers, see H. von Staden, *Herophilus: The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria* (Cambridge, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney, 1989), pp. 306-10.

²⁸ Synesios of Cyrene, the pagan gentleman who became a Christian bishop, is the only writer identified as Christian that I know of who argued that all dreams are truthful and God sent in *Περὶ ἐνυπνίων*; see Synesios of Cyrene, *Hymni et Opuscula*, ed. N. Terzaghi, vol. 2 (Rome, 1944), pp. 143-89.

²⁹ A critical edition and study of this work (contained in *Mardin* 418) by Abdul Massih Saadi is forthcoming. I would like to thank Mr. Saadi for drawing my attention to Jacob's treatise and providing me with the reference.

³⁰ Given that Jacob of Edessa is a pivotal figure in the intellectual history of Syriac Christianity, it is conceivable that the attribution of this dreambook to him was fabricated in order to legitimize a divinatory method that the church tended to view with suspicion, much like the attribution of Greek dreambooks to one of great fathers of the church, such as Athanasios, Patriarch of Alexandria and Gregory of Nazianzus. Such ascriptions can be found in *Marc. gr.* 608 and *Ambros. gr.* 592 (O 94 sup); see Dettorakēs, "Ta byzantina oneirokritika," p. 69.

³¹ *Vat. gr.* 573, fol. 213b, followed by a lunar dreambook (*selēnodromion*). For an Arabic exposé correlating the day of the week that a dream is dreamt to its veracity, cf. the introduction to the dreambook of al-Dīnawarī, *maqāla* 14, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 32a. If the attribution of this work to Jacob is genuine, his good knowledge of Greek, attested by his education and scholarly interests (he studied Greek in Alexandria, wrote a commentary to the Greek Scriptures and revitalized the teaching of Greek at the Syriac monastery of Eusebona) suggests that in this work he might be repeating information originally found in Greek sources.

of al-Dīnawarī's dreambook completed in Baghdad in 1006.³² In al-Dīnawarī's abridgment, the one hundred dream interpreters are organized under fifteen categories: prophets, companions of the Prophet Muḥammad, the generation following the Prophet Muḥammad, jurists, ascetics, authors of treatises on dream interpretation, philosophers, physicians, Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, pagan Arabs, diviners, magicians and physiognomists.³³ Only seven authors of treatises on dream interpretation are mentioned, and none of them appears to have been a Christian.³⁴

Further on, however, al-Dīnawarī includes the names of three Christian (Naṣārā) dream interpreters: Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, the translator; Abū Makhliḍ; and Zayn al-Ṭabarī.³⁵ Ḥunayn b. Ishāq seems to have been listed by virtue of having translated Artemidoros, though he is not known to have written anything about dreams himself. Abū Makhliḍ is probably Abū Makhliḍ b. Bukhtīshūʿ (d. 1025), who belonged to a family of famous Nestorian physicians active in Baghdad during the ninth and tenth centuries.³⁶ The biographical dictionary

³² For a discussion of al-Khallāl's list, see also Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 29-31.

³³ BN *arabe* 2745, fols. 44b-45b; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fols. 32b-33a; translated in Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 341-43.

³⁴ The seven authors on dream interpretation are (quoting Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 342): Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh al-Kirmānī, ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim al-Qutaybī, Abū Aḥmad Khalaf b. Aḥmad, Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Rāzī al-Khabbāz (= the baker), al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khallāl, Ariāmīdūrus al-Yūnānī. Five of these authors are known from other sources as well, and are definitely not Christian. Besides Ibn Sīrīn and al-Kirmānī, this list also includes Ibn Qutayba (as "al-Qutaybī"). Both BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 45a, and *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 33a, agree on the spelling of this name: عبد الله بن مسلم القتيبي, probably a corruption of Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba (أبو محمد عبد الله بن مسلم بن قتيبة). Ibn Qutayba is also mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Kitāb al-fihrist* as an author of a dreambook. His treatise survives in two manuscripts, Jerusalem *Yahuda ar.* 196 and Ankara, *Ism. Saib Sincer* 14501, fols. 180b-217a. Abū Aḥmad Khalaf b. Aḥmad has been identified by Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," pp. 58-60, as the last Saffarid amir of Sijistān (937-1006). As for the remaining two, about whom nothing else is known, the name Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Rāzī al-Khabbāz tells us that he was Muslim; the religion of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khallāl, who was also the original author of this list of dream interpreters quoted by al-Dīnawarī, can only remain a matter of speculation. I have been unable to locate any information on Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Rāzī al-Khabbāz (= the baker) or al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khallāl; on the problem of their identity, see also Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East," p. 29, n. 6 (on al-Khallāl) and p. 31, n. 9 (on al-Khabbāz).

³⁵ *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 33a and BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 45a: والطبقة العشر من النصارى حنين بن اسحق المترجم وابو مخلد وزين الطبري.

³⁶ Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾriḫ al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. A. Müller and J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), p. 435. If the identification of Abū Makhliḍ with Abū Makhliḍ b. Bukhtīshūʿ is correct, it follows that al-Khallāl,

of Ibn al-Qiftī, where he is mentioned, does not list any writings from his pen. Zayn al-Ṭabarī is otherwise unknown, unless his name is a corruption of the name of the ninth-century physician Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī (b. 808–d. after 855). The form of the letters for the names Zayn and Rabban (originally Syriac for “our master”) are identical in Arabic; the only difference is the placement of the dots: زين/زين.³⁷

Al-Dinawarī's abridgment of al-Khallāl's list also mentions, in a separate category, the physicians who dealt with dream interpretation. Among them are two Christians: Bukhtīshū' and Ahrun. Bukhtīshū' could designate any member of this Nestorian family of physicians, including the aforementioned Abū Makhliḍ. Ahrun is Aaron, a Byzantine priest and doctor who lived around the sixth century.³⁸ Though neither of the two is known to have written anything on dreams, it is conceivable that they covered the subject in a more general medical treatise, possibly in discussing how to diagnose a disease with the help of a patient's dreams in the tradition of Galen's opusculum, *Peri tēs ex enypniōn diagnōseōs* (On Diagnosis Based on Dreams).³⁹ The unpublished work, *Kitāb fī al-naum wa-al-ru'yā* (Book on Sleep and Dreams) by a ninth-century Christian, the famous doctor and translator Qusṭā b. Luqā, also seems to belong to this kind of medical treatise.⁴⁰

In addition to these works written by Christians that have no immediate connection with the particular kind of dreambooks to which the *Oneirocriticon*

al-Dinawarī, and Abū Makhliḍ were approximately contemporaries.

³⁷ I have searched for Zayn al-Ṭabarī in *al-Fihrist*, Ibn al-Qiftī and Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a. Fahd does not give any information on him either. Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī was born a Christian and later converted to Islam (see Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 5 I, pp. 414–15); some sources say that he was Jewish. See Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a, *Kitāb 'uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibā'*, ed. A. Müller, 2 vols (Cairo and Königsberg, 1882–84), vol. 1, p. 308; also *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, trans. Dodge, vol. 2, p. 956.

³⁸ See D. Jacquart, “A propos des sources byzantines d'al-Majūsī (Xe siècle): Le livre d'Ahrun,” in *Tradizione e ecdotica dei testi medici tardo antichi e bizantini*, ed. A. Garzya, (Naples, 1992), pp. 157–69.

³⁹ For Ahrun, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 3, pp. 166–68; for the Bukhtīshū' family, see *ibid.*, p. 243. Galen concedes that the content of a dream may be used for predicting the future, but it can also indicate the condition of the body and suggest the treatment that should be applied: Ἐπεὶ ταῦτα καὶ μαντικά τινα συγχωροῦμεν εἶναι, πῶς ἂν ταῦτα διακριθεῖν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ὁρμωμένων, οὐ ῥάδιον εἶπεν. Εὐθεάσατο γοῦν τις τὸ ἕτερον τῶν σκελῶν λίθινον γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἔκριναν πολλοὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δεινῶν, ὡς πρὸς τοὺς δούλους τείνειν τὸ ὄναρ, ἀλλὰ παρελύθη τὸ σκέλος ἐκείνο ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οὐδενὸς ἡμῶν προσδοκήσαντος τοῦτο. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ παλαιστὴν ἐν αἵματος δεξαμενῇ δόξαντα ἐστάναι καὶ μόγις αὐτῆς ὑπερέχοντα, πλήθος αἵματος ἔχειν ἐτεκμηράμεθα, καὶ δεῖσθαι κενώσεως. (Galen, “L'opusculo di Galeno *De dignotione ex insomniis*,” ed. Guidorizzi, pp. 81–105, ll. 21–28 of the Greek text).

⁴⁰ See Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 3, p. 273, no. 37.

belongs, we know of at least two works written by Christian authors that, as far as their title would allow one to judge, were dedicated to dream interpretation and must have been, in terms of topics covered, similar to the *Oneirocriticon*. Neither of them is extant, and therefore they cannot be compared with the Greek text. The earlier of the two, the *Kifāya fī ta'bir al-ru'yā* by Abū Sahl 'Isā b. Yaḥyā al-Masīḥī al-Faylasūf (d. 1010),⁴¹ was written around the same time as the *Oneirocriticon*. The second was written much later, in the course of the thirteenth century, by Bar Hebraeus. Its title, *Kethābhā dhe-Pushshāḳ Helmē* (Book on the Interpretation of Dreams) is mentioned in the bibliography of Bar Hebraeus drawn up by his brother Bar Ṣaumā.⁴² At the beginning of the twentieth century, Bar Hebraeus's dreambook still survived in one unique manuscript, *Edessa 50*,⁴³ but it was never published, and today that manuscript is considered lost.⁴⁴

The only fragments of this tradition, possibly represented by the lost works of al-Masīḥī and Bar Hebraeus, are preserved in the dreambook of al-Dinawarī, who made a concerted effort to collect dream interpretations from a wide variety of sources, as is evident from the introduction to his extensive work. Except for the Muslim dream interpreters, al-Dinawarī's most frequent and extensive quotations come from Artemidoros and reproduce verbatim the extant Arabic translation. This is an indication that al-Dinawarī's sources were authentic, at least to the degree that he was able to verify their authenticity. Al-Dinawarī also quotes the Greeks (Yūnān), the Indians, the Jews, Jāmāsb,⁴⁵ the Zoroastrians (Majūs), individual Persian kings, such as Kisrā Anūshirwān, Christians (Naṣārā), and Byzantines (Rūm).⁴⁶ The source of these quotations

⁴¹ Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 347, no. 75.

⁴² Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, trans. E. Wallis Budge, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1932), p. xxxiv, no. 20; see also A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur, mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn, 1922), 230, 316–17, 352–53, 377; J. M. Fiey, “Esquisse d'une bibliographie de Bar Hebraeus (†1286),” *Parole de l'Orient* 13 (1986), p. 311.

⁴³ Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 318, n. 3.

⁴⁴ According to information kindly provided by Sebastian Brock, *Edessa 50* is certainly no longer in the collection where it was recorded by Baumstark. It may have been destroyed in 1915, “the year of the sword,” though a few manuscripts of that collection are reputed to be in the church of St. George in Aleppo. Access to the St. George manuscripts is exceedingly difficult. I wish to thank Professor Brock for this information, as well as for providing me with references to Bar Hebraeus's *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary and Ethicon*.

⁴⁵ Jāmāsb or Jāmāsf was a contemporary of Zarathustra and an adviser to the mythical king Jushtāsf (Vishtāspa, Hystaspes). He is purported to have written on alchemy, astrology, and medicine, as well as a book on dream interpretation. His dreambook is also mentioned by al-Damirī; see Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimmwissenschaften im Islam*, pp. 183–84.

⁴⁶ Arabic sources use the term “Rūm” for both the Byzantines and the Melkite Christians living

cannot be examined in the absence of a critical edition of al-Dinawarī, nor does it lie within the scope of this study. But it is important to examine if the interpretations that al-Dinawarī ascribes to the Christians and the Byzantines coincide with any of the interpretations found in the *Oneirocriticon*. Under the circumstances this examination cannot be exhaustive, especially since the source of each interpretation is not always clearly labeled in al-Dinawarī's work. Only a sample of the interpretations will be tested from among those attributed to the Christians and the Byzantines and conclusions will be drawn based on the statistical distribution of the results. The Christian and Byzantine interpretations that are clearly labeled as such in BN *arabe* 2745⁴⁷ comprise the sample.

Both the *Oneirocriticon* and al-Dinawarī's dreambook include passages explaining the period of time that is required for the event forecast by a dream to be fulfilled. Al-Dinawarī quotes the opinions of both the Muslim and the Christian dream interpreters on the topic. The Christian calculations are very different from those in the *Oneirocriticon*, which agrees with the Muslim views quoted in al-Dinawarī.⁴⁸ The same disparity exists between the dream interpretations offered in the *Oneirocriticon* and al-Dinawarī's Christian quotations. BN *arabe* 2745 discusses approximately five hundred dream symbols⁴⁹ and gives many more interpretations; Christian dream interpretations are given for only sixty-three of the dream symbols. They are attributed to two Christian communities, the Naṣārā and the Rūm, but the vast majority—fifty-three out of sixty-four interpretations—are attributed to the Naṣārā and only seven to the Rūm (three are attributed to both).

Al-Dinawarī also quotes ten narrations of actual dreams dreamt by Christians and their interpretations. Eight of those are attributed to the Naṣārā and one to the Rūm. A tenth narration is quoted according to both the Naṣārā and the Rūm, but involves a dream dreamt by one of the Naṣārā. Of the sixty-three

in Muslim lands; al-Dinawarī, however, seems to restrict its use to the Byzantines, since he records a dream dreamt by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius among the dreams by the Rūm.

⁴⁷ BN *arabe* 2745 contains the lengthy introductory chapters of the work, and the interpretations of dream symbols up to *faṣl* 12, but it stops at *faṣl* 12, *bāb* 2; the complete work comprises 30 *fuṣūl*. BN *arabe* 2745 contains enough of the work for the results of my examination to be statistically valid, and has the advantage of being easily accessible.

⁴⁸ For a translation of al-Dinawarī's Christian passage on the time required for the fulfillment of a dream, see Appendix 3.

⁴⁹ BN *arabe* 2745 includes 469 *abwāb*; each *bāb* is dedicated to a dream symbol, but gives several different interpretations, depending on the particular paraphernalia of each dream symbol in a dream.

dream symbols only twenty-seven are also discussed in the *Oneirocriticon*, while none of the narrations is common to both texts.

The following are the Christian interpretations and narrations of dreams included in BN *arabe* 2745; the numbers in parenthesis refer to the folia on which they appear. The dream symbols that also occur in the *Oneirocriticon* are italicized (for translations, see Appendix III).

The interpretations attributed to the Naṣārā are: Adam and Eve (49a-b); Abel, Noah (49b); Abraham (50a); Isma'īl, Isaac, Jacob (50b); Joseph (51a); Moses and Aaron (52a); David and Solomon (52b); narration of the dream of a Christian about John the Baptist and its explanation by a bishop (53a); *Jesus Christ*, and narration of the dream of a Christian about Jesus Christ (53b); narration of the dream of another Christian about Jesus (54a); living at the time of the prophets (55a); narration of the dream of a Christian who dreamt of the Holy Spirit (58a); *the angels* (58a-b); *the spiritual angels* (60a);⁵⁰ becoming young (70a); *eating brains* (75b); *broken teeth* (83a); *broken upper arm* (89b); *milking a she-camel and drinking her milk*, drinking the milk of a goat, *drinking the milk of a lioness* (104b); milk of a wolf (105a); *milk of a bitch* (105a); milk of a snake (105a); *eating clarified butter* (106a); eating bread with cheese (106b);⁵¹ *nose bleeding* (107b); narration of the dream of a Christian on prostration (124a); mastering and compiling a book (127a); praying towards the east (142a); *becoming a priest or a monk* (144a); narration of the dream of a Christian who dreamt that he became a priest (144a); being transformed into a king (146b); frequenting the doors of kings and visiting the king, passing by a sultan,⁵² bringing food to a king or a prelate or disputing with a king (150a-b); becoming a soldier in an army (152a); the cheerful and happy countenance of a judge (154b); *the position of a judge* (154b); *eating the flesh of a young man* (157a); water in one's ears (158b); narration of the dream of a Christian about four men congregated at a house and its interpretation according to the Gospel (165b); narration of the dream of a Christian about forgiving his neighbor and its interpretation according to the Gospel (175b); dreaming that someone is hurling stones at <the dreamer's> head (190a);⁵³

⁵⁰ الملائكة الروحانيون (angels of spirit), such as Jibrīl, Mikā'il and Isrā'fīl, as opposed to angels created from light; see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. روحاني. This is a Muslim classification of angels; I am not aware of it in Christianity.

⁵¹ No dream of eating bread with cheese occurs in the *Oneirocriticon*; on bread alone, see Drexl 196, 18-19; for cheese alone, see Drexl 207, 5-13.

⁵² اجتياز علي سلطان

⁵³ من رأى احدا يقذف راسه بالحجارة

holding a stretched bow (191b); holding an arrow (192a); holding a dagger (194a); a cuirass (195a); a shield,⁵⁴ coats of mail for the arms (195b); inflicting a wound with a knife⁵⁵ or an instrument made of iron (200a);⁵⁶ hemorrhage from a wound (203b); being crucified (205a).

The interpretations attributed to the Rūm are: *dreaming of locks of your wife's hair being cut* (78a); *dreaming that you were suckling the milk of your wife* (104a); *milking a cow and drinking her milk* (104b); dreaming that you are eating your vomit (111a); *collecting the dung of a cow or a goat* (117b); receiving an egg (118a); narration of the dream of Heraclius, king of the Rūm, about Muḥammad (119b); having safe and sound feet (120a).

The interpretations attributed to both the Naṣārā and the Rūm are: *adultery/fornication (zinā)* (168a); *deflowering a slave girl* (181a); narration of the dream of a Naṣrānī who dreamt that he was disputing with the king (185b); dreaming that one is being hurled in a catapult by women (190b).

Of the twenty-seven dreams that are discussed in both texts, only eight have similar interpretations,⁵⁷ and in all eight cases, the interpretations are not unique. Similar interpretations are also given by Muslim dream interpreters, either in a preceding paragraph in the work of al-Dīnawarī itself, or in other Arabic dreambooks; half of these interpretations also occur in Artemidoros.⁵⁸ In other words, they are not specifically Christian, but rather commonplace.⁵⁹ Our examination of the Christian interpretations quoted in al-Dīnawarī leads to

⁵⁴ A shield is discussed in the *Oneirocriticon* only if a woman dreams of it (Drexl 205, 23); even so, its interpretation is different from the one given in al-Dīnawarī.

⁵⁵ بسكين

⁵⁶ The dream of inflicting a wound does not occur in the *Oneirocriticon*, but the dream of receiving a wound does. The two interpretations are different: *قالت النصارى من رأى أنه جرح* (The Naṣārā said: "If someone dreams that he inflicted a wound with a knife or a sharp instrument, his bad side will appear; and there is nothing good in this dream"); cf. Drexl 63, 23-25: *ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι μαχαίρᾳ ἐπλήγῃ παρά τινος γνῶριμου, ἀγαθοποιηθήσεται παρ' αὐτοῦ, εἰ δὲ παρὰ ἀγνώστου, εἰρηνοποιήσει μετὰ ἐχθροῦ* (If someone dreams that he is wounded with a knife by somebody he knows, he will receive benefit from him; if <the dreamer was wounded> by a stranger, he will make peace with an enemy).

⁵⁷ Five of those are attributed to the Naṣārā (N) and three to the Rūm (R). The dreams with similar interpretations in the two texts are: broken teeth (83a-N), milk of a lioness (104b), holding a dagger (194a-N), hemorrhage from a wound (203b-N), being crucified (205a-N), the milk of a woman (104a-R), milking a cow and drinking her milk (104b-R) and collecting the dung of a cow (117b-R). For details, see Appendix 3.

⁵⁸ The interpretation of broken teeth, hemorrhage, crucifixion, and women's milk.

⁵⁹ For details, see Appendix 3.

the conclusion that, whatever their source was, it was unknown to the author of the *Oneirocriticon*.

It is impossible to verify whether al-Dīnawarī knew about Christian dream interpretation from oral tradition or from books, and if the latter in what language these books were written. But there is evidence that the Christian interpretations offered by al-Dīnawarī, which do not cover all the dream symbols discussed in his book, are collected, at least in part, from works that were not specifically dedicated to dream interpretation. Since it is impossible under the circumstances to investigate the source of each one of the Christian interpretations and narratives that occur in al-Dīnawarī, one example will suffice.

Al-Dīnawarī quotes a dream dreamt by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius:⁶⁰

رأى هرقل ملك الروم ذات ليلة كأن ملك الختان ظاهر فقصر روياء على أصحابه فلم يلبث أن جاءه رسول صاحب بصرى برجل من العرب يقوده فقال يا أيها الملك ان هذا رجل من أهل الشام والابل ويزعم انه كان ببلاده حرب وقد خرج رجل ويزعم انه نبي وكان هذا الرجل ابا سفيان بن حرب فقال جردوه فاذا هو مختن فقال لأصحابه هذا تاويل رويائي.

One night Heraclius, king of the Rūm, saw in his dream that the kingdom of circumcision was victorious. He related his dream to his companions, and it did not take long before a messenger of the lord of Buṣrā came to him with a Bedouin whom he was guiding. He said <to Heraclius>: "O King, this man is from the people of the sheep and of the camels, and says that in his country there is war and that a man came forth who claims to be a prophet." The <Arab> was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb.⁶¹ Heraclius said: "Strip him!" and lo and behold, the man was circumcised! And Heraclius said to his companions: "This is the interpretation of my dream!"

This dream of Heraclius is a well-known story that can be found in a variety of Islamic sources. The same anecdote is narrated in the history by al-Ṭabarī (839-923) and in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* by Abū-l-Farāj al-Isfahānī (897-967).⁶²

⁶⁰ BN arabe 2745, fol. 119b.

⁶¹ The reading of the name is given in *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 73a, l. 14. Abū Sufyān was a rich Meccan merchant who opposed the Prophet during the first years of his mission. He emerged as leader of the Meccans in the years that followed the battle of Badr and conducted the negotiations which resulted in the acknowledgment of the Prophet's authority by the citizens of Mecca. He became Muslim at the time of the conquest of Mecca. His son, Mu'āwiya b. Abi Sufyān, became caliph in 661.

⁶² Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 1961), pp. 646-47 [1562/1]. The narration of this anecdote is much more extensive in al-Ṭabarī. The editor of the *Ta'rikh* states (p. 646, n. 3), that this anecdote is also found in *Kitāb al-aghānī*.

A slightly different version than the one narrated by al-Dīnawarī is included in one of the best-known *ḥadīth* collections, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.⁶³

In addition, in the very first pages of his dreambook al-Dīnawarī explains the manner in which he collected the interpretations he cites in his work. His enumeration of sources implies the use of material other than dreambooks and possibly also oral tradition:⁶⁴

ونقلتُ اليه مقالات المعبرين من النبيين والائمة المهديين والتابعين
والفسرين وفقهاء الدين والزهاد والصالحين وأولي العلوم من الفلاسفة
والاطباء والمنجمين والشعراء والكهنة والقافة والسحرة وذوي الفراسة
والبصراء والمتأولين من حبر ماهرٍ واسقفٍ وراهبٍ وقسٍ عالمٍ وحكماء
يونان والروم ونسك الهند والبراهمة والاكاسرة والموابدة والهرابدة
وحكيت ما احتجوا به عند التعبير والتأويل من اوضح الدليل من آيات
التنزيل والتورية والانجيل واخبار الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم وما ذكروه
من العلل وموجبات عقول اهل النحل بعد ان قابلت حجة كل امة ذمية من
كتابها بكتابها مع امامها ونقلتها على اكتفاءي بعلم خير امة من علم اهل
الذمة ليعلم ان هذا العلم قديم وان من الله تعالى به على من اتاه عظيم ولم
اعتمد في نظمي على علمي ولا في نقلي على قولي ولا احلت في شي منه
على درايتي ولا رمت بالترتيب سوى التقريب فانما لي روايتي وحكايتي
فقد غاص هؤلاء الفضلاء النصحاء العقلاء قبلي على الدقائق والحقائق فبقوا
وما ببقوا بل توخيت تسهيل المسالك الى المسائل واعتناء بشدتها وطلبها
عن تفتيش سائر كتبها وافردت لكل منها باباً اشبعته استقصاء واستعاباً
موسوماً بعدد مذكور في فصل مشهور معلوم متلواً بباب بعلاوته مرسوم في
رويا معبرة او مجربة هو منشء للضالة ومظنة للتأويلات الشاذة وفرغت
منه في شهر رمضان سنة سبع وتسعين وثلاثمائة حامداً لله ومصلياً على
محمد رسول الله ومفوضاً امري الى الله وهو بصير بالعباد..

I have transferred into [my book] the sayings of the dream interpreters from among the prophets and the rightly guided imams and the generation after the Prophet Muḥammad and the commentators of the Qurʾān and the legal scholars of Islamic jurisprudence, the ascetics, the holy figures, and the masters of science from among the philosophers, the physicians, the astrologers, the poets, soothsayers, and predictors of the future, magicians, physiognomists, the knowledgeable and

vol. 6, pp. 345-49 (edition of the Dār al-Kutub). I did not have access to this edition and could not verify the reference.

⁶³ See L. Pouzet, "Le ḥadīth d'Héraclius: une caution byzantine à la prophétie de Muḥammad," in *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam, VIIe-VIIIe siècles*, ed. P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais (Damascus, 1992), pp. 59-65.

⁶⁴ Quoted from *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 3b-4a, with occasional readings from BN *arabe* 2745, fols. 1b-3a to improve the text.

the interpreters from among the proficient rabbis, bishops, monks, and scholarly priests, the Greek and Byzantine wise men, the ascetics of India and the Brahmins, the kings of Persia, the pontiffs of the Magians, and the Zoroastrian priests.

I have reported what they advance as an argument in the interpretation and explanation of dreams from the clearest tokens among the verses of the Revelation <i.e. the Qurʾān>, the Torah and the Gospel, the reports of the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and what they mention from among the causes and motives of the minds of the sectarians, after I had collated the argument of every *dhimmī* nation taken from their scripture with their <original> scripture in the opinion of their nations; and I have transferred them to my satisfaction from the science of the *dhimmīs* into the best science of the <Muslim> *umma*,⁶⁵ so that it be known that this science is ancient and that the grace of God <manifested> with this science towards the one to whom he gives it is great.

In my compilation I did not rely on my own proficiency, nor in my account <did I rely> on my own word. And I did not refer anything in the book to my own knowledge. In my arrangement I did not seek anything but accessibility. Mine is only transmission and literal quotation, because these excellent, sincere, and clever men before me have dived down to the fine points and the essence <of things>,⁶⁶ and they lasted, they did not perish. I aimed at facilitating the methods <of answering> the questions and at maintaining their forcefulness and their desired objectives based on scrutiny of the rest of their books.⁶⁷ And for each one <of these questions> I have singled out an entry (*bāb*) which I filled with minute investigation and thorough study, marked with the number mentioned in the established, known chapter (*faṣl*).⁶⁸ This is followed by an entry (*bāb*) on the corroboration <of the preceding theoretical exposition> titled "On the Interpreted or Attested Dreams." This can serve as a guide for those who were led astray and is the most likely place to find unusual explanations.

I finished this book in the month of Ramaḍān in the year 397 <1006 A.D.>.

⁶⁵ The translation follows *Esad Efendi* 1833; BN *arabe* 2745 in this instance gives a different text: قابلت حجة كل امة ذمية من كتابها بكتابها مع امامها وثقاتها على اكتفاء بعلم خير امة... (After I had collated the argument of every *dhimmī* nation taken from their scripture with their <original> scripture through the help of their leader and their trustworthy people to a satisfactory degree by means of the best science of the <Muslim> *umma* <and> the science of the *dhimmīs*, so that it be known...). If we accept the reading from BN *arabe* 2745, it would imply that al-Dīnawarī also consulted with "leaders and trustworthy persons" in non-Muslim communities and therefore based his dreambook on both oral and written traditions. It has to be pointed out, however, that the readings in both manuscripts are problematic and the passage in question seems to be corrupt.

⁶⁶ Following the reading of *Esad Efendi* 1833 غاص على (to plunge, to dive for); BN *arabe* 2745 has: غادر على (to leave behind).

⁶⁷ The passage in *Esad Efendi* 1833 reads as follows: واغيا بشدتها وطلبها عن تفتيش... The same passage in BN *arabe* 2745 reads: واقتناء نشدتها وطلبها عن تفتيش...

⁶⁸ I suppose here al-Dīnawarī means that he is going to comply with the organization of chapters that is obligatory for the genre of *taʿbīr*.

praising God and praying for Muḥammad the messenger of God and entrusting my affair to God, for he is watchful over his servants.

Even if there is an element of rhetorical exaggeration in this prologue, which is written in rhyming prose and preceded by the flowery praise of the ruler to whom the work is dedicated, its honesty is proved by the abundant quotations that occur throughout al-Dīnawarī's dreambook.

This evidence suggests that there existed a tradition on dream interpretation among Christians living in Muslim lands, both in dreambooks of the same type as the *Oneirocriticon* and in other types of works. Their tradition was not identical to the Muslim one, at least not in its entirety. It also does not seem to have been as extensive, which might have been the reason for the appropriation of Islamic dreamlore by Christians, as evidenced in the Syriac dreambooks of BL Or. 4434 and the abridgment of Ibn Qutayba's dreambook by Ibn al-Bahlūl.

Given these examples of Christianized Islamic dreambooks, we cannot exclude the possibility that the immediate source of the *Oneirocriticon* was an already Christianized dreambook written in Arabic. However, a number of indications furnished by the Greek text suggest that it is more likely that its Christianization occurred when it was translated into Greek. The *Oneirocriticon* does not seem to have been based on an Arabic text intended for Christians living in Muslim lands, because several of the chapters "From the Indians" purportedly offering Christian interpretations contain references to polygamy,⁶⁹ and the five fingers are interpreted as the five daily prayers,⁷⁰ a Muslim religious obligation. Christians, of course, had only one wife and no prescribed number of daily prayers (the formalization of private prayer at set times led

⁶⁹ Drex1 43, 15 ff. (πα' ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν · αἱ κατακλεῖδες τῶν ὧμων εἰς γυναῖκας διακρίνονται παλλακάς, ποθεινότερας τῶν νομίμων ... καὶ χαρήσεται ἐπὶ ταῖς παλλακαῖς αὐτοῦ ... ἐὰν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι ἐκλάσθη ἡ κατακλεῖς, μεγάλως θλιβήσεται καὶ χωρισθήσεται τῶν παλλακῶν αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐθεράπευσεν τὸ κλασθέν, ἡ θεραπεία τὴν θεραπεία σημαίνει τῶν παλλακῶν); Drex1 55, 5-7 (πα' ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν · αἱ πλευραὶ εἰσιν αἱ γυναῖκες· αἱ μὲν ἄνω, αἱ μέγισται, γνήσιαι γυναῖκες εἰσιν, αἱ δὲ κάτω αἱ ἐκ γένους εἰσιν συγγενεῖς); Drex1 115, 17-18 (τὸ περὶ τὰ κρυπτά κάλυμμα ἦτοι περισκέλισμα εἰς παλλακὴν ἢ εἰς γυναῖκα <κρίνεται>). The examples could be greatly multiplied if we add the chapters purported to be from the Indians, Persians, and Egyptians together, or from the Persians and Egyptians alone; but these are not presented as exclusively Christian interpretations. I did not count as a reference to polygamy each time that the women of the dreamer are mentioned. Most of the time this plural refers to all the kindred women who belong to the same household, which the *Oneirocriticon* often divides into two groups: γυναῖκαι γνήσιαι are the women with whom marriage is allowed (cf. Drex1 50, 5: αἱ ὁμοπλάται εἰς τὴν γνησίαν τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνάγονται ἦτοι τὴν μητέρα τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ), and γυναῖκαι συγγενεῖς are the women who belong to a man's household but whom he cannot marry. The two categories of women are clearly distinguished in Muslim law.

⁷⁰ Drex1 45, 11-25 and 68, 29-30.

to the services of the Hours, but there were six of those daily), but Christians living in Muslim lands must have known that their Muslim fellow citizens were allowed more than one wife, and they cannot have been deaf to the *mu'adhdhins* calling the faithful to prayer five times daily from the top of the town's minarets.⁷¹ The occasionally sloppy adaptation of Muslim notions to Christian ones that is evident in the *Oneirocriticon* would have been obvious to Christians living among Muslims; they would consequently have found it difficult to accept the resulting product as genuinely Christian. But it would not have been so obvious to Christians living in the Byzantine Empire, who would have been unfamiliar with Islamic practices.

The Christianization of Muslim notions in a work translated from Arabic into Greek is not a phenomenon limited to the pages of the *Oneirocriticon*. It can be found in other texts as well, notably the Greek translations of the astrological writings of Abū Ma'shar (787-886), also dating from the tenth century.⁷² Although the institutions of monasticism and priesthood do not exist in Islam, in the Greek anthology of Abū Ma'shar's works, *Ta mysteria tou Apomasar* (The Mysteries of Apomasar) we read passages such as:⁷³ δηλοῖ ἀγαθοσύνην τῶν μοναχῶν τῶν γερόντων τε καὶ ἐγχωρίων (It indicates goodness for the monks, both the desert fathers and those residing among men);⁷⁴ δηλοῖ ἀναγωγὴν τῶν βασιλέων τῆς τε πίστεως καὶ τοῦ νόμου, ἐμφαίνων πολέμους πολλούς, ὑποκρίσεις τε καὶ κακοσύνην ἀρχιερέως (It indicates exaltation of the emperors, regarding both religion and the law, manifesting many wars, as well as deceit and corruption of a high priest);⁷⁵ ἔξουσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γέροντες ἐκ τῶν βασιλέων δυσκολίαν (The high priests and monks will face difficulty from the emperors);⁷⁶ δηλοῖ ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι καταγίνονται εἰς τὰ καλὰ ἔργα τῆς πίστεως καὶ εἰς κτίσματα ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ γεφυρῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων (It indicates that men are occupied with good, pious deeds, and with building churches, bridges and

⁷¹ Other obvious Muslim notions that survive in the *Oneirocriticon*, such as the religious significance of the color green, might have been less well known among the Christian *dhimmis*.

⁷² For the dating of the Byzantine translations of Abū Ma'shar's works to the 10th century, see Abū Ma'shar, *Albumasar's: De revolutionibus nativitatum*, ed. Pingree, pp. vi and viii; also idem, *DSB*, s.v. "Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī, Ja'far ibn Muḥammad"; idem, "Classical and Byzantine Astrology," p. 227, n. 2; idem, *From Astral Omens to Astrology from Babylon to Bīkān* (Rome, 1997), pp. 63-77.

⁷³ The work is still largely unpublished, though excerpts from it have appeared in *CCAG*. I am quoting from *CCAG*, vol. 2, which has excerpts from *Marcianus gr.* 324; for a description of the manuscript, see *ibid.*, pp. 4-16 (codex 5).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 123, 21-22.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 123, 24-26.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 126, 29-30.

such);⁷⁷ δηλοῖ ζήτησιν σοφίας καὶ σύνεσιν, μεγαλεῖον τε καὶ τιμὴν τῶν ἡσυχαστῶν, καὶ τῶν κρατούντων τὴν πίστιν, καὶ οἰκοδομὴν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῶν εὐκτηρίων (It indicates the pursuit of wisdom and intelligence, glory and honor for the hermits and those upholding religion, as well as the building of churches and houses of prayer);⁷⁸ δηλοῖ καλλοσύνην [sic] τῶν δουλειῶν τῶν γερόντων, μεγαλεῖόν τε τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ μεγιστάνων (It indicates goodness in the business of the *gerontes*⁷⁹ and glory in the authority of high priests and noblemen).⁸⁰

In the Greek translation of another work by Abū Ma'shar, the *Peri tēs tōn etōn enallagēs* (On the Revolutions of Nativities),⁸¹ we find the following examples of the translator's efforts to make Muslim notions intelligible to his Christian readers: εὐλαβὲς σχῆμα ἔχοντας ἢ μονάζοντας ἢ ἐκκλησιαστικούς (Those wearing the habit, either monks or ecclesiastics);⁸² < Ὁ Ζεὺς σημαίνει... > δικαιοσύνας, ἀρχάς, πολιτείας, δόξας, προστασίας, ἱερωσύνας, πίστεις, νίκας (<Jupiter signifies... > justice, authority, civil affairs, glory, protection, priesthood, faith, victory);⁸³ εὐφημουμένους δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν, τιμαῖς ἀναθημάτων κοσμουμένους ἢ ἱερωσύνας (Praised for their virtue and piety and adorned with the high value of their offerings or with priesthood).⁸⁴

The translation and adaptation of Arabic texts into Greek is a large subject, and deserves a more extensive discussion than it can be given here. However, these examples indicate that the Byzantine translators of the tenth century did not hesitate to depart from the literal meaning of an Arabic term when rendering Arabic texts into Greek, and were more interested in conveying the meaning of a passage, than in adhering to its letter. They were therefore ready to Christianize the Muslim notions found in their Arabic sources. This means that the adaptations made to the Muslim sources of the *Oneirocriticon* were not a unique feature of this particular text, but reflect a practice that also appears in other Byzantine texts of this kind.

To summarize, then, the *Oneirocriticon* is based on sources written in the Arabic language. A Christian tradition of dream interpretation that had several

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 127, 35-36.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 127, 37-p. 128, 2.

⁷⁹ I hesitate to chose between the possible meanings of *gerontes*: it can mean either "elders" (an honorary title equivalent to the Arabic *shaykh*) or "desert fathers."

⁸⁰ CCAG 2, p. 128, ll. 3-4.

⁸¹ Abū Ma'shar, *Albumasaris: De revolutionibus nativitatum*, ed. Pingree.

⁸² Ibid., p. 247, 17-18.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 250, 1.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 251, 5.

elements in common, and was not completely distinct from the Muslim tradition, seems to have existed among Christians living in Muslim lands at around the time that the *Oneirocriticon* was written, as is evidenced primarily by the interpretations labeled "Christian" and "Byzantine" in the dreambook of al-Dīnawarī. This means that, if the author of the *Oneirocriticon* had been interested in using an eastern Christian work as a source, he could have procured one. Instead, he used none of the sources on Christian dream interpretation that are quoted in al-Dīnawarī's dreambook, but relied on sources linked to the Muslim tradition. The Christianization of Islamic notions in the *Oneirocriticon* can appear as genuinely Christian only to someone ignorant of the basic tenets of the Muslim faith. Christianizing Muslim notions was a practice followed by more than one Byzantine translator, when rendering Arabic scientific texts into Greek. Given all this, it is unnecessary to postulate a Christian-Arabic dreambook as the immediate source of the Greek *Oneirocriticon*. Rather, it seems likely that the *Oneirocriticon* was based directly on Muslim Arabic dreambooks and that the Byzantine translator was the one who adapted the content of his sources to cater to the expectations of his Christian readers.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CHRISTIAN AND ISLAMIC ASPECTS OF THE
ONEIROCRITICON

A number of passages from the *Oneirocriticon* refer to the Christian and the Muslim faith. They include passages that interpret purportedly Christian dream symbols; passages where one would expect to find Muslim influence (e.g., abhorrence for eating pork or drinking alcohol); passages that appear to have been inspired by the Bible; and finally, passages in the thirteen anecdotes of the *Oneirocriticon* involving actual consultations with a dream interpreter that constitute the only instances in the Greek dreambook where Muslim Arabs, such as Ibn Sīrīn and Caliph al-Ma'mūn, are mentioned. These passages will be compared to equivalent Arabic interpretations and narratives to elucidate the process by which the Greek Christian author adapted his Arabic Muslim sources.

Resurrection of the Dead

The first dream symbol interpreted in the *Oneirocriticon* comes immediately after the four introductory chapters and is on the Resurrection of the Dead according to the Indians. This interpretation addresses a vital component of Christian eschatology:¹

Ἐὰν τις ἐν ὀνείρῳ θεάσῃται ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ θεωρήσῃ τις κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνου ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, ἐκεῖ δικαιοσύνη πραχθήσεται. ἔὰν γὰρ ὦσιν ἐκεῖ ἄδικοι, τιμωρίαν δώσουσιν, εἰ δὲ ἀδικοῦμενοι, δικαιωθήσονται ταχέως, διότι ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει κριτὴς δίκαιός ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς μόνος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν, καθ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται, αὕτη ἡ κρίσις.

If someone sees in a dream the Resurrection of the Dead, justice will be effected where he saw it. If unjust men are there, they will be punished; if people are being wronged, they will soon be vindicated, for in the Resurrection of the Dead God alone is a righteous judge. For this reason, this Judgment is as valid as possible.

¹ Drexl 3, 25–4, 3 (ε' Ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐρμηνεία περὶ ἀναστάσεως).

The Resurrection of the Dead on the day of God's Last Judgment is also part of Muslim eschatological belief. The Qur'ān graphically describes the portents and events of Judgment Day in a number of passages (sūra 22:1–7, 75:1–40, 81:1–19, 82:1–19, 83:4–20, 84:1–19), which inspired the Arabic interpretations of dreams about it. The Arabic interpretations of the Resurrection correspond almost word for word with the entry of the *Oneirocriticon*. According to Ibn Qutayba:²

من رأى ان القيامة قد قامت بمكان فان العدل ينبسط في ذلك المكان لاهله ان كانوا مظلومين وعليهم ان كانوا ظالمين لان يوم القيامة يوم الفصل ويوم الجزاء والدين قال الله عز وجل ونضع الموازين القسط ليوم القيامة فلا تظلم نفس شيئا.

Whoever dreams that the Resurrection of the Dead has already happened at a <particular> place, justice will spread to that place to the advantage of its people, if they were oppressed, or against them, if they were oppressors. For the Day of the Resurrection is the Day of Judgment, of punishment and doom. God Almighty said: "And We set a just balance for the Day of Resurrection so that no soul is wronged in aught" [Qur'ān 21:47].

The interpretation of al-Dīnawarī is similar:³

... فان كان اهل ذلك المكان الذين قامت فيه ظالمين انتقم منهم او مظلومين نصبروا لان يوم القيامة يوم العدل.

... and if the people of the place where the Resurrection of the Dead occurred were oppressors they will be punished; and if they were oppressed, they will be saved, because the Day of Resurrection is the day of justice.

Likewise in *al-Muntakhab*:⁴

قال الاستاذ ابو سعد رحمه الله قال الله تبارك وتعالى ونضع الميزان القسط ليوم القيامة فلا تظلم نفس شيئا فمن رأى ان القيامة قد قامت في مكان فانه ينبسط العدل في ذلك المكان لاهله فينتقم من الظالمين وينصر المظلومون لان ذلك يوم الفصل والعدل.

Master Abū Sa'd, may God have mercy on him, said: "God Almighty said: 'And We set a just balance for the Day of Resurrection so that no soul is wronged in aught' [Qur'ān 21:47]. If someone dreams that the Resurrection of the Dead is

² Ibn Qutayba, *bāh* 2, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 25b.

³ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 30, *bāh* 2, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 273b.

⁴ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 67.

already taking place somewhere, indeed justice will spread there to the advantage of its people. And the oppressors will be punished and the oppressed will be saved, because it is the Day of Judgment and justice."

The interpretation of Ibn Shāhīn (no. 193) is similar:

ومن رأى ان القيامة قامت وبسط الله العدل بين الناس يدل على انه إن كان في اهل ذلك المكان مظلومون سلب الله تعالى على ظالمهم الشدة والمضرة.

If someone dreams that the Resurrection took place and that God spread justice among mankind, if there were oppressed people in the land <where the dream was dreamt>, <the dream> signifies that God Almighty will inflict the oppressors with calamities and miseries.

Al-Nābulusī also states والقيامة عدل وانصاف المظلوم من الظالم (The Resurrection is justice and fairness towards the oppressed by the oppressor).⁵

Though it is impossible to ascertain whether the Arabic sources of the *Oneirocriticon* justified the interpretation of the Resurrection with a Quranic passage, it is very likely that they did, especially since such a justification can be found in the earliest of the extant Arabic dreambooks, that of Ibn Qutayba. The wordy justification of the Greek interpretation ("In the Resurrection of the Dead, God alone is a righteous judge. For this reason, this Judgment is as valid as possible") may have been meant by the author of the *Oneirocriticon* as a substitute for Qur'ān 21:47 ("And We set a just balance for the Day of Resurrection so that no soul is wronged in aught") that consistently appears in the Arabic dreambooks.⁶

Paradise and Hell

After the interpretation of the resurrection, the *Oneirocriticon* proceeds to Paradise (chapter 8) and Hell (chapter 9) according to the Indians. The Christian interpretation of Paradise in the *Oneirocriticon* is as follows:⁷

⁵ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 137, s.v. قيامة.

⁶ For additional comparisons of the interpretation on the Resurrection of the Dead from the *Oneirocriticon* with Arabic interpretations from the dreambooks of al-Khargūshī and al-Qayrawānī, cf. Lamoreaux, "Dream Interpretation in the Early Mediæval Near East," pp. 256; p. 319, table 10.

⁷ Drexel 4, 15–5, 3.

ἢ Ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ παραδείσου

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ ἀγαθὸς ὦν εἰσερχόμενον ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, οὗτός ἐστι σεσωσμένος, διότι θεόθεν αὐτῷ τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐξ ὧν ἐξεργάσατο ἀγαθῶν· εἰ δὲ κακοῦργός ἐστι, μετανοήσῃ καὶ σωθήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλούτου κοσμικοῦ τοῦτο ἐπιτυχίαν σημαίνει. Ἐάν δὲ ἴδῃ ὅτι ἔφαγεν ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν τῶν δένδρων, αὐτὸς εὐρήσῃ ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτοῦ σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν, διότι οἱ καρποὶ τοῦ παραδείσου λόγοι θεῖοι καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τυγχάνουσιν. Ἐάν δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔδωκεν ἑτέρῳ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν, οὗτος διδάσκαλος γενήσεται, καθ' ὅσον ἐμέρισε καὶ μετέδωκεν. Ἐάν δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι τοὺς καρποὺς μόνον ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἔφαγε δὲ οὐδὲ μετέδωκεν ἑτέρῳ, τὰ μὲν θεῖα οὗτος ἐδέξατο καὶ οὐκ ἔγνω, οὐ τελεσφορήσῃ δέ. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἔφαγε μὲν, ἔδωκε δὲ ἑτέρῳ, οὗτος ὡς κενόδοξος κατακριθήσεται, ἐκείνους δὲ ὁ λαβὼν σωθήσεται. Ἐάν δὲ ἴδῃ ἑαυτὸν εἰσελθόντα ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ ἀποθανόντα, ὁ θάνατος τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ ζημίαν σημαίνει.

8. From the Indians on Paradise

If a good person dreams that he entered Paradise, he is saved, because this is good news from God on account of his good deeds. If the dreamer is an evil-doer, he will repent and be saved. This dream also signifies the acquisition of worldly wealth. If someone dreams that he ate from the fruits of the trees, he will find in his faith wisdom and knowledge, because the fruits of Paradise are divine and holy words. If he sees that he gave of the fruits to others, he will be a teacher to the extent that he divided and shared <them>. If he sees that he only received the fruit but did not eat or share it with another, he has received God's gifts and did not know it, and therefore he will not bring the fruit to perfection. If he did not eat the fruit, but gave it to another, he will be judged vainglorious, while the recipient of the fruit will be saved. If he dreams that he entered into Paradise and died there, his death signifies the loss of his faith.

Drexel supposed that the interpretation of dreaming of the fruit of Paradise was inspired by two scriptural passages.⁸ However, these passages only loosely correspond to the meaning of the interpretation that occurs in the *Oneirocriticon*, which does not include a verbatim quotation of any phrase or word from the New Testament.

Paradise and Hell, like Judgment Day, are part of Islamic eschatology. Paradise and its delights are described in detail in Qur'ān 76:12–22, 56: 12–39,

⁸ John 14:17: Τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ ὁ κόσμος οὐ δύναται λαβεῖν, ὅτι οὐ θεωρεῖ αὐτό, οὐδὲ γινώσκει αὐτό· ὑμεῖς δὲ γινώσκετε αὐτό, ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν μένει, καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσται (Even the spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him; for he dwelleth in you and shall be in you). Also 1 John 4:6: ἡμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσμέν· ὁ γινώσκων τὸν Θεὸν ἀκούει ἡμῶν· ὃς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκ ἀκούει ἡμῶν· ἐκ τούτου γινώσκωμεν τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πλάνης (We are of God: he that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth not us. Hereby know we the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error).

55: 54-56. Arabic dreambooks use these descriptions to interpret dreams about it. The Arabic interpretations of Paradise in chapter 8 of the *Oneirocriticon* are all copied from Arabic sources. Ibn Qutayba wrote:⁹

فان رأى انه دخل الجنة فذلك بشئ من الله بالخير فان اصاب شيئاً من ثمارها واكل ذلك خير يناله في دينه ودنياه وعلم وبر وكذلك اذ ولجها قال الله عز وجل ادخلوها بسلام آمنين

If <the dreamer> dreams that he entered Paradise, this is a glad tidings from God regarding the good things <that the dreamer will receive>. And if he took any of its fruit and ate it, goodness will extend to him in his religious and worldly pursuits, as well as knowledge and righteousness. And if <the dreamer> enters <Paradise> God Almighty said: "Enter them in peace, secure" [Qur'an 15:46].

A similar interpretation is given by al-Dīnawarī:¹⁰

فان رأى انه يدخلها واكل من ثمارها رزق علماً بقدر ما اكل منها لان ثمار الجنة هو العلم * فان التقطها او اطعمها غيره فانه يفيد غيره من علمه وينتفع به المتعلم ولا يستعمل هو ولا ينتفع به فان رأى انه منع ثمارها فانه فاسد الدين مشرك لقول الله تعالى إنه من يشرك بالله فقد حرم الله عليه الجنة.

And if he dreams that he entered <Paradise> and ate from its fruit, he will be endowed with knowledge commensurate with what he ate, because the fruit of Paradise is knowledge. And if he collects them or feeds them to other people, he will teach others from his knowledge and will benefit his apprentices, but he himself will not use it, nor will he benefit from it. And if he is refused the fruit of Paradise, he is a corrupter of religion and a polytheist, according to the saying of God Almighty, "Lo! whoso ascribeth partners unto God, for him God hath forbidden Paradise" [Qur'an 5:72].

Al-Muntakhab interprets dreaming of Paradise likewise:¹¹

قال الاستاذ ابو سعد رحمه الله من رأى الجنة ولم ير دخولها فإن رؤياه بشارة له بخير عمل او بهم بعمله... وقيل من رأى الجنة عياناً نال ما اشتتهى وكشف عنه همه... فان رأى كانه ادخل الجنة فقد قرب اجله وموته وقيل إن صاحب الرؤيا يتعظ ويتوب من الذنوب... فان رأى انه قيل له إنك تدخل الجنة فإنه ينال ميراثاً لقوله تعالى وتلك الجنة التي اورثتموها الآية... فان

⁹ Bāb 2, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 25a.

¹⁰ Esad Efendi 1833, *faṣl* 30, *bāb* 10, fol. 263b.

¹¹ *Al-Muntakhab*, pp. 70-71.

رأى كانه في رياضها رزق الاخلاص وكمال الدين فان رأى كانه اكل من ثمارها رزق علماً بقدر ما اكل وكذلك إن رأى انه شرب من مائها وخمرها ولبنها نال حكمة وعلماً وغنى... فان رأى انه التقط ثمار الجنة واطعمها غيره فانه يفيد غيره علماً يعمل به وينتفع ولا يستعمله هو ولا ينتفع به...

Master Abū Sa'd, may God have mercy on him, said: "If someone dreams of Paradise, but did not see its entrance, this dream is a glad tidings for him pertaining to a good deed he has performed or <a good deed> he is preoccupied about performing." ... It is said that if someone sees Paradise with his own eyes, he will obtain what he desires and will be relieved from his worries.... If someone dreams that he was made to enter Paradise, his end and death is imminent, and it is said that the dreamer will heed the warning and repent for his sins.... If someone dreams that he was told, "You will enter Paradise," he will receive an inheritance according to the saying of God Almighty, "This is the Paradise that you have been given for an inheritance" [Qur'an 43:72].¹² ... If someone dreams that he was in the meadows of Paradise, he will be granted faithfulness and perfection in his religion. If he dreams that he ate from the fruit of Paradise, he will be endowed with knowledge commensurate with what he ate. Likewise, if he dreams that he drank from the water, wine and milk of Paradise, he will obtain wisdom and knowledge and wealth.... If he dreams that he collected the fruits of Paradise and fed them to other people, he will avail others of the knowledge in effect and will benefit <them>, but he himself will not use it, nor will he benefit from it.¹³

Ibn Shāhīn's dreambook repeats similar interpretations of Paradise and its fruit (nos. 213, 215, 223, 228):

(٢١٣) ومن رأى انه دخل الجنة فإنه يحصل له فرح وسرور وبشارة من الله تعالى بالخيرات، وقيل امن لقوله تعالى "ادخلوها بسلام آمنين". (٢١٥) ومن رأى انه تناول فاكهة بيده واكل فإنه يتعلم علم الدين ويحصل سيرة المتقين ولا يستفاد منه. (٢٢٣) ومن رأى انه قيل له تدخل الجنة يحصل له ميراث. (٢٢٨) ومن رأى انه قد ناول احداً من فواكه الجنة فإنه يستفيد من علمه.

(213) If someone dreams that he entered Paradise, he will be granted joy, happiness and glad tidings from God Almighty because of <his> good deeds, and it is said that he will be safe, according to the saying of God Almighty "Enter them in peace, secure" [Qur'an 15:46]. (215) If someone dreams that he had the fruits <of Paradise> in his hands and ate from them, he will study the science of religion and will lead a pious life, but will not benefit from it. (223) If someone dreams

¹² Cf. Drexl 4, 19-20: ἀλλὰ καὶ πλούτου κοσμικοῦ τοῦτο ἐπιτυχίαν σημαίνει (This dream also signifies the acquisition of worldly wealth).

¹³ The same interpretations are repeated verbatim in al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, pp. 99-102, s.v. جنة.

that he was told, "You will enter Paradise," he will receive an inheritance. (228) If someone dreams that he took one of the fruits of Paradise, he will derive profit from his knowledge.

The next chapter of the *Oneirocriticon* discusses dreaming of the fire of Hell. The Christian interpretation of Hell set forth in this chapter is the following:¹⁴

θ' Ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ πυρὸς γεένης

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι κατεδικάσθη εἰς πῦρ γεένης, οὗτος εἰς ἀπώλειαν τελείαν παραδοθήσεται ὡς κακοῦργος μέγιστος προβλέπων τὸν ἴδιον ὄλεθρον. πλὴν καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ μήνυμα, ἵνα μεταγνῶ καὶ σώσῃ τὴν ἰδίαν ψυχὴν. ἐάν δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ τῆς γεένης ἐθεάσατο μόνον, οὐ κατεδικάσθη δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ, εἰς κοσμικὰς περιπεσεῖται θλίψεις ἀμαρτάνων ἐν αὐταῖς. ὅσον δὲ ἐγγίζον ἡ μακρύνον εἶδε τὸ πῦρ τῆς γεένης, τοσοῦτον ἐγγίζουσιν ἡ μακρύνουσιν ἐλπίζετω τὴν θλίψιν. ἐάν δὲ τοῦτο θεωρήσῃ βασιλεὺς, παρακρινεῖ τὰς κρίσεις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ θεοῦ τιμωρηθήσεται. ἐάν δὲ τοῦτο θεωρήσῃ γυνή, ἐπίβουλος γενήσεται τοῦ ἀνδρός, μοιχευομένη καὶ ἀσελγαίνουσα. ἐάν δὲ τοῦτο θεωρήσῃ παιδίον, εἰς πρόσωπον τῶν ἰδίων γονέων τοῦτο ἐώρακεν.

9. From the Indians on the Fire of Hell

If someone dreams that he has been condemned to the fire of Hell, he will deliver himself to total perdition, for he is a great evil doer foreseeing his own destruction, though this is also a message from God, so that he can repent and save his soul. If he only sees the fire of Hell and is not condemned to it, he will be afflicted by worldly sorrows and will sin because of them. And however close or far away he saw the fire of Hell is how soon or late he can expect his sorrow. If a king sees that, he will err in his judgments and will be punished by God. If a woman sees it, she will plot against her husband by committing adultery and acting lasciviously. If a child sees this, the dream refers to his parents.

The interpretation of the fire of Hell as a warning for the dreamer to repent and as an indication that he will perpetrate grave sins, be afflicted by worldly sorrows, and commit adultery can also be found in the dreambook of al-Dinawari:¹⁵

من رأى انه دخل جهنم فانه يرتكب الكبائر فان خرج منها من غير مكروه اصابه وقع في غموم الدنيا * ومن رأى ان النار من قريب فانه يقع في شدة ومحنة سلطان لا ينجو منها لقول الله تعالى ورأى المجرمون النار فظنوا انها مصرفا

¹⁴ Drex1 5, 4-12.

¹⁵ Faṣl 30, bāb 8; Esad Efendi 1833, fol. 274a. Ibn Qutayba, bāb 2, Yahuda ar. 196, fol. 25a, laconically states that "the interpretation of Hell is opposite to that of Paradise" (التاويل ضد رؤية الجنة).

انهم واقعوها ولم يجدوا عنها مصرفا واصابه غرامة وخسران فاحش لقوله تعالى ان عذابها كان غراما * وهو نذير له ليتوب ويرجع عما هو فيه * فان رأى انه دخلها فانه ياتي الذنوب الكبائر والفواحش التي اوجب الله تعالى عليه بها الحد وينسى ربه ويأتي الاثم والبغي بغير الحق فليتنق الله سبحانه... فان رأى انه ادخل النار فانه يغويه الذي ادخله النار ويحرضه على ارتكاب ذنب عظيم مثل قتل او زنا فليتنق الله جل ذكره.

Whoever dreamt that he entered Hell will perpetrate atrocious sins. And if he came out of it unharmed, he will fall into worldly sorrows. And if someone dreamt the fire of Hell nearby, he will fall into distress and punishment from a king, from which there is no escape, according to the saying of God Almighty: "And the guilty behold the Fire and know that they are about to fall therein, and they find no way of escape thence" [Qur'an 18:53]. And a penalty and atrocious damage will befall him, according to the saying of God Almighty: "Lo! The doom thereof is anguish" [Qur'an 25:65]. And this is a warning to him so that he may repent and turn away from <the sin> that he is in. And if he saw that he entered Hell, indeed he is perpetrating the gravest sins and vile deeds, for which God Almighty imposes legal punishment, and <indeed, the dreamer> is forgetting his Lord¹⁶ and is committing crimes and unjust wrongdoings, and let him be afraid of God, praise be to Him.... And if he saw that he was made to enter Hell, indeed, the one who made him enter Hell will misguide him and goad him to commit a grave sin, such as murder or illegal sex, so let him be afraid of God, whose invocation is exalted.¹⁷

Similar interpretations, the phrasing of which is very close to that of al-Dinawari, are also recorded in chapter 18 of *al-Muntakhab*:¹⁸

فان رأى النار من قريب فانه يقع في شدة ومحنة لا ينجو منها لقول الله تعالى ورأى المجرمون النار فظنوا انها مصرفا واصابه خسار فاحش لقوله عز وجل ان عذابها كان غراما وكانت رؤياه نذيرا له ليتوب من ذنب هو فيه فان رأى كانه دخل جهنم فانه يرتكب الفواحش والكبائر الموجبة للحد وقيل انه يقبض بين الناس فان رأى كانه ادخل النار فان الذي ادخله النار يضله ويحملة على ارتكاب فاحشة فان رأى انه خرج منها من غير إصابة مكروه وقع في غموم الدنيا.

¹⁶ The text of al-Dinawari in Esad Efendi 1833 gives the reading ينسى ابيه (he is forgetting his father), where "father" could be understood either as a parent, or as God the Father. The same interpretation is repeated almost verbatim in the dreambook of al-Nābulusi, where the text reads ينسى ربه (he is forgetting his Lord). I prefer the reading according to al-Nābulusi because it fits the context better.

¹⁷ Repeated almost verbatim in al-Nābulusi, vol. 1, p. 102, s.v. جهنم.

¹⁸ Al-Muntakhab, p. 69.

If he sees Hell nearby he will fall into distress and tribulation from which there is no escape, according to the saying of God Almighty: "And the guilty behold the Fire and know that they are about to fall therein, and they find no way of escape thence" [Qur'ān 18:53]. And atrocious damage will befall him, according to the saying of God Almighty: "Lo! The doom thereof is anguish" [Qur'ān 25:65]. His dream is a warning for him so that he may foreswear the sin that he is into. If he sees that he entered Hell, he will commit adultery and grave sins that call for legal punishment, and it is said that he will be apprehended in front of the people. If he sees that he was made to enter Hell, the one who made him enter will cause him to go astray and prompt him to commit vile deeds. If he sees that he has exited from Hell unharmed, he will fall into worldly sorrows.

Ibn Shāhīn discusses the interpretation of the fire of Hell in connection with the *ṣirāt*, the bridge across the infernal fire. Falling from the bridge into the fire of Hell is interpreted as worldly misfortunes. For the mighty, it signifies that they will oppress the people under their power, which is similar to the interpretation of Hell dreamt by a king that is set forth in the *Oneirocriticon*. Falling into the fire of Hell also signifies sinning with the possibility of pardon (nos. 201 and 206):

(٢٠١) ومن رأى أنه سقط من الصراط في النار يقع في فتنة وبلاء ومصيبة عظيمة. (٢٠٢) ومن رأى أنه وقع من الصراط في النار يأخذ عملاً من الملك ويكون على يديه ظلم كثير وذنوب كثيرة. (٢٠٦) ومن رأى أنه زل عن الصراط وهو يبكي فإنه يؤول بالغفلة في الدين ولكن يرجى له المغفرة...

(201) If someone dreamt that he fell from the bridge into the fire <of Hell>, he will fall into trial and tribulation and great misfortune. (203) If someone dreamt that he fell from the bridge into the fire <of Hell>, he will receive an appointment from the king and many oppressions and crimes will take place because of his intervention. (203) If someone dreamt that he was tearful and slipped from the bridge, it indicates negligence in his <observance of> religion; however, pardon is anticipated for him.

Angels and Eunuchs

Chapter 10 of the *Oneirocriticon* sets forth the Christian interpretation of dreams of angels:¹⁹

¹⁹ Drexl 5, 18–6, 14 (Chap. 10, "From the Indians on Angels").

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους τινὰ τῶν θείων ἀγγέλων τῶν ὀνομασμένων καὶ ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν ταῖς θείαις βίβλοις, εὐαγγελικὴν εὐρήσει χαρὰν. εἰ γὰρ παράκειται πόλεμος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, νίκη ταχεῖα καὶ ἰσχυρὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔσται. εἰ δὲ θλίψις ἐστί, μεταβάλλεται εἰς χαρὰν· εἰ δὲ νόσος, ἐπανελεύσεται εἰς υἰεῖαν· εἰ δὲ πενία, εἰς πλοῦτον μετατραπήσεται. ἐάν γυνὴ ἐγκυος ἴδῃ τοῦτο, τέξει ἄρσεν. εἰ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἴδῃ τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι συνωμίλησε τῷ ἀγγέλῳ, πᾶν, ὅπερ ἤκουσε παρὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου, ἀμεταβλήτως ἀποβήσεται, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον. ἐάν δὲ μόνον τοῦτον ἴδῃ βασιλεὺς, οὐ συλλαλήσῃ δὲ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ, νίκην κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ σημαίνει καὶ ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ ἀυξηθήσεται καὶ οἱ πτωχοὶ αὐτοῦ χορτασθήσονται.

Εἰ δὲ τις ὁμοίως ἴδῃ ἄγγελον μέλλον ὑπεραθλεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ ὀνόματος, οὗτος γινωσκέτω, ὅτι σεσωσμένος ἐστίν. ἐάν δὲ ἴδῃ τις ἄγγελον τῶν ἀνωνύμων καὶ μὴ ἀπογεγραμμένων, ἔσται αὐτῷ χαρὰ τε καὶ ἀγαλλίασις, μετριωτέρα δέ.

If someone dreams of one of the angels who are listed and named in the Holy Books, he will receive good news of joy. For if a war is being waged in the land, victory over the enemy will be quick and strong. If there is sorrow, it will be changed to happiness. If illness, it will turn into health; if poverty, wealth. If a pregnant woman sees this <dream>, she will give birth to a male. If an emperor sees this, and <dreams> that he talked with the angel, whatever he heard from the angel, whether good or bad, will be fulfilled exactly. If the emperor only saw the angel and did not speak to him, it signifies victory against his enemies, and his people will increase and the needy in his realm will be fed.

If someone is about to suffer on behalf of the Holy Name <i.e., a future martyr> dreams of an angel, let him know that he is saved. If someone dreams of an angel that is not named or listed <in the Holy Books>, he will also have joy and exultation, but less <than in the aforementioned interpretations>.

Angels are central to the religious beliefs of both Christians and Muslims. Arabic dreambooks contain elaborate interpretations of angels, often naming the most important among them and giving a separate interpretation for each. The interpretation given by Ibn Qutayba is similar to that of the *Oneirocriticon*.²⁰

ومن رأى الملائكة تنزل بمكان فإن ذلك نصر لاهل ذلك المكان وفرح من كرب لأنها نزلت بنصر الانبياء والتفرج عنهم فجعل نزولهم منالا لذلك ومن رأى أنها تكلمه بكلام من البر أو تعظه أو تبشره أو تصله أو يطير معها أو تذهب به فإنها شهادة يرزقها وشرف في الدنيا وصيت.

Whoever sees the angels descend upon a place, this is indeed victory for the people of that place, as well as joy after sorrow. For angels descend in order to support and watch over the prophets, and their descent <is> a gift to that end. Whoever sees that <the angels> spoke to him in words of righteousness or that

²⁰ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb 3, Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 26a.

they admonished him or gave him glad tidings or joined him or that he flew with them or that they carried him off, he will be endowed with martyrdom and honor in this world, as well as repute.

Al-Dīnawarī gives a more detailed interpretation of angels, as he dedicates a separate chapter to each of the most important ones. In the chapter on Gabriel we read:²¹

من رأى جبريل عليه السلام في منامه أو واحد من الملائكة المعروفين
الأشرف الذين سماهم الله تعالى مستبشرا به بكلمة برك وموعظة أو
يوصيه أو يبشره فإنه ينال شرفا وعزا وقوة وظفرا وبشارة وإن كان
مظلوما نصر أو مريضا شفى أو خائفا أمن أو في غم فرج عنه أو ضرورة حج
وهو دليل على شهادة يرزقها وإن عاش طويلا.

If someone dreamt that Gabriel, may peace be upon him, or one of the other known and distinguished angels to whom God gave a name, was cheerful towards <the dreamer> and spoke to him in words of righteousness and exhortation, or admonished him, or gave him glad tidings, <the dreamer> will obtain distinction, might, power, victory, and glad tidings. If <the dreamer> was wronged, he will be assisted; if he was sick, he will be healed; if he was in fear, he will be safe; if he was in distress, he will be relieved from it; and if he is in need, he will perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. It also signifies martyrdom that will be granted <to the dreamer>, even if he lives long.

In al-Dīnawarī's interpretation of the angels that carry the throne of God, there are further resemblances to the interpretation of angels found in the *Oneirocriticon*.²² من رأى حملة العرش عليهم السلام في حرب أو أشراف (If someone dreamt of the angels that carry the throne of God, may peace be upon them, and he was at war, or <dreamt> of the distinguished among the angels, this signifies victory over the enemy and wealth after poverty). The dream of angels in connection with the birth of a male is mentioned in al-Dīnawarī's chapter on the common angels:²³

فإن رأى أن الملائكة يبشرونه بغلام مولود رزق ابنا عالما طاهرا تقيا صالحا
تقتدى به لقوله تعالى إنما أنا رسول ربك لاهب لك غلاما زكيا ولقوله أن
الله يبشرك بكلمة منه اسمه المسيح عيسى ابن مريم وجيها في الدنيا
والآخرة ومن المقربين.

²¹ Faṣl 3, bāb 1; Esad Efendi 1833, fol. 40a; BN arabe 2745, fol. 57b.

²² Faṣl 3, bāb 9; Esad Efendi 1833, fol. 40b; BN arabe 2745, fol. 59a.

²³ Faṣl 3, bāb 10; Esad Efendi 1833, fol. 40b; BN arabe 2745, fol. 59a-b.

If someone dreamt that the angels gave him the glad tidings of a son that will be born, he will be given a wise, pure, pious, righteous and exemplary son, according to the saying of God Almighty: "I am only a messenger of thy Lord, that I may bestow on thee a faultless son" [Qur'ān 19:19²⁴] and according to His saying "God giveth thee glad tidings of a word from him, whose name is the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, illustrious in the world and in the Hereafter, and one of those brought near <unto God>" [Qur'ān 3:45].

The interpretations of the angels recorded in *al-Muntakhab* are similar to those of al-Dīnawarī, but the wording of *al-Muntakhab* is occasionally closer to that of the *Oneirocriticon*.²⁵

قال أبو سعد رضى الله عنه رؤية الملائكة في النوم إذا كانوا معروفين
مستبشرين تدل على ظهور شئ لصاحب الرؤيا وعز وقوة وبشارة ونصر
بعد الظلم أو شفاء بعد المرض أو أمن بعد خوف أو يسر بعد عسر أو غنى بعد
فقر أو فرج بعد شدة وتقتضى أن يحج صاحبها أو يغزو فيستشهد.

Master Abu Sa'd, may God be pleased with him, said: "The dream of angels in sleep, when they are known and cheerful, indicates the appearance of something to the dreamer, power and strength and good news and victory after tyranny or health after sickness or safety after fear or ease after difficulty, prosperity after poverty or joy after distress. And it is necessary that the dreamer perform the pilgrimage to Mecca or that he go to war and die a martyr."

The *Oneirocriticon* states that whatever the angels announce in a dream will be fulfilled exactly as it is foretold. A similar statement is made by Ibn Shāhin (no. 72): (If <someone> dreams that an angel informed him of something, it will happen exactly so). The truthfulness accorded to angelic utterances in dreams both in the *Oneirocriticon* and in Arabic dream interpretation might have originated in the Arabic translation of Artemidoros. The Greek text of Artemidoros repeatedly states that the most truthful utterances in dreams are those of the gods: τῶν δὲ ἀξιόπιστων λεγομένων, οἷς λέγουσιν τι [κατ' ὄναρ] πιστεύειν χρή καὶ πείθεσθαι, φημὶ πρώτους εἶναι θεούς· ἀλλότριον γὰρ θεοῦ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι (Among those who are worthy of credence and whose words [in a dream] one must believe and obey, I maintain that the gods are first. For it is contrary to the

²⁴ These verses of the Qur'ān refer to the Annunciation. Sūra 19 of the Qur'ān, also called "the Chapter of Mary," gives the longest version of the Annunciation and birth of Jesus, though briefer references to these events can also be found elsewhere in the Qur'ān. See G. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'ān* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 67-74.

²⁵ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 35.

nature of a god to tell lies);²⁶ οὔτε οἱ θεοὶ οὔτε ἄλλοι ἄξιόπιστοι ψεύδονται, ἀλλ' οἷα ἂν λέγουσιν ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν (Neither the gods nor anyone else worthy of credence tells lies and everything they say is the truth).²⁷ These passages have been rendered by Hunayn as follows: الذين ينبغي ان نقبل قولهم في الرؤيا ونصدقهم اقول انهم او لا الملائكة، وذلك ان الملائكة لا قولهم في الرؤيا ونصدقهم اقول انهم او لا الملائكة، وذلك ان الملائكة لا يقولون... (As for those whose words we ought to obey and deem as credible in a dream, I say that <these are> first of all the angels, because the angels do not lie);²⁸ والملائكة يشبهون بالآباء والموالى وكل من هو اهل لان يصدق (The angels are like parents, sovereigns and anyone else who deserves his word to be believed, because their words are truthful, since they do not lie in a dream and whatever they say is accurate).²⁹ The truthfulness accorded to angelic utterances might have been an idea that originated in Arabic dream interpretation without outside influence, but such a statement is absent from Ibn Qutayba, the Arabic dream-book most likely to have ignored Artemidoros. The insistence of the *Oneirocriticon* on the truthfulness of angelic utterances could therefore be counted as an additional indication that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* was using an Arabic text that had been influenced by the Arabic translation of Artemidoros.

The Christian chapter on angels in the *Oneirocriticon* concludes with a paragraph that interprets dreaming of eunuchs, who are said to be equivalent to angels because they are sexless:³⁰

ἐὰν δὲ τις ἴδῃ εὐνοῦχον ἀγνώριστον εὐειδῆ εὐήλικον, καὶ οὗτος ὡς ἄγγελος λογιζέσθω διὰ τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀγγελοπρεπὲς καὶ ἀνεπίδεκτον τῆς σαρκικῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ὁμοίως τῷ ἀγγέλῳ ἀποβήσεται αὐτῷ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἀγγελίσῃται αὐτῷ, ἀποβήσεται ταχέως. ὁμοίως δὲ εἴ τις ἴδῃ τινὰ τῶν γνωρίμων εὐνοῦχων καὶ μεγιστάνων καὶ περιβλέπτων ἐν ἀξιώματι, ὁμοίως, καθὰ εἴρηται περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἀποβήσεται αὐτῷ.

²⁶ ii.69; Pack 195, 3-5.

²⁷ iv.71; Pack 292, 4-6.

²⁸ Fahd, *Artémidore d'Éphèse*, p. 353, 3-4.

²⁹ Book iv is missing from the one surviving manuscript with the Arabic translation of Artemidoros, but this portion of Hunayn's text is quoted in al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 3, *bāb* 11; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 41b, ll. 8-16; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 51a, ll. 12-14.

³⁰ Drexel 6, 7-14. The likening of eunuchs to angels is widespread in Byzantine texts. See K. Ringrose, "Living in the Shadows: Eunuchs and Gender in Byzantium," in *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*, ed. G. Herdt, (New York, 1994), pp. 95, 97, 100. For eunuchs in Islam, see D. Ayalon, "On the Eunuchs in Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1 (1979), 69-124.

If someone dreams of a handsome eunuch of good stature whom he does not know, let the eunuch be reckoned as an angel, because of his purity and angel-like quality and his insusceptibility to carnal lusts; thus, the result of the dream will be the same as in the case of an angel. And whatever the eunuch should say to the dreamer will soon take place. Likewise, if someone dreams of one of the well known and very powerful eunuchs who are looked upon with honor, the results of the dream will be the same for him as for the angels.

The same interpretation, supported by a similar argument, is given in Arabic dreambooks. According to al-Dīnawarī,³¹ الخصيان هم الملائكة لان الخصي قد نزع عنهم الشهوة (Eunuchs are angels because castration deprived them of carnal passion). Likewise in *al-Muntakhab*:³² والخدام الخصي ملك. (The castrated servant is an angel). Al-Nābulusī goes to even greater detail:³³

فان رأى خصيا مجهولا له سميت الصالحين وكلام الحكمة فهو ملك من الملائكة ينذر او يبشر وان كان الخصي معروفا فهو هوبعينه... والخصي الابيض ملك الرحمة والاسود والحبشى ملك العذاب فالاول بشارة والثاني هم وغم.

If someone dreams of an unknown eunuch who has the manner of the righteous and speaks in words of wisdom, he is an angel who warns or gives glad tidings. And if the eunuch is known, it is none other than he.... The white eunuch is the angel of mercy, while the black or Ethiopian eunuch is the angel of punishment. The first one represents glad tidings, while the second one sorrow and distress.

Prophets, Apostles and Teachers; Jesus and Icons

Chapter 11 of the *Oneirocriticon* is called "On Prophets, Apostles and Teachers"³⁴ (Drexel 6, 17-21), a sequence of holy figures taken from the New Testament, but only its first paragraph deals with that topic. The second paragraph (Drexel 6, 22-7, 5) interprets dreams about Jesus Christ, and the rest discusses dreaming of being ordained a patriarch, a priest, or a deacon, of reading a book or the Gospels to the people, and of being tonsured or dressed as a monk (Drexel 7, 13-26). The first two paragraphs are also related to chapter 150, "On Icons" (Drexel 105, 12-107, 2).

³¹ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 9, *bāb* 10; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 90a.

³² *Al-Muntakhab*, chap. 30, p. 149.

³³ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 192, s.v. خصي.

³⁴ See chapter 4, n. 62.

According to chapter 11, dreaming of prophets, apostles, teachers, or martyrs has the same meaning as dreaming of angels, but the fulfillment of these dreams is somewhat less auspicious. Dreaming of Jesus signifies salvation, worldly wealth, and victory. Whatever the dreamer hears Christ say in a dream will be fulfilled exactly, and he who beholds Christ in a dream is blessed. Seeing Christ in an unknown house and entering it to join him signifies the dreamer's imminent death and salvation, along with the attainment of high rank and wealth by the dreamer's offspring. Dreaming of the apostles or patriarchs signifies something similar but less auspicious.

The first half of chapter 150 ("On Holy Icons") also interprets dreaming of Jesus or one of the apostles, prophets, and saints (Drexl 105, 12–106, 4). It, too, says that dreaming of Christ signifies victory, that whatever is said by Jesus or one of the other holy figures in a dream will be fulfilled to the last word, that dreaming of them also foretells worldly and spiritual well-being, that dreaming of one of the holy figures is less auspicious than dreaming of Christ himself, and finally that Christ is dreamt about only by the very pious or the very sinful so that they may repent and be saved.

Only the second half of chapter 150 is true to its title and discusses icons (Drexl 106, 5–107, 2). Its interpretations also repeat material found in other parts of the *Oneirocriticon*. Dreaming of an icon depicting Christ's crucifixion predictably signifies victory, since both Christ and the cross have already been associated with victory in chapters 11 and 126 ("On Kings and Crosses"). An icon of Christ without the cross also signifies victory, but is less auspicious. An icon of the apostles, prophets, or saints signifies a lesser victory for an emperor and well-being for a commoner. If the icon talks to the dreamer, whatever the icon says will be fulfilled. An icon with gold revetments signifies sorrow because of the gold, the negative of which is mentioned in several chapters of the *Oneirocriticon*.³⁵ Dreaming of having an icon made signifies success commensurate with the faithfulness of the depiction on the icon.

In a position corresponding to chapter 11 in the *Oneirocriticon*, Arabic dreambooks interpret dreams about various holy figures, beginning with the prophets, among them Jesus, son of Mary (ʿĪsā b. Maryam). According to the Qurʾān, Jesus was one of the prophets who appeared before Muḥammad and

³⁵ Chap. 12, "From the Indians on Various Faiths," Drexl 9, 1–3; chap. 240, "From the Indians, Persians and Egyptians on All Kinds of Sheep, Deer and Goats," Drexl 193, 20; chap. 255, "From the Indians, Persians and Egyptians on Golden, Silver and Bronze Coins," Drexl 208, 19–209, 22; chap. 256, "From the Same Sources, Regarding Ornaments of Gold, Silver, Precious Stones and Pearls," Drexl 210, 4–5.

performed various miracles, such as raising the dead and calling down from heaven a table laden with sustenance, that provided proof of his prophethood. The Arabic interpretations of Jesus are conditioned by his image in the Qurʾān and do not coincide with the interpretations given in the *Oneirocriticon*; but neither do the Christian interpretations of Jesus quoted by al-Dīnawarī coincide with those of the *Oneirocriticon*, as is evident from al-Dīnawarī's relevant chapter.³⁶

قال المسلمون من رأى عيسى بن مريم فانه يكون رجلا مباركا نفعا كثيرا
الخير كثير الشرف في رضا الله تعالى كثير البر والخير صاحب نسل
ويرضى بالقليل ويرزق نصرا بالطب لقوله تعالى وابرىء الاكمه والابرص
واحيى الموتى باذن الله. وقالت النصارى من راه في منامه فانه لا يصيبه
مكروه في تلك السنة وان طلب طلبا اصابه ومهر فيه فان رأى امه مريم بنت
عمران فانه ينال جاهها ومرتبة من الناس ويظفر بجميع حوائجه وان راى
امراة هذه الرؤيا وهي حامل ولدت ابنا حكيما * وان افتري عليها برئت من
ذلك واظهر الله براءتها * ومن رأى كانه يسجد لمريم او عيسى فانه يكلم
الملك ويجلس معه.

The Muslims said: "If someone dreams of Jesus, son of Mary, he will be a blessed and useful man, <who will enjoy> many blessings and honors by the favor of God Almighty, and will be very righteous and outstanding, will lead an ascetic life and will be pleased with little, and will be endowed with triumph in medicine, in accord with the saying of God Almighty: 'I heal him who was born blind, and the leper, and I raise the dead, by God's leave' [Qurʾān 3: 49]. The Christians [Naṣārā] said: "Whoever sees him in his dream, nothing terrible will befall him throughout that year, and if he seeks something, he will attain it and will be skillful in it. If someone dreams of his mother, Maryam, the daughter of ʿImrān, he will gain rank and dignity from the people and will be successful in everything he wishes. If a pregnant woman has this dream, she will give birth to a wise son. And if calumnies are spoken against her she will be proven guiltless and God will reveal her innocence. Whoever sees himself prostrate in front of Maryam or Jesus will talk to the king and will sit beside him."³⁷

³⁶ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 2, *bāb* 25, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 36b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 53a-b.

³⁷ This last interpretation, attributed to the Christians, seems to reflect an awareness of Byzantine imperial ideology, which drew an analogy between the emperor and Christ. One could also see in it a reflection of the ceremonial genuflexion (*proskynēsis*) before the emperor that was customary at the Byzantine court, though the same practice was followed in the caliphal court as well (see chapter 1, nn. 220 and 221). These interpretations suggest that the interpretations al-Dīnawarī attributes to the Christians were based on authentic Christian dreamlore, whether oral or written; it does not coincide with the material found in the *Oneirocriticon*, however, which does not mention dreaming of prostrating oneself in front of either Mary or Jesus.

A similar interpretation of Jesus is quoted in *al-Muntakhab*:³⁸

ومن رأى عيسى عليه السلام دلت رؤياه على أنه رجل نفاع مبارك كثير الخير كثير السفر ويكرم بعلم الطب وبغير ذلك من العلوم.... وقيل إن رأت امرأة عسى بن مريم عليه السلام وهي حامل ولدت ابناً حكيماً.

If someone dreams of Jesus, the son of Mary, his dream signifies that he is a useful and blessed man, who will be surrounded by blessings and travel extensively. He will be distinguished for his medical expertise or some other kind of knowledge.... It is said that if a pregnant woman dreams of Jesus, the son of Mary, may peace be upon him, she will give birth to a wise son.

And also in Ibn Shāhīn (no. 334):

ومن رأى عيسى فإنه يحيى اشغاله الميتة ويقوى على الطاعات ويحصل له التوفيق لفعل الخيرات، وقيل من رأى عيسى يرزق العباداة والزهد والتقوى وربما كثرت اسفاره وينجو مما يخاف وربما يرزق علم الطب حتى لا يكون في زمانه مثله.

If someone dreams of Jesus, he will revive his neglected³⁹ activities, will be strong in his pious deeds and will be granted success in carrying out good works. It is said that if someone dreams of Jesus he will be granted devotion, abstinence and godliness. Possibly his travels will multiply and he will be safe from his fears. It is also possible that he will be endowed with knowledge of medicine to such a degree that there will be no one like him in his time.

The interpretations of Jesus given by al-Nābulusī are identical to those quoted above.⁴⁰

Icons in Arabic dreambooks are a negative sign because Islam disapproves of them. Al-Dīnawarī states:⁴¹

فإن رأى صورة أو صفة أو مثالا فقل له أنه الهك فسجد له وظن أنه الهه فعبدته فإنه يتقرب بالباطل إلى ما ينسب إليه تلك الصورة والصفة عرضاً كانت أوجوهاً لأن رؤية الله تعالى لا تحد ولا توصف ولا تكون موجودة في البقطة.

³⁸ *Al-Muntakhab*, chapter 2, pp. 30-31.

³⁹ Lit., "dead."

⁴⁰ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, pp. 85-86, s.v. عيسى.

⁴¹ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 1, *bāb* 3, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 33b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 47b; repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, chapter 1, p. 28.

If <someone> dreams of an image or a depiction or a picture and is told, "This is your God," and prostrates himself in front of it or thinks that this is his God and adores it, he will approach falsehood in proportion to how closely he linked himself to this image and depiction, whether incidentally or substantially, because the vision of God Almighty cannot be delineated, cannot be depicted and does not exist when one is awake.

Similarly, Ibn Shāhīn (no. 17) says: *صورة* (If someone dreams of an image of God Almighty and prostrates himself in front of it, he will fabricate lies against God Almighty).

The interpretations of Jesus and icons in the *Oneirocriticon* were clearly not copied from the equivalent interpretations of its Arabic sources, but neither were they invented by the Christian author. The Arabic interpretations of Godhead, the Prophet Muḥammad, and the other prophets of Islam show a number of similarities to the contents of chapters 11 and 150. Both agree that the significance of dreaming about the prophets is almost equivalent to dreaming about angels. The first paragraph of chapter 11 was probably copied from an Arabic source without change, since Christianity and Islam do not disagree about the status of the prophets. Chapter 11 begins thus:⁴²

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ προφήτην ἢ ἀπόστολον ἢ διδάσκαλον ἢ μάρτυρα, καὶ οὗτοι δύνανται ἔχουσι καθὼς περ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, μετριωτέρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκβασὶς τῶν πραγμάτων, διότι ὅπτασίαν ἀγγέλων ἀμαρτωλὸς ἢ πονηρὸς οὐχ ἑώρακε, προφήτας δὲ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας ἅμα ἐθεάσαντο.

If someone dreams of a prophet or an apostle or a teacher or a martyr, it has the same validity as <dreaming of> the angels. However, the outcome of events will be more moderate, because no sinner or evil person ever saw an angel, while everyone has seen the prophets and the rest <of the holy figures mentioned>.

A similar interpretation is quoted by Ibn Qutayba:⁴³

ما أقرب ما بين الملائكة والأنبياء في التاويل إلا في الشهادة وجدها // فإنها في رؤية الملائكة دون الأنبياء لأن الملائكة عند الله والشهداء عنده قال الله تعالى إن الذين عند ربك يعنى الملائكة وقال في الشهداء عند ربهم يرزقون ولذلك سمي شهيداً لأنه يشهد ملكوت السماء.

How close is the interpretation of the angels to the interpretation of the prophets!

⁴² Drexl 6, 17-21.

⁴³ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 5, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 26a-b.

—except regarding martyrdom and the earnestness <that is associated with it>. //<Martyrdom occurs when> dreaming of the angels and not of the prophets because the angels are near God and the martyrs are near him as well. God Almighty said, "Those who are with your Lord" [Qur'ān 8:206], meaning the angels. He also said about the martyrs, "With their Lord they have provision" [Qur'ān 3:169]. For this reason the martyr is called a witness, because he witnesses the kingdom of heaven.⁴⁴

Chapters 11 and 150 both interpret Christ as signifying victory and spiritual well-being. Chapter 11 connects this dream with worldly wealth; chapter 150 says that it is only dreamt by the very pious or the extremely sinful so that they may repent. According to the first paragraph of chapter 11:⁴⁵

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ τὸν κύριον καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ συνήσῃ, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, οὗτος εὐρήσει σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς καὶ πλοῦτον κόσμου καὶ νίκην μεγίστην.

If someone dreams of our Lord and God Jesus Christ and realizes that he is Christ, he will find salvation of his soul and worldly wealth and a very great victory.

The beginning of chapter 150 conveys more or less the same message, but with additional details and somewhat different phrasing:⁴⁶

Ἐάν ἴδῃ τις κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι ἐφάνη αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός -τοῦτο μόνον οἱ καθαροὶ καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι ἢ οἱ βασιλεῖς πιστότατοι ὁρῶσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἢ οἱ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἁμαρτωλοὶ πρὸς ἐπιστροφήν-, καὶ ἐάν συνωμίλῃσεν αὐτῷ ἀπαραλλάκτως κρατεῖτω τὴν ὁμιλίαν, ὅποια ἂν εἴη· εἰ δ' οὐχ ὡμίλῃσεν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὲν ἐστιν βασιλεὺς, εὐρήσει χαρὰν καὶ νίκας καθολικὰς κατ' ἐχθρῶν, εἰ δὲ καθαρὸς καὶ ἅγιος καὶ εὐλαβής, στερέωμα καὶ δόξα καὶ αὐξήσις τῆς κατὰ θεὸν προκοπῆς καὶ χαρᾶς αὐτοῦ ἔσται.

If someone dreams that our Lord and God Jesus Christ appeared to him (this is dreamt only by the pure and the saintly, or by the most pious emperors, or by the exceedingly sinful, so that they may repent), if he talked with Him, let him unfailingly hold on to the conversation, whatever it might have been; if he did not speak to him, if <the dreamer> is an emperor, he will find joy and overwhelming victories

⁴⁴ Cf. also Ibn Sīrīn, *Ta'bīr al-ru'yā* (Pakistani ed.), p. 20: وأما رؤية باقى الانبياء في النوم: فانهم مثل الملائكة ... غير انه ليس في رؤيتهم الشهادة كما في تاويل رؤية الملائكة (As for seeing the rest of the prophets in sleep, they are like the angels..., though in dreaming of them there is no martyrdom, as there is in dreaming of angels).

⁴⁵ Drexl 6, 22-24.

⁴⁶ Drexl 105, 13-21.

against his enemies; if he is a pure, saintly and pious man, he will have steadfastness, glory, and increase in his progress toward God and in his joy.

According to the Christian faith, Christ was both man and God. This doctrine means that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* had to avoid copying anything from the Muslim interpretation of Christ that refers to him as a prophet, and this may have led him to base his Christian interpretations of Christ on the Islamic chapters on the godhead. Indeed, a number of Arabic dreambooks associate God with victory. According to al-Dīnawarī,⁴⁷

فإن رآه جل جلاله يصلى أو يسبح في موضع فإن رحمته ومغفرته يغشيان أهل ذلك الموضع وإن كان في حرب نصر أهلها على عدوهم... فهناك الشهداء والسعداء.

If someone sees Almighty <God> speaking words of blessing and praise at a certain place, His mercy and forgiveness will descend upon the people of that place. If they are at war, He will render these people victorious against their enemies ... and this will be the home of the martyrs and the blissful.

God is also interpreted as triumphing in war in Ibn Shāhīn (no. 13):

ومن رأى أن الله تعالى نزل على أرض أو مدينة أو قرية أو حارة ونحو ذلك يدل على أن الله تعالى ينصر أهل ذلك المكان ويظفرهم على الأعداء.

Whoever sees that God Almighty descended to a land or a city or a village or a quarter of a city or some such place, it means that God Almighty will bring victory to the people of that place and grant them triumph over their enemies.

According to al-Nābulusī,⁴⁸ dreaming of God signifies not only victory but also worldly success and salvation in the Hereafter. In addition, the sinners who dream of Him will repent, an effect also claimed for dreaming of Christ in chapter 150 of the *Oneirocriticon*:

فمن رآه بعظمته وجلاله بلا تكييف ولا تشبيه ولا تمثيل دليل على خير وهي بشارة له في دنياه وسلامته دينه في عقباه... وإن رآه ضال اهتدى لرؤيته الحق وإن رآه مظلوم انتصر على أعدائه.

Whoever sees God in his power and glory, without attributes, human form, or <other> characteristics, this is a sign of goodness and glad tidings regarding his

⁴⁷ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl 1, bāb 1, Esad Efendi 1833*, fol. 32b; BN *arabe 2745*, fol. 46b.

⁴⁸ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 8, s.v. الله تعالى.

worldly affairs and the soundness of his faith <which will secure his well-being> in the Hereafter. If a sinner dreams of God, he will be rightly guided, and if the dreamer is oppressed, he will be victorious against his enemies.

Some of the Arabic interpretations of godhead are similar to those relating to the Prophet Muḥammad. Since we do not know the exact contents of the Arabic texts that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* used for his compilation, it is conceivable that the Greek interpretations of Christ were based on the Arabic interpretations of Muḥammad, possibly because Christ is the founder of the Christian religion, and Muḥammad is the founder of Islam. In *al-Muntakhab*,⁴⁹ dreaming of Muḥammad is interpreted as promising victory, as well as spiritual and worldly improvement:

فانه ان رآه مديون قضى الله دينه وإن رآه مريض شفاه الله وإن رآه محارب نصره الله وإن رآه صرور حج البيت وإن رؤى في ارض جدبة اخصب او في موضع قد فشا فيه الظلم بدل فيه عدلا او في موضع مخوف امن اهله.

If someone who is in debt dreams of Muḥammad, God will release him from his debt; if he is sick, God will heal him; if he is at war, God will grant him victory; if he has never performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, he will manage to perform it. If Muḥammad is dreamt of in an arid land, it will be made fertile; and if he is dreamt of in a land where tyranny had spread it will change to justice, and if he is dreamt of at a place where there is fear, its people will be secure.

Muḥammad is associated with worldly wealth, success, victory, and bliss in the Hereafter in Ibn Shāhīn (nos. 303 and 336):

وقال الكرمانى من رأى النبى فرحا مسرورا ذا بشاشة يدل على العز والجاه والظفر.

Al-Kirmānī said: "Whoever dreams of the Prophet as joyful and cheerful with a smile <on his face>, it signifies power, rank and victory."

ومن رأى المصطفى صلى الله عليه وسلم فإنه يحصل له الفرج بعد الغم ويقضى دينه... وإن كان في ضيق وقحط توافرت النعمة والخير عليه، وأما إذا كان غنيا فإنه يزداد غنى... وقيل رؤيته عليه السلام تدل على سعادة العقبى، وقيل ان كان مغلوبا ينتصر على اعدائه وإن كان مريضا شفاه الله تعالى.

⁴⁹ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 32.

Whoever sees in his dream the Chosen one, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, indeed joy after distress will come to him and his debts will be paid.... If he is in dire straits and in a poor financial situation, beneficence and goodness will fall amply upon him. If he is rich, his wealth will increase.... It is said that the vision of the Prophet, may peace be upon him, signifies bliss in the Hereafter. And it is said that if <the dreamer> was defeated, he will be rendered victorious over his enemies, and if he is sick, God will heal him.

Dreaming of the Prophet is also associated with victory in al-Nābulusī:⁵⁰ وربما دلت رؤيته على نصر المؤمنين ودمار الكافرين... وإن رآه محارب (Sometimes, the vision <of Muḥammad> signifies victory of the believers and destruction of the unbelievers.... If someone who is at war dreams of the Prophet, God will grant him victory).

The excerpt from chapter 150 stating that whatever is said by Christ in a dream will be fulfilled is repeated in chapter 11:⁵¹ εἰς δὲ καὶ ὁμιλήσῃ αὐτῷ, πᾶν, ὃ τι ἀκούσῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ, κρατεῖτω ἀναμφιβόλως (If he also converses with Him, let him without doubt hold on to everything that he heard from Him). Arabic dreambooks state that whatever is uttered by God in a dream will be fulfilled. Al-Dīnawarī says:⁵² وكذلك ان حكم عليه في النوم بحكم او امره بامر فله في اليقظة كما حكم او امر به لقوله تعالى اليس كذلك ان حكم عليه في النوم (Likewise, if God decrees something for the dreamer in his sleep or orders him <to do> something, in his wakefulness things will happen according to God's decree or command, according to the saying of God Almighty: "Is not God the justest of judges?" [Qur'ān 95:8]).

According to chapter 11 of the *Oneirocriticon*, whoever dreamt of Christ is blessed:⁵³ ἀλλὰ καὶ μακάριος ὁ τοιοῦτου θεάματος θεωρός (And the one who saw such a vision is blessed). Modern scholars have thought that this interpretation might have been inspired by the phrase from Luke 10:23:⁵⁴ μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ βλέποντες ἃ βλέπετε (Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see), but Arabic dreambooks also claim that whoever dreams of the Prophet Muḥammad is blessed. According to *al-Muntakhab* (p. 32), قال الاستاذ ابو سعد رضى الله عنه قد بعث الله

⁵⁰ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 216, s.v. محمد.

⁵¹ Drexel 6, 25-26.

⁵² Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 1, *bāb* 1; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 32b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 46a.

⁵³ Drexel 6, 26-27.

⁵⁴ Brackertz, *Das Traumbuch des Achmet*, n. 54.

محمدًا صلى الله عليه وسلم رحمة للعالمين فطوبى لمن رآه في حياته (Master Abū Sa'd, may God be pleased with him, said: "God sent Muḥammad, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, out of mercy for the world, and blessed is whoever saw him during his lifetime and followed him. Whoever will see him in his dream is also blessed").

According to the *Oneirocriticon*, dreaming of entering a house in order to join Christ may signify the dreamer's death.⁵⁵

ἐὰν δὲ ἴδῃ αὐτὸν ἐν οἴκῳ τινὶ ἀγνωρίστῳ καὶ εἰσέλθῃ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ὁ θεωρῶν, οὐχ ὑποστρέψῃ δέ, γινωσκέτω, ὅτι ἀποθανεῖται μὲν ταχύ, σωθήσεται δέ· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κληρονόμοι αὐτοῦ ἀξιομάτων καὶ πλούτου πλησθήσονται.

If <the dreamer> sees Christ in an unknown house and enters the house and does not come back, he should know that he will soon die, but will attain salvation, and his heirs will be loaded with offices and wealth.

According to Arabic dream interpretation, under certain circumstances dreaming of God can foretell the dreamer's death. Ibn Shāhīn (no. 15) says: ومن رأى ان الله تعالى قال له تعال الى يدل على قرب اجله (If someone dreams that God Almighty said to him "Come to me!" this signifies the approach of his death). The interpretation of the house as a dream symbol associated with death in the *Oneirocriticon* can also be traced to Arabic dream interpretation. The Arabic word *dār* can mean "a mansion" or "a large compound of structures," or, in a more general sense, "abode."⁵⁶ The same word is also used to designate the "abode of the Hereafter" (*al-dār al-ākhirā*). Arabic dreambooks therefore interpret an unknown *dār* as the abode of the Hereafter. According to Ibn Qutayba,⁵⁷ الدار المجهولة البناء والتربة والموضع والاهل هي دار الآخرة (A compound with unfamiliar structures, grounds, location, and people is the abode of the Hereafter, especially if <the dreamer> sees in it dead persons whom he recognizes). A more detailed version of the same interpretation can be found in al-Nābulusī:⁵⁸ ومن دخل دارا مجهولة البناء والتربة والموضع والاهل منفردة عن الدور لا سيما ان رأى

⁵⁵ Drex1 6, 27–7, 2.

⁵⁶ The word *bayt* (house) designates a room in the larger compound of a *dār*; in a Bedouin context, *dār* refers to a camp, *bayt* to an individual tent.

⁵⁷ Ibn Qutayba, *bāh* 17, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 35a.

⁵⁸ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 207, s.v. دخول الدار.

فيها موتى يعرفهم فهي الدار الآخرة فانه يموت (If someone enters a *dār* with unfamiliar structures, grounds, location, and people and isolated from the <other> houses, especially if he sees in it dead persons whom he recognizes, this is the abode of the Hereafter and he will die).⁵⁹

According to the excerpt from chapter 150, only the very pure or the very sinful can dream of Christ. This idea is then further developed in chapter 150:⁶⁰

εἰ δὲ ὁ ἰδὼν ἐστὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀμαρτωλός, ἐπιστραφήσεται καὶ ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀποθανεῖται. ὁμοίως γὰρ μαρτυρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ βασιλεύς: ἐὰν ἔχῃ ἄνθρωπον ἐν κινδύνῳ καὶ ὀργῇ καὶ προσκαλέσεται καὶ ἴδῃ αὐτόν, συγχωρεῖ, ὅσα ἥμαρτεν, αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ εἰρημένος οὗτος ἀμαρτωλός τῇ θεωρίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου σωθήσεται. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν καὶ ἁγίων ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων συνομιλοῦντα αὐτῷ, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλεύς, κρατεῖται τὴν ὁμίλιαν ἀναμφιβόλως: εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ, μόνον δὲ εἶδεν, εὐρήσει χαρὰν ἐλάττονα τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ὀπτασίας: εἰ δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ ἦ, εὐρήσει καὶ εἰς τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ προκοπὴν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰκονίζομεν αὐτούς.

If the dreamer is exceedingly sinful, he will repent and die in repentance. This interpretation is also evidenced by <the conduct of> emperors: if they hold someone liable <for something> or if they are angry at him, if they invite him and see him, <that means> they forgive him his wrongdoings. For the same reason, the aforementioned sinner will be saved through beholding his Lord. Likewise, if one of the aforementioned persons sees one of the apostles, prophets, or saints talking to him, if he is king, let him consider that whatever <they said will> undoubtedly <come to pass>. If <the dreamer> does not talk to <the holy figure> but only sees it, he will find joy, but less than in the vision of the Lord. If the dreamer is a commoner, he will make progress in his faith and in his work. This is why we represent <holy figures> on icons.

*Al-Muntakhab*⁶¹ also states that both the righteous and the sinners dream about God. For the latter, such a dream is a warning sent to them in order to repent.⁶²

⁵⁹ These interpretations can also be found, in an almost word-for-word correspondence, in chap. 146 of the *Oneirocriticon* (Drex1 100, 25 ff.): 'Εάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν εἰς οἶκον ἀγνωρίστον ἔχοντα κτίσματα καὶ τόπον καὶ χοῦν καὶ οἰκήτορας ἀγνωρίστους ἢ γνωρίμους μὲν, προτελευτήσαντας δέ, νοεῖτω, ὅτι ὁ οἶκος ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἄλλος κόσμος ἐστὶ καὶ κρίνεται καὶ ὁ ἰδὼν ταχὺ τελευτᾷ (If someone dreams that he entered an unfamiliar estate that had structures, grounds, land and inhabitants he did not know or whom he knew, but who were already dead, let him understand that this estate indeed is, and is interpreted as, the hereafter and the dreamer will soon die).

⁶⁰ Drex1 105, 21–106, 4.

⁶¹ *Al-Muntakhab*, chap. 1, p. 27.

⁶² Repeated in BL *Or.* 6262, fol. 19b [19], which contains al-Khargūshi's *al-bishāra wa-al-*

قال الاستاذ ابو سعد رضى الله عنه من رأى في منامه كأنه قائم بين يدي الله تعالى والله تعالى ينظر اليه فإن كان الرائي من الصالحين فرؤياه رؤيا رحمة وإن لم كان من الصالحين فعليه بالحدذر لقوله تعالى يوم يقوم الناس لرب العالمين.

Master Abū Sa'd, may God be pleased with him, said: "If someone dreams that he is standing in front of God Almighty and that God Almighty is looking at him, if the dreamer is one of the righteous, his dream is a dream of mercy. If he is not one of the righteous, let him be warned, according to the saying of God Almighty: "The day when mankind shall stand before the Lord of all Being" [Qur'ān 83:6].

A similar interpretation is quoted by Ibn Shāhīn (no. 2):

ومن رآه وهو قائم والله تعالى ينظر اليه دائما <يدل> على ان هذا العبد يسلم في امر ويكون في رحمة الله تعالى فإن كان مذنباً ينبغي ان يتوب.

Whoever dreams that he is standing in front of God Almighty and that He is constantly looking at him, <the dream signifies> that this servant of God will have peace in his affairs and be in the mercy of God Almighty. If he is a sinner, it is necessary that he repent.

Dreaming of the Prophet is also interpreted as repentance in al-Nābulusī.⁶³ <If someone dreams of the Prophet>, if he is in heresy and in error, let him be afraid of God).

In effect, any prophet can signify glad tidings or a warning. According to al-Muntakhab,⁶⁴ قال الاستاذ ابو سعد رحمه الله رؤيا الانبياء صلوات الله (Master Abū Sa'd, may God have mercy on him, said: "Dreaming of the prophets, may the blessings of God be upon them, is one of two things, either glad tidings or a warning"). Something similar is also mentioned in the dreambook of al-Nābulusī:⁶⁵ وتدل رؤيته (The vision of the prophets and the apostles, may peace be upon them, signifies <both> a warning and glad tidings).

nidhāra with an omission that obscures the meaning of the passage; the same omission is made in the repetition of this interpretation in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 28; both texts should be corrected on the basis of *al-Muntakhab*.

⁶³ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 215, s.v. محمد .

⁶⁴ *Al-Muntakhab*, chapter 2, p. 28.

⁶⁵ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 287, s.v. نبي من الانبياء .

The passage in chapter 150 connecting Christ with earthly royalty conveys an idea that is, of course, well founded in Byzantine imperial ideology, but it is also not without parallel in Arabic dream interpretation; and the author of the *Oneirocriticon* must have found the coincidence very convenient. Ibn Qutayba only hints at a connection between the prophets and royalty, as the last section of his chapter on the prophets interprets the significance of dreaming about becoming a prophet or a king. Al-Nābulusī associates royalty with the prophets in a direct statement:⁶⁶ رؤيتهم تدل على الملوك لانهم ملوك الدنيا (The vision of the prophets also signifies kings, because the prophets are the kings of this world and the next).

According to chapter 150, the more elevated the status of the holy figure dreamt about the more auspicious the dream. The idea is repeated in chapter 11:⁶⁷

ἀλλὰ καὶ τινὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ πατριαρχῶν ἐάν τις ἴδῃ ὡς τὸν Χριστὸν βλέπων, οὕτως ἔσται αὐτῷ ἡ ἐκβασίς τοῦ πράγματος, πλὴν μετριώτερα καὶ κατωτέρα.

And if someone dreams of any of the apostles or the patriarchs as if he were seeing Christ, the outcome of things will be the same, only more modest and inferior.

A similar way of thinking seems to be reflected in the following passage from al-Dīnawarī:⁶⁸

فمن رأى احدهم = احد من اصحاب النبي في منامه فان رؤيتهم بركة من فضل بركة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم على اقدارهم وهي كرامة الكرم الله تعالى بها صاحب الرؤيا.

If someone dreams of one of them [the companions of the Prophet], indeed, their vision is a blessing from the overflow of the Prophet's blessing—may the peace and blessings of God be upon him—analogous to the identity of the companions <that the dreamer dreams of> and an honor by which God Almighty distinguished the dreamer.

The second half of chapter 150 discusses icons that depict Christ and various holy figures. Dreaming of icons is given more or less the same interpretation as dreaming of the figures depicted on them. Icons of Christ are therefore

⁶⁶ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 288, s.v. نبي من الانبياء .

⁶⁷ Drexl 7, 2-5.

⁶⁸ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 4, *bāb* 1 (اصحاب النبي), *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 42a; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 62a.

ἀποβήσεται αὐτῷ. ὁμοίως καὶ κοινοῦ λαοῦ, ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἔργῳ αὐτοῦ ἀποβήσεται κατὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν αὐτοῦ.

If a man dreams of gilded or ungilded icons, the fulfillment of the dream is more auspicious for those that are ungilded, for the gilded ones often signify sorrow because of the gold.

If someone dreams that he ordered icons of saints to be made, if he is emperor he will devise stratagems and decoys against his enemies. If the representation in the icons succeeds with exactitude, his stratagems will also succeed. If not, the fulfillment of the dream will be proportional. Likewise, if the dreamer is a commoner, each of his activities will succeed according to the <degree of> success <in making the icons>.

The interpretations of chapters 11 and 150 were not invented by the author of the *Oneirocriticon*, but were based on material he found in his Arabic sources. This is as much as one can say with certainty. The Greek interpretations are similar to the Arabic interpretations of God, Muḥammad, and the other prophets, and the Arabic interpretations of these three dream symbols resemble each other. It is therefore impossible to know exactly what Islamic concept the Greek author adapted into what Christian concept. Undoubtedly, the Greek author used the Arabic interpretations creatively, but his efforts to adapt the Muslim material to the needs of his Christian readers are still in agreement with the principles set forth in Arabic dream interpretation, whereby a dream interpreter is encouraged to infer the interpretation of a dream symbol that is missing from the written sources by drawing analogies with the existing interpretations sanctioned by the oneirocritic tradition.⁷⁵ Such an approach to the Arabic material would explain why the interpretations of Christ and other holy figures are essentially repeated in the interpretations of their icons. Since, according to Christian belief, an icon is only a depiction of the original and under no circumstances can it be treated or regarded as the original itself, the *Oneirocriticon* states that the fulfillment of dreaming of an icon is less intense than when dreaming of the actual holy figure the icon represents.

The placement of the chapter on icons in the *Oneirocriticon* is unexpected.

⁷⁵ Ibn Shāhin says (introduction, p. 11: ولو اعتمد المعبرون على ما ضبط في الكتب خاصة: لعجزوا عن أشياء كثيرة لم تذكر في الكتب، لأن علم التعبير واختلاف رؤيا الناس كبحر ليس له شاطئ. (If dream interpreters were to rely specifically on what is set down in books, they would have been helpless regarding many things that are not mentioned in the books, because the science of dream interpretation and differentiation among the dreams of people is like a sea that does not have a shore); see also Fahd, "Les songes et leur interprétation selon l'Islam," p. 146.

It is not among its first religious chapters, but inserted much later, following a chapter on priests and monks (chapter 149), adapted from Muslim interpretations found in the religious section of Arabic dreambooks. In Arabic dreambooks this section is usually placed at the beginning of the work, where Muslim authors put the material on which the author of the *Oneirocriticon* based his interpretations of Christ, the holy figures and icons. Apparently the Greek author remembered to write a chapter on icons—without which no Christian dreambook would be complete—while writing on priests and monks and perusing the religious chapters of his sources for a second time. Christ and other holy figures are treated somewhat cursorily in chapter 11. Their treatment in chapter 150 is more extensive and evidently bolder in its adaptations, possibly because the Christian author, by then almost midway in his compilation, had become more familiar with the Arabic methods and approaches to dream interpretation and felt better able to improvise.

Priests and Priestly Duties

The *Oneirocriticon* interprets dreams about priests and priestly duties in four chapters (11, 12, 139 and 149). Chapter 11, "From the Indians on Prophets, Apostles and Teachers," discusses the significance of dreaming about being ordained patriarch, presbyter, or deacon and of reading to the people from the Holy Books. Such dreams generally signify power, sovereignty and justice exercised by the dreamer (Drex1 7, 6-20). Chapter 12, "From the Account of the Indians on Various Faiths,"⁷⁶ states that dreaming of becoming a priest and praying for the people is interpreted as sovereignty, and reading aloud to people foretells wisdom (Drex1 9, 12-16). If a woman dreams of ordination as priest, however, it means that she will be dishonorably divorced from her husband (chapter 11, Drex1 7, 11-12). An anecdote recounted in chapter 139 (Drex1 92, 1-7), tells of a woman who had such a dream, and prayed on behalf of the people. Sēreim interpreted it as future separation from her husband, fornication, and bearing an illegitimate child. Needless to say, his interpretation proved to be accurate.

Chapter 149 (Drex1 103, 25-105, 11), which also appears at a seemingly

⁷⁶ "ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ πίστεως διαφόρου."

irrelevant place unconnected to the first, religious, chapters of the work, is the longest chapter on priests contained in the *Oneirocriticon*. It interprets dreaming that a priest arrived at a place, or slept in the dreamer's bed, died, had enlarged bodily members, abandoned the priesthood, walked in the dark or in the light, or lost an article that belonged to his priestly attire. It also repeats the interpretations of chapter 11 on the ordination of a lay person as priest. At the very end of the chapter, *Vat. gr.* 573 (fol. 162b) adds one further interpretation that is missing from Drexl's critical edition: γυνὴ ἐὰν ἴδῃ ὅτι ἐγένετο ἱερεὺς καὶ συνελειτουργεῖ ἱερεῖ, ταχὺ ἀποθανεῖται καὶ σωθήσεται (If a woman dreams that she became a priest and performed the liturgy together with a priest, she will die and be saved), which is at odds with the interpretation of a woman's ordination in chapters 11 and 139.

The interpretations of priests generate a number of questions. Were they invented by the Greek author, or copied or adapted from the Arabic model? How can the seemingly arbitrary positions of chapters 139 and 149 be accounted for and how can the disagreement between chapters 11 and 139, on the one hand, and chapter 149, on the other, be reconciled?

As there is no sacerdotal class in Islam, the interpretations of priests given in the *Oneirocriticon* cannot have been copied from an Arabic source. Though Arabic dreambooks do discuss dreaming of Christian priests and church prelates, the interpretations they provide clearly reflect a Muslim point of view and do not coincide with those given in the *Oneirocriticon*. Al-Dīnawarī interprets dreaming of the *katholikos*, of a priest, a monk, and a metropolitan as follows:⁷⁷ فان رأى كأنه صار جاثليقا فإنه يدل على موته أو غرقه أو إشرافه على الهلاك وزوال نعمته. (If someone dreams that he became a *katholikos*, this signifies that he will die or drown or will be on the brink of ruin and will lose all his wealth).⁷⁸ قال المسلمون من رأى أنه راهب فإنه صاحب بدعة قد أفرط فيها وقالت النصارى من رأى كأنه تحول قسا أو راهبا فإنه يورثه شيئا حسنا لكن يعسر عليه شأنه ويضيق عليه رزقه وربما نفع تاويله (The Muslims said: "If someone dreams that he is a monk, he is a heretic <or an innovator> who has just exceeded the proper bounds." The Christians said: "If someone dreams that he became a priest or a monk, he will inherit something exquisite, though his circumstances will become straitened

⁷⁷ The same interpretations are repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, chapter 46, p. 331.

⁷⁸ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 77; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 65b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 144a.

and his daily sustenance will be insecure. Possibly, the fulfillment of this dream will benefit those around him").⁷⁹

من رأى أنه مطران يخضع له فإنه رجل صاحب سلطان يدعوا قوما إلى بدعة فيجيبونه بقدر ما خضعوا له ويغلوا فيه بقدر ما علا من أمره بين الناس فإن دعى مطرانا وهو كاره فإنه يقلد بدعة أو كذبا ويرمى به وهو منه بريء... فإن رأى أنه راهب أو حبر فإنه صاحب بدعة وهو مفرط لقوله تعالى ورهبانية ابتدعوها الآية.

If someone dreams that he is a metropolitan obeyed <by the people>, he is a powerful person who will invite others to heresy and they will follow him by analogy to their obedience <in the dream> and will exceed the proper bounds regarding this by analogy to the loftiness of his rank among the people <in his dream>. If he summoned a metropolitan and <the metropolitan> was unwilling <to come>, he will blindly follow a heresy or a lie and will be accused of it, but will be found innocent.... If someone dreams that he is a monk or a bishop, he is a heretic and a prodigal person, according to the saying of God Almighty: "But monasticism they invented—We ordained it not for them—only seeking God's pleasure, and they observed it not with right observance. So We give those of them who believe their reward, but many of them are evil-livers" [Qur'ān 57:27].⁸⁰

Al-Dīnawarī's interpretation of a Christian sermon can be deduced from an anecdote:⁸¹ A Christian dreamt that he had become a priest and was delivering a sermon to other priests, who were listening to him in silence. A Christian dream interpreter who interpreted the dream said that the dreamer would perpetrate slander three days later, as indeed happened.

The interpretation of the Holy Books in the *Oneirocriticon* is very different from the interpretation of the Gospel in al-Dīnawarī: من رأى أنه يتلو التوراة والإنجيل فلم يعرفهما فإنه رجل يذهب مذهب القدرية والجبرية لقوله تعالى وانتم تتلون الكتاب أفلا تعقلون. (If someone dreams that he is reading aloud from the Torah and the Gospel and does not know them, he is a man who will follow the opinions of the Qadariyya and the Jabariyya,⁸²

⁷⁹ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 78; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 65b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 144a.

⁸⁰ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 80; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 65b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 144a-b. The same interpretation of a metropolitan is repeated in al-Nābulusi, vol. 2, p. 267, s.v. مطران.

⁸¹ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 79; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 65b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 144a.

⁸² In the early theological debates in Islam, the Qadariyya were the advocates of free will, as opposed to the Jabariyya, the advocates of predestination. The theological implications of this interpretation quoted by al-Dīnawarī escape me. See W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam* (London, 1948).

according to the saying of God Almighty: "And ye are readers of the Scripture! Have ye then no sense?" [Qur'ān 2:44]).⁸³ Al-Dīnawarī's chapter on reciting the Qur'ān⁸⁴ quotes a Christian interpretation for dreaming of a book: وقالت النصارى من رأى كأنه يصلح المصاحف ويركبها ويؤلف كتابا فإنه يقبل (The Christians said: "If someone dreams that he put in order and bound the pages of a book"⁸⁵ and assembled a volume, his words will be favorably received and he will become <known for his> honesty among the people"). But even this passage does not appear among the interpretations of books in the *Oneirocriticon*.

Ibn Shāhīn's interpretation of the Christian Gospel (no. 847) also does not include anything close to the relevant passages in the *Oneirocriticon*: من رأى أنه يقرأ الانجيل من الكتاب فإنه يحصل منفعة من قبل النصارى، ومن قرأ من غير كتاب فإنه ينخدع بالباطل عن الحق ويكون محبا للنصارى. (If someone dreams that he is reciting the Gospel from a book, he will receive benefits from the Christians. If he dreams that he is reciting it without a book, he will fail to see clearly what is right and what is wrong and will become a friend of the Christians).

Al-Nābulusī's chapter on the Gospel includes both positive and negative interpretations that reflect the Muslim view of Jesus, his miracles, and the written revelation that he brought to the world:⁸⁶

من رأى من أهل الإسلام أن معه انجيلا تجرد العبادة وتزهد وأثر السياحة والرياضة والانقطاع والعزلة وإن كان ملكا قهر عدوه وربما دلت رؤيته على الكذب والبهتان وقذف المحصنات وربما غلب في مخاصمته أن كان محاكما وإن كان شاهدا شهد بالزور أو تكلم فيما لا يعنيه وإن كان مريضا سلم من مرضه وربما دلت رؤيته على علم الهندسة أو النقل عن العلماء فيما يعلم وربما دلت رؤيته على الكتاب وأرباب التصوير والغناء والطرب.

If a Muslim dreams that he has the Gospel with him, he will renounce the Muslim religious observances, withdraw from the world and chose <to become> an anchorite and an ascetic and <live in> withdrawal and seclusion. If <the dreamer> is a king he will triumph over his enemies. Sometimes this dream signifies deception, slander, and defamation of women with unblemished reputations. Sometimes <the dreamer>

⁸³ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 81; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fols. 65b-66a; BN *arabe* 2645, fol. 144b.

⁸⁴ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 20; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 78b; BN *arabe* 2745, fols. 126a-127a.

⁸⁵ *Maṣāḥif*, which I here render as "pages of a book," can also mean "copies of the Qur'ān."

⁸⁶ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 10, s.v. انجيل.

will triumph against his litigants, if there is a trial pending against him. If he is a witness, he will give false testimony or will report something that does not concern him. If he is sick he will be cured of his illness. Maybe this dream signifies the science of geometry or the conveyance of what <the dreamer> teaches among scholars. Possibly this dream <also> signifies the book and the masters of drawing, singing and musical entertainment.

The association of Christianity in general and the Gospel in particular with slander and falsification of the truth reflects the Muslim belief that the New Testament the Christians follow is incorrect, because its original text has suffered corruption (*tahrif*) in the hands of later editors.⁸⁷ The interpretation of the Gospel as signifying healing and geometry given by al-Nābulusī also seems to have been inspired by the miracles of Jesus described in the Qur'ān.⁸⁸ Finally, the association of the Gospel with triumph over one's enemies or litigants appears to have its roots in al-Nābulusī's interpretation of Christians, which is based on the identity of the radical consonants employed in the Arabic words for "Christian" (*naṣrānī*) and "victory" (*nuṣra*):⁸⁹ والتنصر نصره لمن له (Becoming Christian (*tanaṣṣur*) signifies victory (*nuṣra*) for whoever has *ḥukūma*). The word *ḥukūma* has multiple meanings; it can be translated as "judgment" and "sentence," in which case the dream signifies the triumph of someone facing litigation; it can also be translated as "authority" and "power of government," and then the dream signifies triumph for a ruler or a king.

These parallels make clear that the Christian interpretations of priests and their duties recorded in the *Oneirocriticon* were not copied from the relevant interpretations of Christian dream symbols in Arabic dreambooks, but may have resulted from the adaptation of equivalent Muslim dream symbols. The duties of a Christian priest in worship are partly carried out by an imam in Islam. The imam stands in front of his congregation, though on the same level as everyone else, and leads them in prayer. Mosques generally have an appointed imam who is supported by an endowment, but any suitable male can also lead the prayer (a woman can only lead the prayers for an exclusively female congregation).⁹⁰ The imam is chosen from among the members of a congregation on the basis of his knowledge, particularly of the Qur'ān, his age, and

⁸⁷ For an analysis of specific examples of corruption in the text of the Bible analyzing the Muslim point of view, see *Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Bible."

⁸⁸ See Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'ān*, pp. 83-91.

⁸⁹ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 301, s.v. نصراني.

⁹⁰ When men and women pray in the same space, women always stand behind men in order not to tempt and distract them from prayer.

his leading position in society. The imam may also deliver the *khuṭba*, a sermon that takes place on Fridays after the noon prayer, according to the example set by the Prophet. The *khaṭīb* (preacher) stands on the *minbar* (pulpit)⁹¹ and either reads his sermon from his written text or delivers it from memory. The interpretations of priestly duties in the *Oneirocriticon* imitate the interpretations that Arabic dreambooks give for similar duties usually performed by an imam.

The *Oneirocriticon* states that the dreamer's ordination "on a patriarchal throne" (in other words on an elevated place, such as the Muslim *minbar*) signifies that "his nation will rule." Ordination as presbyter signifies that the dreamer "will become lofty" (ὕψηλός ἔσται) (a metaphor that also has connotations of a physically elevated position), and will "rule over the royal people" (ἐξουσιάσει τοῦ βασιλικοῦ λαοῦ). It is unclear what the Greek author meant by the term "royal people." It could be a literal rendering of the Arabic ملكيون or ملكائية or ملكية or ملكنية (lit. "royalists"), that is, the Melkites, the Christians under Muslim rule who remained loyal to the Byzantine emperor and Chalcedonian orthodoxy.⁹² It could also have a much broader meaning. The term "royal people" has its origins in the Old Testament and indicates God's chosen people, the Jews.⁹³ When it later occurs in the New Testament, it refers to the new chosen people of God, the community of Christians.⁹⁴ The Islamic counterpart to this Judeo-Christian concept is the *umma* or community of Muslims, the "nation of Islam," in a definition that transcends ethnic and political boundaries. The Christian interpretations of ordination therefore are similar to the Muslim interpretations of the *minbar*, especially in the relevant chapter of al-Dīnawarī. The Greek interpretation of ordination is as follows:⁹⁵

Εἴ τις ἰδῇ ἑαυτὸν κατ' ὄναρ χειροτονηθέντα ἐπὶ θρόνου πατριάρχου, βασιλεύσει τὸ ἔθνος αὐτοῦ. ἔάν δὲ χειροτονηθέντα ἰδῇ ἑαυτὸν πρεσβύτερον, ὕψηλός ἔσται καὶ περίβλεπτος ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ ἐξουσιάσει τοῦ βασιλικοῦ λαοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκαιος ἔσται. ἔάν δὲ διάκονος, ἔσται αὐτῷ κατωτέρα ἢ τιμή, ἀναλόγως τοῦ διακόνου πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον. ἔάν δὲ γυνὴ τοῦτο θεάσῃται, χωρίζεται ἀτίμως τοῦ ἰδίου ἀνδρός.

⁹¹ At the time of the Prophet, the *minbar* consisted of three steps but later became much higher.

⁹² See G. Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini* (Louvain, 1954), p. 108.

⁹³ Exodus 19:6 and 23:22.

⁹⁴ Cf. I Peter, 2:9: ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν... (But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people...).

⁹⁵ Chap. 11, Drexl 7, 6-12.

If someone dreams that he was ordained on the patriarchal throne, his race will rule. If he dreams that he was ordained a presbyter, he will become lofty, be admired by all for his office, rule over the royal people and be just. If he <was ordained> deacon, his honor will be inferior in proportion to a deacon's status as compared to a presbyter's. If a woman dreams this, she will be dishonorably divorced from her husband.

Al-Dīnawarī interprets the *minbar* thus:⁹⁶

المنبر سلطان العرب وجماعة الاسلام والمقام الكريم الذي ذكره الله تعالى في كتابه فمن رأى انه على منبر وهو يتكلم بكلام البر فانه يصيب سلطانا شريفا رفيعا كريما ان كان للمنبر اهلا فان لم يكن فهو شهره بخير.

The *minbar* <signifies> the rule of the Arabs <over other peoples>.⁹⁷ <It also signifies> the community of Muslims and the glorious station (*al-maqām al-karīm*) which God Almighty mentions in his Book.⁹⁸ If someone dreams that he is on the *minbar* and is talking in words of righteousness, he will attain honorable, lofty and eminent rulership, if he is worthy of the *minbar*. If he is not, this <dream> indicates that he is well known for his goodness.

Al-Dīnawarī's interpretation of the *khuṭba* (Friday sermon) mentions the possibility of a woman dreaming that she is delivering it; its interpretation is similar to that in the *Oneirocriticon*, in chapter 11 and in an anecdote in chapter 139:⁹⁹

فان خطب واحسن الخطبة وتم كلامه فيها والناس ينظرون عليه وهم سكوت وتمت صلاته بعدها على منهاج الدين فانه يلي ولاية تنخضع الناس له فيها * فان رأت امرأة انها تخطب وكان كلامها غير حكمة فإنها تفتضح وتشهر بما تنكر من فعل النساء.

And if <someone> delivers the sermon properly and completes his speech and the people pay attention to him by keeping silent, and if after the sermon his prayer is

⁹⁶ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 46; Esad Efendi 1833, fol. 80b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 136b; repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 232, s.v. منبر.

⁹⁷ The Arabic phrase سلطان العرب could also be translated as "a sultan of the Arabs." However, the use of the word *sulṭān* to mean "ruler" is relatively late (for example, it does not occur in the Qur'ān).

⁹⁸ The word *maqām* means "site, location, position", but also "situation, station" and "rank, dignity," as well as "sacred place." The interpretation of the *minbar* as the "glorious *maqām*" obviously draws upon the multiple meanings of the word *maqām*. Qur'ān 42:81 mentions the *maqām mahmūd*, translated as "glorious station," which is understood to be a special place in heaven reserved for Muḥammad.

⁹⁹ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 45; Esad Efendi 1833, fol. 80b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 136a. Similar interpretations are repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, pp. 173-74, s.v. خطيب.

also completed according to the precepts of Islam, he will exercise sovereign power and the people will obey him.... If a woman dreams that she delivered the sermon but her words are unwise, she will be publicly exposed and will become notorious for an abominable deed of the kind that is disapproved of for women to do.

Ibn Shāhīn (no. 1015) gives a similar interpretation: *وان رأيت المرأة انها تقرأ الخطبة وتتكلم بالعلم والحكمة فانها تفتضح*. (If a woman dreams that she is reading the sermon or is talking knowledgeably and wisely, she will be disgraced). Additional interpretations of the *minbar* and the sermon (nos. 923, 927, 1011) also agree with those on priestly ordination given in the *Oneirocriticon*:

من رأى انه يخطب على المنبر وهو اهل لذلك يحصل له علو وقدر وعز واجاه... وان كان سلطانا مصلحا يدل على عدله وإنصافه... وإن كان امرأة فيفتضح زوجها، وقيل يشتهر على رؤوس الاشهاد بكلام لا خير فيه، وقيل انها تتزوج وربما تطلق او تأتي بولد من الزنا وعلى كل حال لا خير فيه.

If someone dreams that he is delivering the sermon from the *minbar*, if he is qualified, he will attain grandeur, power, might and glory.... If he is a righteous ruler, this signifies his fairness and equity.... If the dreamer is a woman, her husband will be publicly disgraced, and it is said that he will become notorious among the leaders of the witnesses for <uttering> words that have nothing good in them. It is also said that <the woman who dreams this> will marry and perhaps her husband will divorce her, or she will conceive a child from fornication. At any rate, nothing good will come of this dream.

ومن رأى انه يعظ الناس وكان اهلا للولاية فإنه يتولى امرا يحكم فيه

If someone dreams that he is preaching to the people, if he is suited to rule he will exercise it and will do it well.

ومن رأى انه على منبر يتكلم بالعلوم والحكمة او يخطب فإن كان من اهل ذلك المكان يحصل له من الامام او من يقوم مقامه علو قدر وشرف.

If someone dreams that he is standing on the *minbar* and is talking knowledgeably and wisely, or that he is delivering a sermon, if he is from the people of that place he will acquire from the imam, or whoever substitutes for him, grandeur, power and honor.

Priesthood and priestly duties in the *Oneirocriticon* are generally associated with rulership and authority, as well as fairness in exercising it. The interpretations from chapters 11 and 12 about reading from the Holy Books to the people and praying, as well as the additional interpretations of ordination

from chapter 149, repeat this pattern:

Εάν τις βιβλίον ἀναγνῶ κατ' ὄναρ ἀποστόλων ἢ διδασκάλων ἢ προφητῶν εἰς ἐπήκοον λαοῦ, μεγιστάνων προσώπων γενήσεται ὑπηρέτης, τιμώμενος ὑπὸ λαοῦ, ἢ ἀποσταλήσεται βασιλικὸς καὶ δικαιοπραγήσει καὶ ἐπαινεθήσεται. εἴαν δὲ τοῦτο ἴδῃ βασιλεὺς, ποθαινὸς γενήσεται τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ δικαιοκρίτης. εἴαν δὲ τὸ βιβλίον εὐαγγέλιον ἢ καὶ θεάσῃται αὐτό τις, εὐρήσει ὕψος ἀξιώματος καὶ ἐξουσίας, διότι, ὃ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν οἱ λαϊκοί, αὐτὸς καθ' ὕπνου ἐποίησεν.¹⁰⁰

If someone reads a book in his dream written by any of the apostles or teachers or prophets, and the people are listening, he will serve powerful persons and will be honored by the people, or he will be sent on an imperial mission, will act justly and receive praise. If an emperor dreams this, he will be loved by his people and be a fair judge. If the book is the Gospel and somebody dreams <that he is reading it aloud and people are listening>, he will achieve high rank and authority, because in his sleep he did something that laymen have no authority to do.

Εάν δὲ τις ἴδῃ ἑαυτὸν, ὅτι πρεσβυτέρου τάξιν ἔχων τοῦ λαοῦ ὑπερέχεται, λαοῦ ἄρξει καὶ ἀγαπηθήσεται παρὰ πάντων.¹⁰¹

If someone dreams that he has the rank of a priest and prays on behalf of the people, he will rule over the people and be loved by everyone.

Εάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι λαϊκὸς ὢν ἐχειροτονήθῃ ἱερεὺς, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλικός, μεγίστην καὶ πρώτην ἀξίαν εὐρήσει παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰ δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ ἢ πτωχός, μεγίστῳ ἀκολουθήσει καὶ τιμὴν καὶ χάριν εὐρήσει παρ' αὐτοῦ. εἴαν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι λαϊκὸς ὢν ἐχειροτονήθῃ διάκονος, καὶ οὗτος εὐρήσει χάριν καὶ τιμὴν ἥττονα τοῦ ἱερέως. εἴαν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι χειροτονηθεὶς ἀπέλιπε τὴν χειροτονίαν, ἐξουσίαν εὐρήσει καὶ χάριν καὶ ταχὺ ἀπολέσας αὐτὴν κινδυνεύσει.¹⁰²

If someone sees that, though he is a layman, he was ordained a priest, if he is a royal official, he will achieve exalted and high rank from the emperor. If he is a commoner or a pauper, he will follow a powerful person and will be given honor and favor from him. If someone sees that, though he is a lay person, he was ordained a deacon, he will also receive favor and honor, <though> less than in <dreaming of being ordained> priest. If someone sees that, after being ordained, he abandoned the priesthood, he will receive power and favor, but will soon lose it and be exposed to danger.

Arabic dreambooks similarly interpret dreaming about the functions of an imam as signifying rulership and wielding authority with fairness, since the word can be a honorific title applied to the head of a community or a group,

¹⁰⁰ Chap. 11, Drex1 7, 13-20.

¹⁰¹ Chap. 12, Drex1 9, 12-14.

¹⁰² Chap. 149, Drex1 104, 30-105,7.

and can also be used for the caliph. In particular, the interpretation of being a priest and praying for the people (chapter 12, Drexl 9, 12-14) has its counterpart in the Arabic interpretation of leading a congregation in prayer. Ibn Qutayba interprets this dream as follows:¹⁰³ من رأى انه يؤم الناس في الصلاة ولى (Whoever dreams that he leads the people in prayer will have sovereign power and will be just in exercising it if the direction towards which he recites his prayer is correct and his prayer is complete).

Al-Dīnawarī also interprets leading prayer as sovereignty:¹⁰⁴

من رأى انه امام يصلى بالناس لا يكون في اليقظة اماما فإنه يلى ولاية شريفة يطاع فيها كما يطاع الامام ويقتدى به من وراءه إن كان للولاية اهلا وإذا استقامت قبلته وتمت فريضته وكان ركوعه وسجوده على منهاج الدين وشرائع الاسلام فإنه يعدل في ولايته على قدر صلاته وخشوعه.

If someone dreams that he is an imam who leads the people in prayer, if he is not an imam when he is awake, if he is suitable for leadership he will exercise illustrious sovereign power and will be obeyed to the extent that the people who are <praying> behind him obey him and follow his example. If the direction towards which he prays is correct, the obligatory procedure is performed to its completion, and his kneelings and prostrations are in accordance with the precepts of religion and the canon law of Islam, he will exercise his sovereignty with fairness commensurate with the validity of his prayer and his submission <to the rules of religion>.¹⁰⁵

Al-Muntakhab likewise associates prayer with sovereignty, as well as the dreamer's religious well-being: الاصل في رؤيا الصلاة في المنام انها محمودة دينا ودنيا وتدل على إدراك ولاية ونيل رسالة او قضاء او اداء امانة او اقامة (The basic meaning of prayer in a dream is that of something good for one's religion and worldly pursuits. It signifies the achievement of rulership, or the granting of a mission or a judgeship, or the fulfillment of a trust and the performance of one of the obligatory duties <of a believer> to God).¹⁰⁶ *Al-Muntakhab* then adds:¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Ibn Qutayba, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 27a ff.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 18, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 76a; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 125a.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Dīnawarī continues by explaining what kind of appointment the dreamer will receive depending on what kind of people comprised the congregation which he led in prayer.

¹⁰⁶ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 48. Several passages on the interpretation of prayer that follow in *al-Muntakhab* are identical with phrases found in the relevant entry in al-Dīnawarī.

¹⁰⁷ *Al-Muntakhab*, pp. 49-50.

فان رأى من ليس بامام في اليقظة كأنه يؤم الناس في الصلاة وكان للولاية اهلا نال ولاية شريفة وصار مطاعا فان ام بهم الى القبلة وصلى بهم صلاة تامة عدل في ولايته.

If someone who is not an imam when he is awake dreams that he leads the people in prayer, if he is suitable for leadership he will receive exalted sovereign power and will be obeyed. If he leads them in prayer in the correct direction (*qibla*) and prays the complete prayer, he will exercise his sovereignty with fairness.

Ibn Shāhīn and al-Nābulusī also interpret prayer as sovereign power. Ibn Shāhīn (no. 407) quotes al-Kirmānī: قال الكرماني من رأى انه يؤم قوما (al-Kirmānī said: "If someone dreams that he is leading a congregation in prayer, this is grandeur, power and implementation of his orders"). According to al-Nābulusī:¹⁰⁸ صلاة الفرض في المنام للمصلى (The obligatory prayer¹⁰⁹ in a dream <signifies> rulership or leadership or a mission for the one who was praying).

The interpretation of reading from the Holy Books to the people also coincides with the interpretation of reading from the Qur'ān in Arabic dreambooks. Al-Dīnawarī interprets such a dream as follows:¹¹⁰

قراءة القرآن في المصحف امر ونهى وشرف وسرور *وقيل من رأى انه يقرأ القرآن ظاهرا فإنه رجل... يكون مؤمنا خاشعا يأمر بالمعروف وينهى عن المنكر لقوله عز ذكره يتلون آيات الله انا الليل الآية.

Reading the Qur'ān from the pages of the book indicates a command, a prohibition, honor and joy. It is said that if someone dreams that he read the Qur'ān in public, he is a man who ... will be faithful and submissive to what is fair and will forbid what is reprehensible, according to the saying of God Almighty: "They recite the revelations of God in the watches of the night and fall prostrate <before Him>" [Qur'ān 3:113].

ومن رأى انه حفظ القرآن ولم يكن يحفظه نال ملكا...¹¹¹ Al-Nābulusī adds:

¹⁰⁸ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, pp. 31 ff., s.v. صلاة. Al-Nābulusī's entry on prayer begins like that in *al-Muntakhab*.

¹⁰⁹ In addition to the five obligatory daily prayers (*ṣalā*) there is the *du'ā* (lit. "calling"), an individual spontaneous prayer, and the *dhikr* (lit. "remembrance") or invocation to God.

¹¹⁰ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 20; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 78b; BN *arabe* 2745, fols. 126a-127a. Repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 135, s.v. قرآن.

¹¹¹ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, pp. 135-36, s.v. قرآن. The beginning of this chapter in al-Nābulusī is copied from al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 20 (مصحف). Interpretations other than those of al-Dīnawarī begin on p. 136.

وتلاوة القرآن تدل على كثيرة الاعمال الصالحة وعلى علو الدرجة (If someone dreams that he memorized the Qur'ān but has not memorized it <in real life>, he will become a ruler.... The recitation of the Qur'ān signifies an abundance of good deeds and elevation of one's rank). And: من قرأ القرآن او شيئاً منه في منامه نال رفعة وعزا... وان قرأ القرآن بصوت حسن (If someone recites the Qur'ān or a passage from it in his dream, he will attain high rank and power.... And if he recites the Qur'ān in a beautiful voice, he will attain power, high rank and a fine reputation).¹¹²

In the *Oneirocriticon* reading from books without further specification is interpreted as wisdom:¹¹³ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐὰν ἴδῃ, ὅτι τῷ λαῷ ὑπαναγινώσκει βίβλους, οὗτος σοφὸς ἔσται. εἰ δὲ βασιλεύς τοῦτο ἴδῃ, τροπαιοῦχος ἔσται καὶ σοφός. (If the same person dreams that he is reading books to the people, he will become wise. If an emperor dreams this, he will be victorious and wise). Reading the Qur'ān is interpreted as wisdom in Arabic dreambooks, according to a passage from Ibn Qutayba:¹¹⁴ القرآن حكمة فمن رأى انه قرأ (The Qur'ān is wisdom. If someone dreams that he is reading the Qur'ān from a book, or that he is disseminating it,¹¹⁵ this is indeed wisdom that he will achieve or that he will seek). The same interpretation is repeated in Ibn Shāhīn (no. 449) قيل من رأى انه يقرأ شيئاً من القرآن فإنه يتكلم بالحق وقال ابن سيرين (It is said that if someone dreams that he is reading something from the Qur'ān, he will speak words of righteousness. Ibn Sīrīn said that he will become wise, if he is worthy of it).

Although chapters 11 and 139 agree that a woman's ordination as priest or

¹¹² Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 136, s.v. قراءة. Al-Nābulusī's interpretation of reciting the Qur'ān is the opposite of his interpretation of the Gospel. The Gospel indicates giving false testimony, as opposed to reciting the Qur'ān which guarantees the truth (vol. 2, p. 136): من قرأ القرآن او شيئاً منه في منامه... ان كان من ذوات الشهادات شهد بالحق... (If someone recites the Qur'ān or a passage from it in his dream..., if he is about to serve as a witness, he will give accurate testimony).

¹¹³ Chap. 12, Drexl 9, 14-16.

¹¹⁴ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 9, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 27b.

¹¹⁵ The verb *nashara*, here rendered as "disseminated," rarely has this meaning. Its primary meaning is "unrolled," but the word for "book" (*muṣḥaf*) used in the same phrase refers to a codex, not a scroll.

performance of priestly duties foretells her public disgrace, chapter 149 in *Vat. gr.* 573¹¹⁶ says that a woman who dreamt she became priest (ἐγένετο ἱερεὺς) and performed the liturgy together with a priest (συνελεितούργει ἱερεῖ) will die. The ultimate source of this interpretation is probably Artemidoros;¹¹⁷ it appears in three of the five Arabic dreambooks examined. Al-Dīnawarī states:¹¹⁸ فان رأى ان المرأة تؤم بالناس ماتت لان المرأة لا تتقدم الناس الا عند الموت (If he dreams that a woman is leading the people in prayer she will die, because a woman never stands in front of people except at death). *Al-Muntakhab* (p. 50) quotes a similar interpretation: ان رأت امرأة كأنها تؤم بالرجال ماتت لان المرأة لا تتقدم الرجال الا في الموت (If a woman dreams that she is leading men in prayer, she will die, because a woman never stands in front of men except at death). Al-Nābulusī repeats it as well:¹¹⁹ وان رأى امرأة انها تؤم الرجال فإنها تموت لانها لا تصلح للامامة (If someone dreams that a woman is leading men in prayer, she will die, because it is not proper for a woman to lead the prayer <of men> and such a thing never happens except at death, when she is placed before them and they pray for her). A possible explanation of this inconsistency is that the woman's ordination in chapter 11 was adapted from an Arabic passage interpreting the significance of a woman standing on the *minbar* and delivering the *khuṭba*. On the other hand, the ordination of a priest and a woman officiating at the liturgy in chapter 149 must have been adapted from an Arabic interpretation of leading the prayer of a congregation.

An Arabic counterpart to the anecdote related in chapter 139 of the *Oneirocriticon* could not be found in any of the five Arabic dreambooks used for comparison with the Greek text. But a similar anecdote is related in a small Arabic dreambook of unknown date that is (possibly falsely) attributed to the Persian mathematician and astronomer 'Umar al-Khayyām (1048-1125), who is best known in the Western world for his collection of poetry called the

¹¹⁶ Fols. 162v-163r.

¹¹⁷ ii.30; Pack 153, 12-14: πᾶσα δὲ ἱερωσύνη καὶ πᾶσα ἀρχή, ἥς μὴ μέτεστι γυναικί, ἐὰν ὑπολάβῃ γυνὴ ἱερατεύειν ἢ ἄρχειν, θάνατον αὐτῇ προαγορεύει (If a woman dreams that she is a priest or holds any priestly office or magistracy not open to a woman, it means that she will die). In the translation of Hunayn b. Ishāq (Fahd, *Artémidore d'Éphèse*, p. 277, 14-15): فاما الكهانة وجميع الرياسات التي لا يصلح ان تكون للنساء فان المرأة ان رأتها دلت على موتها.

¹¹⁸ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 18, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 76a; *BN arabe* 2745, fol. 125b.

¹¹⁹ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 20, s.v. الصلاة امام.

Rubā'īyyāt.¹²⁰ Chapter 139 of the *Oneirocriticon* relates the following (Drexl 92, 1-7):

Γύναιόν ποτε πρὸς τὸν ὄνειροκρίτην Σηρεῖμ ἐλθὼν εἶπε· τί μοι ἔσται, ὅτι εἶδον κατ' ὄναρ ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ ἐμαυτὴν ὡς ἱερέα ἤτοι προσευχίτην προσευχομένην ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἐν ποίᾳ ὥρᾳ τοῦτο ἐθεάσω; ἡ δὲ ἔφη· ἐνάτῃ. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη· ὅτι τρεῖς μῆνες ἔσονται καὶ χωρισθήσῃ τοῦ συζύγου σου καὶ ἐκ πορνείας συλλήψεις καὶ τέξεις. ὁ δὲ καὶ γέγονεν.

A woman once came to the dream interpreter Sêreim and said: "What will happen to me, for tonight I dreamt of myself as a priest, that is, one who says prayers, praying on behalf of people." He said: "At what hour did you see this?" She said: "The ninth." He answered: "Three months will pass, and you will be separated from your husband and will conceive from fornication and give birth." And it happened so.

A corresponding anecdote is narrated in 'Umar al-Khayyām's chapter on the interpretation of "Elevated Places and High Locations":¹²¹

واتى رجل إلى ابن سيرين فقال رايت امرأة تخطب على المنبر والناس حوله، فقال إن صدقت رؤياك لتفضحن هذه المرأة على رؤوس الناس.

A man came to Ibn Sirin and said: "I saw a woman who was delivering a sermon from the *minbar* and the people were around her." Ibn Sirin said: "If your dream is truthful, this woman will be disgraced in public."

As soon as we realize that the anecdote in chapter 139 is an adaptation of a similar Arabic anecdote about a woman delivering the sermon from the *minbar*, we can also account for the puzzling position of the Greek anecdote in the *Oneirocriticon*. The content of chapter 139 seems unrelated to the content of the chapters immediately surrounding it, as it is tucked between chapter 138, "From the Persians and the Egyptians on Emesis," and chapter 140, "From the Indians on Purgatives." Further on, chapter 141 is entitled "From the Persians and Egyptians on Purgatives," chapter 142 "From the Indians on the Ownership of Land and Houses," and chapter 143 "From the Persians and Egyptians on the Ownership of Lands and Houses." These chapters interpret owning high buildings, but also hills and mountains. 'Umar al-Khayyām's anecdote about the woman who delivered a sermon from the *minbar* was included in a chapter on "Elevated Places and High Locations," which interprets dreaming of mountains, steep roads, *minbars* and canopies and states that "every mountain is a

¹²⁰ 'Umar al-Khayyām (attributed to), *Ta'bir al-manām* (Cairo, 1991).

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

minbar" (كل جبل منبر). It is therefore possible that chapter 139 of the *Oneirocriticon* was originally attached to chapters 142 and 143 and was displaced by the Greek author, who either did not understand the logic of arranging the chapters or was careless about preserving the order of the interpretations found in his Arabic sources. Or the dislocation might have occurred in the course of the transmission of the Greek text, since the relationship of the anecdote to the interpretation of elevated places was no longer obvious, the *minbar* having disappeared from the Greek text.

Chapter 149, "On Priests," followed by chapter 150, "On Holy Icons," and 151, "On Trees and Plants," is found after the chapter called "From the Persians and the Egyptians on Buildings," the last paragraph of which discusses dreams and the Egyptians on Buildings. Chapter 149 is based on the Arabic interpretations of about pagan temples. Chapter 149 is based on the Arabic interpretations of dreaming about an imam. Arabic dreambooks generally concentrate on dreams concerning leaders (caliphs, sultans, kings, imams, etc.) toward the end of the religious chapters at the beginning of the book, though they can also be found in the chapters on various human activities.¹²² The *Oneirocriticon* has a few interpretations based on Muslim interpretations pertaining to imams in its religious chapters, but the interpretation of the significance of emperors in dreams (chapter 127) is placed near the chapters on activities associated with war, such as decapitation and slaughter, as is done in *al-Muntakhab*.

The appearance of the chapter on priests in a third section of the *Oneirocriticon* unconnected to the other two has two possible explanations. Either the Greek author used three different Arabic dreambooks (which would be consistent with his claim that he relied on three different kinds of sources), each with a different arrangement; or he inserted a chapter on priests after the interpretations of pagan temples on his own initiative. Perhaps the preceding discussion of pagan temples reminded him that he had neglected to dedicate a chapter to priests. Priests in turn reminded him to insert a chapter on icons, the material for which was furnished by the first, religious, chapters of his Arabic sources. Chapter 149 contains nothing that was invented by the author of the *Oneirocriticon*, since almost every paragraph on the interpretation of priests (Drexl 103, 25-105, 11) corresponds to an analogous paragraph found in the surviving Arabic dreambooks:

Drexl 103, 26-104, 2: Εάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν ἱερεὺς ἐστολισμένος ἐν τόπῳ, οὗ οὐκ ἦν τύπος εἰσερχεσθαι αὐτόν, εἰς τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν τῷ

¹²² Cf. chap. 30 in *al-Muntakhab*, which is between a chapter on clothes (29) and a chapter on war (31).

τόπω θλίψις καὶ φόβος ἀπὸ ἐξουσιάζοντος διακρίνεται· ὁμοίως καὶ ἐξουσιαστῆς ἂν εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τόπω τινὶ παρὰ τύπον, εἰς θλίψιν καὶ φόβον τῶν οἰκητόρων κρίνεται, ἀλλὰ ἐλάττωνα.

If someone sees in his dream that a priest in his priestly attire entered a place where it was not customary for him to enter, it is interpreted as sorrow and fear coming from a magistrate to the inhabitants of that place. Likewise, if a magistrate enters a place contrary to regular <custom>, it is interpreted as sorrow and fear for the inhabitants, but to a lesser degree.

Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 27a-b:

فان رأى الامام دخل داراً او محلة او قرية ينكر دخوله // منها اصاب اهل ذلك الموضع مصيبة عظيمة وكذلك السلطان دونه.

And if he dreams that an imam entered a house or a quarter of a city or a village, and his entry there is disapproved of, a great misfortune will befall the people of that place. And <the entry of> a sultan is interpreted likewise, but <the calamity> is less than <in the case of an imam>.

Cf. also Ibn Qutayba, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 5b, l. 2 (Ankara Is. Saib Sincer I, 4501, fol. 189b):

وكالمك يرى في المحلة او البلدة او الدار وقدرها يصغر عن قدره وينكر دخول مثله يعبر ذلك بالمصيبة والذل ينال اهل ذلك الموضع لقوله ان الملوك اذا دخلوا قرية الاية

... and likewise, <if> a king is dreamt of <as being> at a place or a land or a house the grandeur of which is inferior to his own grandeur, and the entry of someone like him <in this place> is frowned upon, <this> is interpreted as a calamity and disgrace that will befall the people of that location according to the saying of God, "Lo! kings, when they enter a township, ruin it and turn the honor of its people into shame" [Qur'an 27:34].¹²³

Drexl 104, 2-5: εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ὑπνωσεν εἰς τὴν στρωμνὴν αὐτοῦ, συμφιλιᾶσει τῷ ἱερεὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς δολιευόμενος ἀναβήσεται τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ ἰδόντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ κληρονομήσει αὐτόν.

If someone sees that the priest entered and slept in his bed, he will befriend that priest and the priest will treacherously mount the wife of the dreamer, but <the dreamer> will also receive an inheritance from <the priest>.

¹²³ The same interpretation is recorded in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 1127.

Cf. al-Dinawarī, *faṣl* 9, *bāb* 2; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 67b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 148a:

فان رأى نفسه نائماً مع الامام في لحاف ليس بينهما سترة وقام للامام وبقي هو نائماً فانه يخالط الامام مخالطة ** <تجعد؟> عليه ويصير عليه ماله في حياته او مماته لان النائم كالليت والميت اذا وجده الانسان وجد مالا * وان انتبه الامام وبقي هو نائماً صار هو ماله.... فان رأى انه نائم على فراش الامام وكان الفراش معروفاً فانه يصيب من الامام او من دونه امرأة او جارية بقدر ذلك الفراش وخطره.

If someone dreams of himself sleeping under the same bedcovers as an imam without a curtain between them, and the dreamer gets up in reverence for the imam, but the imam remains <in bed> sleeping, the dreamer will become associated with the imam and <*>¹²⁴ and his money will end up in the dreamer's hands, either during the imam's lifetime or after his death, because someone who is asleep is like someone who is dead, and whenever people find someone dead they also find money. But if the imam is awake and the dreamer remains asleep, the imam will receive <the dreamer's> money. If someone dreams that he is sleeping in the bed of the imam, if the bed is known <to him>, he will receive from the imam or someone else a woman or a slave girl analogous to the bed and his own importance.

Drexl 104, 5-9: εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὅτι ἐντόπιος ἱερεὺς ἀπέθανεν, εἰς ἀπώλειαν τῆς πίστεως τοῦ ἱερέως ἐστὶν ἡ κρίσις. εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὅτι νοσεῖ, νόσον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κρινέτω καὶ φανέρωσιν καὶ μακροζωίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑγίαν.

If someone dreams that a local priest died, the interpretation refers to the loss of the priest's faith. If he dreams that a priest is sick, let him interpret <it> as weakness in the priest's faith and disclosure <of this fact [?]>, as well as longevity and health.

Cf. *al-Muntakhab* p. 147, line 10:

ومرض الامام دليل ظلمه ويصح جسمه في تلك السنة وموته خلل يقع في مملكته وحمل الرجال اياه على اعناقهم قوة ولايته وضعف دينه ودين رعيته من غير رجاء صلاح.

Illness of an imam is an indication of his wrongdoing, but his body will be sound throughout that year. His death signifies something harmful that will occur in his

¹²⁴ One word is incomprehensible in the manuscripts. BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 148a, has *تجعد* (from the verb *جعد* = to be or become curly) which makes no sense in this context. Possibly, the intended verb was *تَجَمَّلُ* عليه (in which case the sentence should be translated "he will become associated with him and the association will be pleasant for him").

kingdom, and the people with him will carry upon their shoulders the vehemence of his rule, and his religious faith will be weakened, while the faith of his flock from throughout the region will be sound.

Drexl 104, 10-21: 'Εάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ἱερέως ἐγένετο μείζων, ἢ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ μείζων ἔσται κατὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων τῆς γῆς. εἰ δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἱερέως ἐγένετο μείζων, εἰς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ ἱερέως δύναμιν καὶ φόβον κρινέτω. εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ πάχος καὶ ἰσχὺν ἴδῃ, ἔσται δυνατὸς εἰς τὰς θυσίας αὐτοῦ, εἰ δὲ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ μήκος καὶ ἰσχὺν, εὐρήσει ὁ ἱερεὺς δούλους καὶ βοηθοὺς δυνατούς. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ὁ ἱερεὺς μεγίστην κοιλίαν ἐκτήσατο, εὐρήσει οὗτος ὁ ἱερεὺς φιλίαν καὶ πλοῦτον πολλὸν καὶ συνέλευσιν τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ. εἰ δὲ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ἐπαχύνθησαν καὶ ἐστερεώθησαν, καὶ οὗτος εὐρήσει χρυσίον καὶ δούλους βοηθοὺς ὁμοίως. ἐὰν ἴδῃ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον, ἀπ' ἐναντίας νοεῖτω τὰ πράγματα.

If someone dreams that the priest's head becomes larger, <the priest's> power over the inhabitants of the land will become greater. If the face of the priest becomes larger, let this be interpreted as power and awe in the priest's words. If <the dreamer> sees thickness and strength in the priest's neck, he will be powerful in his sacraments. If [the dreamer] sees length and strength in the priest's hand, the priest will acquire strong slaves and assistants. If he sees that the priest had a big belly, this priest will acquire a large household, much wealth and an assembly of his relatives. If his feet become fatter and steadier, he will find gold and likewise servants who will assist him. If he sees <all> these deteriorating, let him understand that things <will develop> in the opposite way.

Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 27b:

وما رأى من جوارحه من فضل فذلك قوته في سلطانه وما رأى في بطنه من فضل وعظم فذلك زيادة في ماله وولده واهل بيته والنقصان بحسب ذلك.

And whichever limb of the priest is seen as <becoming> excessive, this is the strength <of the priest> in his authority. And if the dreamer sees the priest's belly becoming bigger and stronger <it indicates> an increase in the priest's wealth, offspring, and <number of> people in his household. And the decrease <of the limbs is interpreted> by analogy to that.

Cf. also al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 9, *bāb* 3; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 99a; *BN arabe* 2745, fols. 150b-151a:

ان رأى في اعضاء الامام خاصة زيادة بقدر ما يمنعه عن منافع سائر جسده فهو خير وان رأى فيها وهنا او نقصانا او كسرا فانه نقصان فيما ينسب اليه ذلك العضو وندامة فإن رأى ان في راسه عظما فهو رياسة وقوة في

سلطانه... فان رأى غلظا في عنقه فهو قوته في عدله وانصافه وهزيمته لاعدائه... فان رأى في يديه سمنا وقوة فانه قوة دينه واسلامه... فان رأى في بطنه عظما فهو زيادة في اهل قوة وباس فان رأى ان فيهما <الجسد والبطن> عظما فهو زيادة ماله... فان رأى ان رجليه تحولتا رصا صا فانه يكون كثير المال حيث ادرك.

If someone dreams of a particular increase in the bodily parts of the imam to a degree that prevents the use of the rest of his body, it is a good thing. If he dreams of a weakness, decrease, or breaking <in any of the imam's bodily parts> this means a decrease in whatever refers to that member, as well as regret. If someone dreams that the head of the imam becomes bigger, this means leadership and strength in the imam's authority.... If he dreams that the neck of the imam becomes thicker, this means strength in his impartiality, fairness, and defeat of his enemies.... If he dreams that the imam's hands becomes fatter and stronger, this means strength in the imam's religious faith and submission to God (*Islām*).... If he dreams that the imam's belly becomes bigger, this means an increase in his household, power, and fortitude. If he dreams of an increase in both the belly and the body of the imam, this means an increase in the imam's money.... If he dreams that the feet of the imam become made of lead, this represents the greatest possible increase in his money.

Drexl 104, 26-29: ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ὁ ἱερεὺς περιπατεῖ ἐν τόπῳ σκοτεινῷ, νοεῖτω, ὅτι ἐν σκοτεινοῖς ἀμαρτάνει πρὸς τὸν θεόν· εἰ δὲ περιπατεῖ ἐν τόπῳ φωτεινῷ καὶ χλοάζοντι, ἐν φωτὶ εὐαρεστεῖ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀγαθοεργεῖ.

If someone dreams that the priest is walking in a dark place, let him reckon that <the priest> is secretly sinning against God. If he is walking in a bright and verdant place, <the priest> is openly pleasing God and performing good deeds.

Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 46 (النوادر = "rare interpretations" or "odd interpretations"), fol. 61a:

النور في التاويل هو الهدى والظلمة الضلالة قال الله عز وجل الله ولي الذين امنوا يخرجهم من الظلمت الى النور يعنى من الضلالة الى الهدى...

Light in dream interpretation is true religion and correct religious guidance (*huda*), while darkness is straying from the truth and from the right path. God Almighty said: "God is the protecting friend of those who believe. He bringeth them out of darkness into light" [Qur'ān 2:257], that is, from the wrong into the right path.

Monastic Tonsure and Monks

The *Oneirocriticon* interprets monastic tonsure in two passages. The first is in the last paragraph of chapter 11, "From the Indians on Prophets, Apostles and Teachers." It states that an emperor who dreams that he has been tonsured and dressed as a monk will soon lose his imperial status and die; if a commoner "suffers such a fate in a dream" (ὁ τοῦτο θεασάμενος καὶ παθών), he will die in poverty and sorrow; a married woman will be widowed, while a celibate woman will die celibate.¹²⁵ Though it may be surprising to the reader of a Christian dreambook that the adoption of monasticism, the only social condition primarily devoted to God, is tainted with negative associations, the interpretations contained in the *Oneirocriticon* nonetheless reflect some Byzantine realities. Regardless of the degree to which monastic vows were kept, upon adoption of the habit a novice took vows of poverty. A number of individuals, both men and women, adopted the monastic habit after being widowed. Fallen emperors or disgraced aristocrats and their family members were often forced to withdraw to monasteries (instead of being executed or sent to prison) as a means of eliminating them from the political arena.¹²⁶ Seen from this point of view, negative interpretations of monastic tonsure are understandable.

Chapter 30, "From the Indians on Tonsure," combines a new element with a variant of chapter 11. It repeats the negative interpretations of monastic tonsure that apply to emperors and women, but for a commoner such a dream signifies repentance, relief from sorrow and sin, and embellishment of faith,¹²⁷ effects that one would normally expect to find in a Christian dreambook. In addition to monastic tonsure, a whole section of the *Oneirocriticon*, which is missing from Drexl's critical edition but exists in *Vat. gr. 573* (fol. 163r), discusses dreaming of monks at the very end of chapter 149 ("On Priests"). It states that whatever a dreamer hears from a monk who appears with crosses on his habit is accurate. Being beaten by such a monk means receiving grace from a saint. An old monk without crosses on his habit is misfortune. Talking with him or receiving something from him indicates acquiring something moderately good. A young monk without crosses on his habit is interpreted as

¹²⁵ Drexl 7, 21-26.

¹²⁶ In the course of the 9th and 10th centuries, such was the fate, for example, of Emperor Michael I Rangabe (r. 811-13), who abdicated in favor of Leo V and became a monk on the Princes' Islands, where he died in 844; also of Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos, who became a monk after he was deposed in 944 and died as a monk in 945.

¹²⁷ Drexl 20, 20-26.

illness or an enemy. If the dreamer beats the monk, he will make a votive offering and address a request to a saint. These interpretations present the reader with a mixture of the predictable with the unexpected and raise the question of whether they are the product of the Greek author's imagination or were adapted from interpretations of analogous Muslim institutions found in his Arabic sources.

Islam expressly forbids monasticism, the invention of which the Qur'ān attributes to Christians. Christian monks were a familiar sight in pre-Islamic Arabia, and at least one of them, the Nestorian Bahīrā, whom the Prophet met on his trip to Syria, figures prominently in Muslim tradition because he is said to have been the first human who acknowledged Muḥammad as a prophet, even before his prophetic mission began. Of course, Muslims were familiar with monasticism because monasteries existed and *dhimmī* monks actually lived in Muslim lands. Al-Dīnawarī interprets dreaming of Christian monks as follows:¹²⁸

قال المسلمون من رأى انه راهب فانه صاحب بدعة قد افراط فيها وقالت النصارى من رأى كانه تحول قسا او راهبا فانه يورثه ثنا حسنا لكن يعسر عليه حاله و يضيق عليه رزقه وربما يقع التاويل لغيره....

The Muslims said: "If someone dreams that he is a monk, he is a heretic who exceeded the proper bounds <and embraced> heresy." The Christians said: "If someone dreams that he became a priest or a monk, he will inherit something nice, though his circumstances will become straitened and his daily sustenance will be insecure. Possibly, the fulfillment of this dream will benefit those around him."

Further on, al-Dīnawarī adds:¹²⁹

فان رأى انه راهبا ومبر فانه صاحب بدعة وهو مفراط لقوله تعالى و رهبانية ابتدعوها الاية.

If someone dreams that he is a monk or a pious person, he is a heretic and a transgressor, according to the saying of God Almighty: "But monasticism they invented—We ordained it not for them—only seeking God's pleasure,¹³⁰ and they observed it not with right observance. So We give those of them who believe their reward, but many of them are evil-livers" [Qur'ān 57:27].

¹²⁸ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl 8, hāh 78*; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 65b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 144a.

¹²⁹ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl 8, hāh 80*; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 65b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 144a-b.

¹³⁰ Cf. W. M. Watt, *A Companion to the Qur'ān* (Oxford and Rockport, Mass., 1994), p. 256: "sc. they invented monasticism in their strong desire to be pleasing to God."

Similar interpretations are quoted in *al-Muntakhab*:¹³¹

فإن رأى أنه صار راهبا فإنه مبتدع مفرط في بدعته لقوله تعالى ورهبانية ابتدعوها وقيل إن صاحب هذا الرؤيا يضيق عليه معاشه وتتعسر عليه اموره ويصعبه في جميع الامور ذل وخوف ورهبة لا تزايله ويدل ايضا على انه مكار خداع كيد مبتدع داع إلى بدعته وبالله العياذ من ذلك.

If someone dreams that he had become a monk he is a heretic who exceeded the proper bounds <and embraced> heresy, according to the saying of God Almighty: "But monasticism they invented" [Qur'ān 57:27]. It is said that the dreamer's livelihood will be straitened, his affairs will become adverse, and all his dealings will be associated with ignominy, fear and terror without end. <This dream> also signifies that the dreamer is an impostor, a crook, a deceiver, and a heretic who invites others to his heresy, may God protect us from such a thing.

Ibn Shāhīn quotes Abū Sa'īd al-Wā'iz, and therefore partly coincides with *al-Muntakhab*, since Abū Sa'īd al-Wā'iz was used as a source for both *al-Muntakhab* and Ibn Shāhīn's dreambook, but also adds (nos. 5420-5422):

(٥٤٢٠) ...من رأى أنه صار راهبا... ربما دل الرؤيا على ارتكاب ما لا يجوز له واستمراره عليه. (٥٤٢١) وقال بعض المعبرين من رأى أنه صار راهبا وكان من الثقات فإنه يؤول بكثرة الخشوع والخوف من الله تعالى لقوله عز وجل واضمم إليك جناحك من الرهب وهو خوف. (٥٤٢٢) وقال بعض الصالحين الراهب من رهب الله أى خافه، وقيل رؤيا الراهب برجل مكار خداع مبتدع.

(5420)...If someone dreams that he became a monk ... possibly the dream signifies his perpetration of something forbidden to him and his persistence in it. (5421) Some of the dream interpreters say: "If someone dreams that he became a monk and was one of those worthy of confidence,¹³² this is interpreted as abundance of his submission to and fear of God, according to the saying of God Almighty: "and guard thy heart from fear" [Qur'ān 28:32], and the monk <symbolizes> fear." (5422) Some of the righteous say that a monk is someone in awe and fear of God. It is also said that dreaming of a monk <indicates> an impostor and crook who is a heretic.

Al-Nābulusī repeats the interpretations of the previous dreambooks.¹³³ He also

¹³¹ *Al-Muntakhab*, chapter 46, p. 331.

¹³² "Worthy of confidence" (*thiqa*) is a term used in the study of the *ḥadīth*, when referring to a reliable transmitter of these traditions.

¹³³ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 250, s.v. راهب.

interprets monasteries¹³⁴ and monastic cells¹³⁵ in separate entries:

دير: رؤيته في المنام كروية الكنيسة وربما دل رؤيته على زوال الهم والنكد والخلاص من الشدائد وإن كان الرائي مريضا مات.

The monastery: its vision in a dream is like the vision of a church. Perhaps a monastery signifies the end of sorrows and adversities and redemption from afflictions. If the dreamer is sick he will die.

صومعة: هي في المنام دالة على الخلوة وحسن السيرة والعزلة والانقطاع وقطع الذات وطلاق الأزواج وهجر الإخوان وربما دلت رؤيتها على الأمراض وترك الشهوات من المأكول والمشروب وإن كان الرائي مريضا مات أو حصن خصوصا إن رآها ملك كذلك في منامه وكان يقصد عدوا وربما دل ذلك على قهره وغلبه وتدل الصومعة على الغربة والوحشة والمقاطعة للأصحاب وتدل رؤيتها على الاخفاء والصومعة تدل على السلطان والرئيس ومن له ذكر فما أصابها أو نزل بها من هدم أو سقوط أو غير ذلك عاد تاويله على من دلت عليه.

The monastic cell: dreaming of a monastic cell signifies seclusion, excellence of demeanor, retirement, separation, deprivation of pleasures, divorce from one's spouse and forsaking one's brethren. Possibly this dream signifies sickness and abandonment of the desire to eat and drink. If the dreamer is sick he will die or will be protected against attacks, especially if a king dreamt of a hermitage when he was about to meet his enemy. Possibly this dream signifies <that the king> will vanquish and conquer <his enemy>. The hermitage signifies exile, loneliness, and separation from one's friends. Dreaming of it also signifies concealment. The hermitage signifies a sultan, a leader, and somebody famous. The interpretation of whatever happens or befalls the hermitage, such as destruction or ruin or something like that, refers to whoever is signified by it.

In the first three Arabic dreambooks quoted, the predominantly negative interpretation of monasticism as heresy clearly reflects a Muslim point of view, while its association with terror derives from the fact that the Arabic words for "monk" (*rāhib*) and "terror" (*rahba*) have the same radical consonants (*r-h-b*). Only al-Nābulusī's interpretation of monasteries, which are not discussed in the *Oneirocriticon*, associates monasticism with (among other things) death, as does the interpretation of monastic tonsure in the Greek dreambook. Evidently, very little of what the Arabic dreambooks say is directly connected with the interpretations of tonsure and monks in the *Oneirocriticon*.

¹³⁴ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 205, s.v. دير.

¹³⁵ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 48, s.v. صومعة.

The negative interpretations of tonsure are not limited to the passages about cutting one's hair when one becomes a monk or nun. Tonsure is interpreted negatively whenever it is mentioned in the *Oneirocriticon*. Chapter 22, "From the Egyptians on the Significance of Hair," states that if a woman dreams that she cut her hair, her husband will die of a grave illness or in battle (καὶ ἂν ἴδῃ ταῦτα γυνή <ὅτι ἔκοψεν ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν αὐτῆς>, ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς εἰς ὄξυ νόσημα ἢ εἰς πόλεμον τελευτήσει).¹³⁶ Chapter 31, "From the Persians and the Egyptians on Tonsure," gives additional interpretations:

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐκουρεύσατο τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ διόλου, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ὑπεξούσιος, ἀπολέσει τὸν ἐξουσιάζοντα αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς θλίψιν μεγάλην ἐλεύσεται· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτεξούσιος, ἀτίμως θεατρισθήσεται καὶ ἐν πτωχείᾳ τελευτήσει. Ἐάν δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ὁ κουρεύσας βλέπων αὐτὸν ἐμπροσθίως ἐκούρευεν, οὗτος καὶ προγνώσεται τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἀπωλείας αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ ὀπισθίως ἐκούρευεν αὐτὸν, ἄδηλος ἔσται ἡ ἀπώλεια αὐτοῦ.¹³⁷

If someone dreams that he has shaved his head completely, if he is under someone's authority, he will lose his leader and suffer great sorrow. If he is his own master, he will be publicly dishonored and will die in poverty. If he sees that the person who cut his hair is standing in front of him, the dreamer will know the manner of his ruin; but if he sheared off his hair from behind, <the manner of> the dreamer's ruin will be unknown.

Further on in the *Oneirocriticon*, in chapter 265, "From the Persians and the Egyptians on Female Hair," we read the following:

Ἐάν ἴδῃ γυνή, ὅτι ἐκέειρατο ἀπ' ἄλλου τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς, ἀποθνήσκει ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἢ χωρίζεται αὐτῇ· εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐκουρεύθη μερικῶς, ἀνά μέσον αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μάχη ἔσται χωρισμοῦ. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι κρατεῖ τις γνῶριμος τὰς τρίχας αὐτῆς καὶ κόπτει αὐτάς ὀπισθεν, οὗτος βουλὴν ποιήσει μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς λάθρα εἰς τὸν χωρισμὸν αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι κρατεῖ τὰς τρίχας αὐτῆς καὶ κόπτει ἐμπροσθίως, φανερὸς γενήσεται παρ' αὐτοῦ ὁ χωρισμὸς διὰ τὸ ἐμπρόσθιον τῆς κουρᾶς.

Ἐάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα ἐκούρευεν αὐτός, προαγωγὸς ἔσται αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν βουλῇ αὐτοῦ μοιχεύσει καὶ χωρισθήσεται αὐτῆς. ὡσαύτως ἂν ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἄλλοτρίαν ἐκούρευεν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίβουλος ἔσται αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς χωρισμὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς κρίνεται.

Γυνὴ ἂν νοσήσῃ ὀξέως καὶ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐκουρεύθη, αὐτὴ ἀποθανεῖται. εἰ δὲ νοσῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτὴ τοῦτο ἴδῃ, ἀποθανεῖται ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς· ἡ γὰρ κουρά εἰς χωρισμὸν κρίνεται.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Drex1 17, 19-20.

¹³⁷ Drex1 21, 1-8.

¹³⁸ Drex1 217, 8-26.

If a woman dreams that someone else cut the hair on her head, her husband will die or be divorced from her; if she dreams that her hair was only partly cut, a quarrel resulting in separation will occur between them. If she dreams that someone she knows was holding her by the hair and was cutting it from behind, that man will secretly assist her husband in planning a divorce from her; if he was cutting the hair from in front, the divorce through that man will happen openly because of the frontal cutting.

If someone dreams that he himself cut his wife's hair, he will become her pimp and deliberately cause her to commit adultery; later, he will divorce her. In a like manner, if he dreams that he cut the hair of somebody else's <wife>, he will plot against her, and <the dream is to be> interpreted as separation from her husband. If a woman who is very ill dreams that she had her hair cut, she will die; if her husband is ill and she has this dream, her husband will die: for the cropping of hair denotes separation.

In view of the above excerpts from the *Oneirocriticon*, the negative interpretations of monastic tonsure in chapters 11 and 30 could have been based on material in the Arabic sources independent of any discussion of Christian monasticism. Indeed, a closer look at the two passages on monastic tonsure gives the impression that the negative interpretations they contain were translated twice from the same Arabic text. Their wording in Greek is different, but what they say is identical. Proof of their close relationship is the fact that the same English translation renders accurately the interpretation of female tonsure from both chapter 11 and 30. According to chapter 11 ("From the Indians on Prophets, Apostles and Teachers"),

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐκάρη καὶ ἡμφιάσθη ὡς μοναχός, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς, ἀποβαλεῖ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ μετὰ θλίψεως ἀποθανεῖται ταχύ. Ἐάν δὲ τῶν ὑπηκόων τις ἢ ὁ τοῦτο θεασάμενος καὶ παθὼν, ἐν πτωχείᾳ καὶ θλίψει ἀποθανεῖται. Ἐάν δὲ γυνὴ ὑπανδρὸς ἴδῃ τοῦτο, χηρεύσει· ἄγαμος δὲ ἂν ἦ, ἄγαμος ἀποθανεῖται.¹³⁹

If someone dreams that he was tonsured and dressed as a monk, if he is an emperor, he will lose his authority over his people and his kingship and will soon die in sorrow. If the one who dreamt and suffered this was one of his subjects, he will die in poverty and sorrow. If a married woman dreams this, she will be widowed. If she is unmarried, she will die unmarried.

According to chapter 30 ("From the Indians on Tonsure"),

¹³⁹ Drex1 7, 21-26.

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐκούρευσε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐν τύπῳ μοναχοῦ, μετανοήσῃ οὗτος καὶ ἀποβαλεῖ τὰς θλίψεις καὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ κοσμήσῃ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ. εἰ δέ ἐστι βασιλεὺς, ἀποβαλεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τελευτήσῃ ἐν θλίψει. εἰ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦτο ἴδῃ ὑπανδρὸς, χηρεύσει, εἰ δὲ ἄγαμος, καὶ ἄγαμος τελευτήσῃ.¹⁴⁰

If someone dreams that he cut his hair in the manner of monks,¹⁴¹ he will do penance, be relieved from his sorrows and sins, and embellish his faith. If he is emperor, he will lose his kingship and die in sorrow. If a married woman dreams this, she will be widowed. If she is unmarried, she will die unmarried.

The overwhelmingly negative interpretations of hair cutting were clearly copied from the Arabic sources of the *Oneirocriticon*. Arabic dreambooks interpret only one kind of tonsure positively: the tonsure of pilgrims to Mecca. The rites of the pilgrimage are performed in the *iḥrām*, the pilgrim's sacred robe, and the pilgrim should abstain from a number of activities, including cutting his or her hair.¹⁴² When the rites of the pilgrimage have been completed, the *iḥrām* is abandoned by symbolically cutting a lock of hair or completely shaving the head. Tonsure therefore signifies that the person has carried out one of the most important religious duties of a Muslim, and dreaming of it understandably signifies the "embellishment" of one's faith:

Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 25, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 43a-b:

وإن رأت المرأة رأسها محلوقة مات زوجها أو قيمها أو انتهك سترها فإن قطع شعرها في غير الأشهر الحرم كان ذلك شغبا ونشزا بينها وبين قيمها وإن كان في الرؤيا كلام يدل على خير أو كان ذلك في الأشهر الحرم لم يضر الحلق والقطع وكان قضاء للدين * فإن رأت أن إنسانا يجر شعرها من ورائها فإنه يدعوا زوجها إلى غيرها من النساء مكاتما بذلك فإن جده من مقدمها كان ذلك ظاهرا...

If a woman dreams that her head was shaved, her husband or guardian will die or her veil will be torn apart. If she cuts her hair at a time other than the holy months,¹⁴³ a quarrel and discord¹⁴⁴ <will come> between her and her guardian. If

¹⁴⁰ Drexl 20, 20-26.

¹⁴¹ For the various types of monastic tonsure, see *ODB*, s.v. "Tonsure."

¹⁴² The others are sexual intercourse, paring the nails, cutting down a tree, and killing an animal.

¹⁴³ The holy months include the period of the pilgrimage. They are Dhū al-Qa'da, Dhū al-Ḥijja (during which the pilgrimage takes place), Muḥarram, and Rajab. They are lunar months and their dates in relation to the solar months vary.

¹⁴⁴ The word *nashz* used by Ibn Qutayba for "discord" has the legal connotation of the husband's or wife's violation of marital duties, specifically a wife's disobedience toward her husband or a husband's brutal treatment of his wife.

words are spoken in the dream, it signifies something good. If the dream occurs during the holy months, shaving or cutting <her hair> signifies, not something harmful, but accomplishment of her religious duties. If she dreams that someone is pulling her hair from behind her, he will invite her husband secretly to exchange her for another woman. If he is pulling <her hair> from in front of her, this will happen openly.

Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 6, *bāb* 37 (في حلق شعر الراس); *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 50b-51a; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 76b-77a:

حلق الراس أداء الأمانة والأمن من الخوف * وكذلك جزه وحلقه في الحج قضاء دين لقوله تعالى لتدخلون المسجد الحرام إن شاء الله أمين مخلوقين رؤسكم ومقصرين لا تخافون وينال مع ذلك فتحا * والتقصير أمان من الخوف * فإن حلقه في غير الحج فهو دون ذلك في الصلاح * فإن كان صاحبه في كرب أو دين فرج عنه وقيل إن حلق في غير الموسم وكان رئيسا غنيا افتقر * وإن كان مديونا قضى الله دينه وربما دل ذلك على تهتك ستره وعزل رئيسه عنه بمكره أو بتوبة * وإن كان مما يلبس السلاح فإنه يذهب بطشه وهيبته وإن كان غنيا نقص ذهب ماله وإن كان فقيرا أو مديونا قضيت دينه فإن رأى أنه محلق الراس فإنه يظفر بأعدائه وينال قوة وعز لان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم رأى في المنام أنه مقصر شعره وأصحابه محلقون رؤسهم فظفر بأعدائه فإن حلق راسه فارنه يودى أمانه وقالت النصارى من رأى كأنه يقطع شعر راسه فإنه يسقط من جاهه ومرتبته فإن رأى كأنه يحلق فإنه يمرض مريضا وقال أراطاميدورس إذا رأى الإنسان كان راسه محلق فإن ذلك صالح لمن كانت عادته أن يحلق راسه.

Shaving the hair from one's head <signifies> the pursuit of security and safety from fear. Likewise, shearing off or shaving the hair during the *hajj* indicates excellence in religion, according to the saying of God Almighty: "Ye shall enter the Inviolable Place of Worship, if God will, secure, having your hair shaven and cut, not fearing" [Qur'ān 48:27]. The dreamer will also obtain victory.¹⁴⁵ Cutting the hair shorter signifies safety from fear. If the dreamer <sees that he> shaved his head at a time other than the *hajj*, his dream is not as auspicious. If the dreamer is in sorrow or in debt he will be relieved. It is said that if a rich leader dreams that he shaved his head at a time other than the *hajj* season he will become poor. If the dreamer is in debt God will release him from it. Perhaps this dream signifies the shamelessness of his excuses and the deposition of his leader by reason of something reprehensible or <his> penance.

¹⁴⁵ This interpretation is obviously inspired from the remainder of verse 48:27, which is not quoted by al-Dīnawarī: فاعلم ما لم تعلموا فجعل من دون ذلك فتحا قريبا (But he knoweth that which ye know not, and hath given you a near victory beforehand). In addition, "Chapter of Victory" (*sūrat al-faṭḥ*) is the title by which the 48th chapter of the Qur'ān is known.

Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 6, *bāb* 42 (في حلق المرأة شعرها); *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 50a; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 77b-78a:

من رأى راس امراته محلوقاً طلقها أو مات أو يفرق بعضهما عن بعض قبل الموت // فإن رأت أن جوزها جز شعرها أو حلق رأسها فهو حبسه لها في منزله إلا ترى أن الطائر إذا قص جناحاه بقى في وكرة * وقيل أنها إذا حلقته تهتك سترها فإن كان حلقها له وقصرها أياه على حال صلاح في دينها وكان معه كلام يستدل به على الخير كان ذلك قضاء دينها وإذا أمانه في يدها * وإن رأت كل ذلك في الحرم * فإن دعاها إنسان إلى جز شعرها فإنه يدعى زوجها إلى غيرها من النساء سرّاً منها ويقع بينها وبين من رأى شغب و قالت الروم من رأى ذوابة امرأة مقطوعة لم تلد ولد ابداً وقال جاماسب من قطع شعره نقص قوته.

If someone dreams that the head of his wife was shaved he will divorce her or die, or one will be separated from the other before dying. If <a woman> dreams that her husband sheared her hair or shaved her head he will confine her to his house; indeed, do you not see that the bird remains in its nest after its wings are clipped? And it is said that if she shaved it her veil will be torn apart. If the shaving and shortening of her hair was for no other reason than for righteousness in religion <i.e., for the completion of the *hajj*>, and with it there were also words guiding her to goodness, this dream signifies the accomplishment of her religious duties, if she saw all this in the sacred precincts <of Mecca and Medina>. If someone appealed to her to shear her hair, he will appeal to her husband secretly from her to exchange her for another woman and there will be quarreling between her and whomever she saw. The Rūm said: "If someone sees that the locks of a woman's hair were cut, <this woman> will never have a son."¹⁴⁶ Jāmāsb¹⁴⁷ said: "If someone <dreams that he> cut his hair his power will diminish."

The remaining three Arabic dreambooks repeat the same interpretations.¹⁴⁸ In addition, Ibn Shāhīn quotes Ibn Sīrīn in a paragraph (no. 1284) that closely corresponds to the contents of chapter 30 in the *Oneirocriticon*:

قال ابن سيرين من رأى أن حلق رأسه في أيام الحج فإنه صلاح في الدين وكفارة للذنوب وإن كان في الأشهر الحرم أو في بعضها فإنه قضاء في دين وزوال هم و غم ، وقيل إن رأى ذلك ذو منصب فليس بمحمود ، وإن رأت

¹⁴⁶ Such an interpretation is given neither by Artemidoros, nor by any of the surviving Byzantine dream books.

¹⁴⁷ A semi-legendary Persian writer.

¹⁴⁸ Al-Dīnawarī's interpretations are repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, pp. 80-81; also in al-Nābulusi, vol. 1, pp. 144-46, s.v. شعر الرأس وغيره and vol. 2, pp. 8-9, s.v. شعر الرأس.

المرأة ذلك فإنه يدل على موت جوزها أو أحد محارمها ، وإن رأت أن شعرها قطع أو بعضه فإنه يدل على مخاصمة مع جوزها وقيل حصول مصيبة .

Ibn Sīrīn said: "If someone dreams that he is shaving his head on the days of the *hajj*, it signifies righteousness in religion and penance for his sins. If the dream occurs during the sacred months or thereabout, this signifies the completion of his religious duties and the end of his sorrows and troubles. But it is said that if a high dignitary dreams this, it is not good. If a woman dreams this, it signifies the death of her husband or one of her kinsmen. And if she dreams that she cut her hair, or part of it, off, she will have a dispute with her husband. And it is said <that this signifies> the occurrence of a calamity."

The Arabic interpretations quoted above explain the discrepancy in the interpretation of monastic tonsure dreamt by a commoner in chapter 11 of the *Oneirocriticon*, where it is said to signify poverty and sorrow, and its interpretation in chapter 30, where it is said to indicate embellishment of the dreamer's faith. Apparently the negative interpretations of chapter 11 were inspired by the secular interpretation of tonsure, which, in Arabic dreambooks, invariably signifies something negative. The positive interpretations of chapter 30 were apparently inspired by the Muslim tonsure connected with the pilgrimage, since the tonsure of both a Muslim pilgrim and a Christian monk is evidence of their pursuit of God.

The provenience of the interpretations of monks given in *Vat. gr.* 573 is more difficult to trace. Though Islam forbids monasticism as an institution and enjoins the faithful to marry,¹⁴⁹ a number of pious Muslims chose to live in religious seclusion and some became celebrated saints (*awliyā'*, lit. "friends of God"). An Islamic counterpart to Christian monks are the *murābiṭūn* ("the bound ones"), who lived in remote outposts (*rubūṭ*) in order to defend the frontiers of the *dār al-Islām*, the Muslim *oikoumenē*. Renunciation of worldly possessions and desires is also practiced by the followers of Sufism, and the respect accorded to monks in the Christian world is enjoyed in Islam by the scholars of religion (*'ulamā'*) and jurisprudence (*fuqahā'*), both of whom are distinguishable by their attire, just as monks are immediately recognizable by their habit. Arabic dreambooks interpret dreams about saintly figures, as well as religious scholars and jurists, and it is therefore conceivable that these interpretations were the source for the Christian interpretations of monks found

¹⁴⁹ For Quranic references, see M. Ali, *A Manual of Hadith* (London, 1978), pp. 266-68. For references to traditions of the Prophet that recommend marriage, see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. "Marriage."

in the *Oneirocriticon*, which according to the text of *Vat. gr.* 573 (fol. 163r) are as follows:

ἐάν τις ἴδῃ ὅτι συνάντησε τινὰ μοναχὸν φορῶντα σταυρὸν ὑπογεγραμμένον ὡς μεγαλόσχημον, εἰ μὲν ὠμίλησεν αὐτῷ γλυκέα καὶ χρηστά, ἰδοὺ κρατεῖται οὕτως εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοῦναντίον. εἰ δὲ ἔτυπεν αὐτὸν ὁ τοιοῦτος μοναχός, εὐρήσει χάριν ὁ ἰδὼν, εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ παρὰ ἀγίου. ὁ γὰρ μοναχὸς ὁ σεσημειωμένος εἰς ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ κρίνεται. καὶ ἅπερ τυφθῇ ἐξ ἐκείνου, δωρεὰ ἐστὶ ἀγίου τινός. Εἰ δὲ ἔστι μοναχὸς ἐκτὸς σημείου σταυροῦ ὑπογεγραμμένου ἢ μεγαλοσχήματος μόνου ῥασοφόρου, εἰ μὲν ἔστι γέρον, εἰς καιρὸν κακὸν κρίνεται. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁμιλεῖ αὐτῷ καλῶς καὶ εὐτάκτως, ἢ ἐδίδου αὐτῷ τι δόμα, ὡς πρὸς τὸ δόμα μέλλει εὐρεῖν, ἀναλόγως τοῦ δόματος καὶ τοῦ πράγματος μεμετρημένον καλόν. εἰ δὲ ἔστιν ὁ μοναχὸς νέος, καὶ ἐπολέμει καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς τὸν γέροντα εἰς νόσημα ἀνίατον μέλλει ἐμπεσεῖν. εἰ δὲ ἔκρουεν οὗτος τὸν μεγαλόσχημον, μέλλει οὗτος δώσειν θυσίαν καὶ παράκλησιν πρὸς ἅγιον τινὰ ὁ ἰδὼν ἀναλόγως τοῦ δαρμοῦ. εἰ δὲ ἔδαιρε [sic] τὸν νέον, ζημιωθήσεται παρ' ἐχθροῦ.

If someone dreams that he met a monk wearing the cross like monks of the higher order <do>, if <the monk> spoke to <the dreamer> in sweet and kind words, let the dreamer hold on to them [?]. If not, the opposite. If this monk beat him, the dreamer's soul will receive the grace of a saint, for a monk wearing the cross is interpreted as a man of God. And whatever beating the dreamer suffered from the monk is a spiritual benefit from a saint. If the monk did not wear the sign of the cross and did not have the long habit of monks of the higher order, but was only wearing his cassock, if he is old, he is interpreted as representing bad times. If he was talking to the dreamer in a nice and orderly way, or gave him something, the dreamer will obtain something moderately good, commensurate with the <monk's> gift. If the monk was young and fought with the dreamer, the dreamer will fall ill with an incurable sickness, as if he were an old man [?]. If the dreamer beat up the monk with the long habit of a higher order, he will make an offering and address a request to a saint commensurate with the blows. If he beat up the young <monk>, he will be harmed by an enemy.

Ibn Shāhīn gives an interpretation of receiving something from one of the early Muslims and hearing something from a religious figure similar to *Vat. gr.* 573's interpretation of hearing or receiving something from a monk. According to Ibn Shāhīn (no. 366): من رأى احدا من التابعين اعطاه شيئا او... (If someone dreamt that one of the Muslims of the generation after the Prophet¹⁵⁰ gave him something or spoke to him or associated with him, in all cases this indicates the attainment

¹⁵⁰ The *tābi'ūn* (lit., "followers") are important for religious scholarship because of their role in transmitting the *ḥadīth*.

of something good). In his chapter on the interpretation of judges, religious scholars, jurists and martyrs,¹⁵¹ which also discusses "Sufis and the like" (الصوفية ونحوهم), saints (*awliyā'*), righteous people (*ṣāliḥūn*), and dervishes (*abdāl, majādhīb, fuqarā'*), Ibn Shāhīn states (no. 1123): ومن رأى احدا من المذكورين في هذا الباب واخبره بامر فإنه يكون بعينه of one of those mentioned in this chapter and <the person dreamt about> informs <the dreamer> of something, the dreamer will be an eyewitness to its fulfillment). In addition, al-Dīnawarī's chapter on the prophets,¹⁵² a higher order of holy figure that is also discussed in chapters 11 and 150 of the *Oneirocriticon*, interprets dreaming of being beaten by a prophet along lines similar to the Greek interpretation of being beaten by a monk: فان رأى نبيا من الانبياء عليهم السلام يضربه فانه يبلغ مناه من امر دينه ودينه وآخرته (If someone dreams that a prophet from among the prophets, may peace be upon them, is hitting him, <the dreamer> will attain what he wishes regarding his religious faith in this world in the Hereafter).

The chapters of the five Arabic dreambooks on the companions of the Prophet, the Muslims of the next generation, the martyrs, religious scholars, jurists, etc., do not discuss any other dreams comparable to those in *Vat. gr.* 573,¹⁵³ nor do they differentiate between young and old. Some of the interpretations on monks are not unique to this passage, but are repeated in other chapters of the *Oneirocriticon* as well. In a number of other passages the *Oneirocriticon* interprets an unknown young man as an enemy, and an unknown old man as the dreamer's luck, either good or bad, depending on the old man's appearance:

Chapter 18, "From the Indians on the Significance of Hair" (Drexl 14, 18-21): εἰ δὲ νεώτερον ἀγνώριστον ἴδῃ, ἐχθρός ἐστὶν ὁ ὀρώμενος; ἐάν δὲ γέροντα ἀγνώ-

¹⁵¹ Ibn Shāhīn, *bāb* 14 (nos. 1098-1126).

¹⁵² Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 2, *bāb* 22, BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 55a; repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 14; and in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, pp. 287-89, s.v. النبي من الانبياء.

¹⁵³ Ibn Qutayba has a chapter on the imam and two on the *qādī* which are not comparable to the Greek interpretations of monks, though they are clearly related to the chapters of the *Oneirocriticon* on priests and judges. Al-Dīnawarī's chapters on the companions of the Prophet and various religious figures (*faṣl* 4, *bāb* 1-4; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fols. 42a-b; BN *arabe* 2745, fols. 62a-63b) have nothing comparable. Neither does *al-Muntakhab* (*bāb* 4), pp. 37-38; among Ibn Shāhīn's interpretations only the two quoted above are comparable to those given in the Greek text; nor do al-Nābulusī's potentially relevant chapters (vol. 1, pp. 13-14, s.v. اصحاب النبي; vol. 2, p. 30, s.v. صالحون; vol. 2, p. 78, s.v. عالم من علماء الاسلام; vol. 2, p. 116, s.v. فقيه) quote any comparable dreams.

ριστον ἢ γνώριμον, ὁ γέρων ἡ τύχη ἐστὶ τοῦ ὁρώντος. καὶ εἰ ὁ γέρων ἰσχυρὸς ἐστὶν, τοιαύτη καὶ ἡ τύχη <ἐστὶ τοῦ ὁρώντος>, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοῦναντίον.

If <someone> dreams of an unknown young man, the person whom he saw is an enemy. If he dreams of an unknown or a familiar old man, the old man is the dreamer's fate. If the old man is strong, such is also the fate of the dreamer; if not, the opposite.

Chapter 32, "From the Indians on Cupping and Bleeding" (Drexl 21, 22-24): ἐὰν δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι παρὰ γέροντος ἐσικυάσθῃ ἢ ἐσικύασε γέροντα, ὁ γέρων ἔσται ἡ τύχη τοῦ ἰδόντος.

If <someone> dreams that he was cupped by an old man, or that he cupped an old man himself, the old man is the fate of the dreamer.

Chapter 125, "From the Persians and Egyptians on Nodding" (Drexl 74, 15-16): εἰ δὲ ἔνευσε γέροντι ἀγνώστῳ καὶ συνῆκε τὸ νεῦμα, ἡ τύχη τοῦ ἰδόντος ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἔσται.

If he nodded to an unknown old man, and the old man understood <the meaning of> the nod, the dreamer's luck will improve.

Chapter 127, "From the Indians on Women" (Drexl 76, 18-21): ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ γέρων ὁ ἀγνώριστος εὐδειδῆς ὢν ἡ τύχη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ γνώριμος ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ εἰς τύχην διακρίνεται τοῦ ἰδόντος. εἰ δὲ νεώτερος ὁ ἀγνώριστος, εἰς πρόσωπον ἐχθροῦ κρίνεται διηνεκῶς.

An unknown, handsome old man is a person's fate. A familiar <old man> is also interpreted as the dreamer's fate in most cases. If the unknown person was young, he is always interpreted as an enemy.

Arabic dreambooks also interpret an unknown young man as an enemy and an unknown old man as the dreamer's fate, which is analogous to the old man's appearance, as is evident from the examples quoted below:

Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 14, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 29a:

فإن كان <الرجل> مجهولا وكان شابا فهو عدو وإن كان شيخا فهو جده والجد القدر.

If <the man whom the dreamer saw> is unknown, if he is a youth, he is an enemy, and if he is old, he is <the dreamer's> ancestor or his destiny.

Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 6, *bāb* 11, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 46b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 69b: الشاب عدو للرجل.

A youth is a man's enemy.

Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 6, *bāb* 14, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 47b-48a; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 71b:

الرجل الشيخ والكهل السمن الحسن جد الانسان... فإذا كان الشيخ المجهول أو الكهل المجهول قويا فهو قوته وإذا كان ضعيفا فهو ضعفه وعلى أية حالة رآه عليه فإن جده يكون على تلك الحالة مذمومة كانت أو محمودة.

The old or the middle-aged man who is corpulent and handsome is the luck of people.... If the unknown old or middle-aged man is strong, this is the strength of the dreamer's luck, and if he is weak, this is its weakness, and in whatever state the man was in the dream, the dreamer's faith will be analogous, whether bad or good.

Al-Muntakhab, chapter 21, p. 73:

ورؤيا الشيخ والكهل المجهولين تدل على جد صاحبها فإذا راهما أو أحدهما ضعيفا فهو ضعف جده وإذا رآهما أو أحدهما قويا فهو قوة جده... وشاب في التاويل عدو الرجل.

Dreaming of an unknown old and an <unknown> middle-aged man signifies the luck of the dreamer. If <the dreamer> sees both or one of them weak, this is weakness in his fortune, and if he sees either both or one of them strong, this is strength in his fortune.... A youth in dream interpretation is an enemy of the dreamer.

Ibn Shāhīn (nos. 1181 and 1183) repeats similar interpretations and adds (no. 1184):

ومن رأى جماعة مشايخ أو شباب فهم رحمة خصوصا إذا جرى منهم كلام البر ومن رأى أن أحدا منهم أعطاه شيئا فهو أجود خصوصا إذا كان صنف ذلك الشيء محبوبا وإن رأى أنه هو العاطى فإنه جيد أيضا ومن رأى أحدا منهم وهو ناقص فإن كان شيخا فالنقص في جده وإن كان شابا فالنقص في عدوه.

If someone dreams of a gathering of older and younger men, this is kindness, especially if they spoke in words of righteousness. If someone dreams that one of them gave him something, this is even better, especially if the kind of thing given <to the dreamer> was desirable. If he dreams that the giver was himself, this is also good. If he dreams that one of the <men> is deficient <in some way>, if the man is old <the dream> signifies that the dreamer's luck will be deficient. If the man is young, an enemy of the dreamer will suffer a deficiency.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ The interpretation of a youth as an enemy is repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 46, s.v. صبي. Cf. also al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 236, s.v. رجل. The interpretation of an old man as the dreamer's fortune and of a young man as an enemy is also repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, pp. 12-13, s.v. شيب مجهول.

The passage of *Vat. gr.* 573 on monks interprets being beaten by someone as receiving something beneficial from him: if the dreamer was beaten by a monk he will receive a saint's grace, and if he was beating the man he will make an offering to a saint. Beating is also interpreted as benefaction received from the beater in chapter 218 ("From the Persians and Egyptians on Hitting, That Is, Beating").¹⁵⁵

Ἐάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἐτύφθη βουνεύροις παρά τινος γνωρίμου, ἀνάλογον τοῦ μέτρου κερδήσει διὰ χαράγατος χρυσίον· εἰ δὲ ὁ τύψας ἐστὶν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ, καὶ ἐκ ταύτης δώσει αὐτῷ. ἐάν ἴδῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι ὤρισε τυφθῆναι τινα βουνεύροις, εὐρήσει ὁ τυφθεὶς χαρὰν μεγάλην καὶ πλούτον κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν. ὁμοίως ἐάν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτυψέ τινα μαγκλάβια ἢ χαρζάνια, εὐρήσει ἐξ αὐτοῦ περίφημον καὶ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα ὑπὲρ καύχημα. εἰ δὲ αὐτοχειρὶ ἐτυψέ τινα ῥάβδῳ, εὐρήσει ὁ τυφθεὶς παρά τοῦ πρωτεύοντος τοῦ βασιλέως εἰδήσει καὶ γνώμῃ τοῦ βασιλέως χαρὰν καὶ ἐξουσίαν.

If someone dreams that he was beaten with a strap of raw ox-hide by someone he knew, he will find gold in coins commensurate with the number of blows. If the one who beat him is a person of authority, he will give some of his authority to the dreamer. If the king dreams that he ordered somebody to be beaten with a strap, the person who was beaten will receive from the king great joy and wealth commensurate with the number of blows. Likewise if the king himself beat someone with a strap or whip, the person who was beaten will receive from him a distinguished and great office, greater than anything one could boast about. If <the king> held a staff with his own hand and beat someone with it, the person who was beaten will receive joy and power from the most powerful person after the king, with the king's knowledge and consent.

Similar interpretations are repeated in the Arabic dreambooks. The meaning of such dreams is given in a nutshell by al-Dīnawarī:¹⁵⁶ *اما الضرب فقد قال* (As for hitting, the Muslims said: "It signifies that the person who was hit will receive something good and beneficial from the hands of the one who hit him").

The evidence presented above proves that the interpretations of monks appended to chapter 149 ("On Priests") in *Vat. gr.* 573 were not invented by the author of the *Oneirocriticon*, but were based on material taken over from his Arabic sources. It is, however, difficult to reconstruct the manner in which he handled this material. It is possible that he composed his interpretations of

¹⁵⁵ Drex1 171, 1-12 (σινὴ Ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων περὶ τύψεως ἧτοι δαρμού).

¹⁵⁶ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 10, *bāb* 31, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 109a; repeated in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 2316; repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 54, s.v. ضرب.

monks based on the interpretations of secular men and beating that are repeated in other parts of the Greek dreambook. Or, he might have copied the interpretations of dreams that concerned Muslim figures whom he perceived as counterparts to Christian monks. It is impossible to state with certainty which of the two was in fact the case, but occasional awkward expressions found in the Greek text could be indications of a struggle in rendering the expressions in an Arabic text that did not lend themselves readily to translation.¹⁵⁷ These instances make the second hypothesis more likely than the first. But even if we grant that the Greek author modeled his interpretations of monks after analogous Muslim interpretations (as he evidently did with other religious notions), it is impossible to say which Muslim figures in particular were the source of his inspiration.

Ringling the Sounding Board

The *Oneirocriticon* interprets ringing the sounding board as follows:

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ καθ' ὕπνους ἑαυτὸν σημαίνοντα τὸ σημαντήριον, οὗτος μέγιστος γενήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλόφωνος, ἐπισυνάγων λαοὺς πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ θέλημα· ἐάν δὲ βασιλεὺς ἦ ὁ τοῦτο ἰδὼν, τοὺς μεγιστάνους αὐτοῦ συγκαλέσει πρὸς εὐβουλίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολυζώητος ἔσται καὶ πολυχαρὴς διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σημαντήριου ἐγγινομένην χαρὰν τε καὶ ἡδονήν. ἐάν δὲ οὐ σημανῇ μὲν τὸ σημαντήριον, ἀκούσῃ δὲ ἐτέρου σημαίνοντος, ἢ αὐτὴ κρίσις καὶ λύσις ἐστὶ τοῦ ὄνειρου. ἐάν δὲ πτωχὸς ἦ ὁ τοῦτο ἰδὼν, ὑπέρτης ἔσται μεγιστάνων καὶ προκόψει πλείστα. ἐάν δὲ γύναιον τοῦτο ἴδῃ, θέατρον αἰσχύνῃς ἔσται παντὶ τῷ λαῷ.

If someone dreams that he is ringing the sounding board, he will become very great and also loud voiced, congregating people to carry out his will. If the dreamer is a king, he will summon his nobles to a prudent council, and he will be longlived and filled with joy because of the joy and pleasure that come from the sounding board. If he does not ring the sounding board himself, but hears somebody else ringing it, the interpretation and solution of the dream is still the same. If a poor person has this dream, he will serve nobles and succeed greatly. If a woman has this dream, she will be a spectacle of shame for all the people.

¹⁵⁷ For example, redundant repetition of a cognitive accusative: "ἢ ἐδίδου αὐτῷ τὴν δόμα, ὡς πρὸς τὸ δόμα, μέλλει εὐρεῖν, ἀναλόγως τοῦ δόματος καὶ τοῦ πράγματος, μεμετρημένον καλόν"; repetition of pronouns: "καὶ ἐπολέμει καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ"; repetition of pronouns and redundant insertion of a participle: εἰ δὲ ἔκρουεν οὗτος τὸν μεγαλόσχημον, μέλλει οὗτος δώσειν θυσίαν καὶ παράκλησιν πρὸς ἅγιον τινὰ ὁ ἰδὼν ἀναλόγως τοῦ δαρμού.

The sounding board was also used by Christian minorities living in Muslim lands. Therefore, when it is discussed in Arabic dreambooks, the interpretations they give are negative and clearly reflect a Muslim point of view. According to al-Dīnawarī, the Christian sounding board is to be interpreted as follows:¹⁵⁸

الناقوس رجل كذاب منافق لا خير فيه فمن رأى أنه يضرب الناقوس فإنه يشيع خبراً باطلاً يظهره وقالوا من رأى أنه يضرب بالناقوس في بيعة فإنه يحلف على بيعة وشراه وتجارته لأن البيعة البيع وضرب الناقوس اليمين الكاذبة.

The sounding board is a man who is a liar and a hypocrite who has nothing good in him. If someone dreams that he is ringing the sounding board, he will spread and proclaim a false rumor. The <dream interpreters> said: "If someone dreams that he is ringing the sounding board in a church, he will take an oath regarding his activity in sales, purchases and commerce, because the church (*bī'a*) indicates the sale (*bai'*). The ring of the sounding board is a false oath."

The same interpretation is repeated in part in *al-Muntakhab*,¹⁵⁹ and similar interpretations are quoted by Ibn Shāhīn.¹⁶⁰ Al-Nābulusī's paragraph on the sounding board repeats al-Dīnawarī and adds the following:¹⁶¹ «الناقوس» في المنام سمسار أو زوجة ذات أولاد أو مؤذن وربما دل على الشهرة (The sounding board in a dream is a broker or a wife with children or a muezzin.¹⁶² Possibly it signifies notoriety and ignominy).

The *Oneirocriticon*'s passage on the sounding board does not copy the interpretations given in Arabic dreambooks, but neither is it independent of Arabic dream interpretation. Ringing the sounding board summons the Christian flock, and therefore congregating people to carry out the dreamer's will is an understandable interpretation of such a dream. That the dreamer should become "loud voiced," however, is somewhat out of place, until one remembers that the Muslim community is summoned with the call to prayer (*adhān*, literally "an announcement") from the top of a minaret, which requires a loud and melodious voice. The Christian interpretation of ringing the sounding board is inspired by the Muslim *adhān*. Al-Dīnawarī interprets the *adhān* as

¹⁵⁸ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 76; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 144a; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 143b.

¹⁵⁹ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 331.

¹⁶⁰ Ibn Shāhīn, nos. 7385-86 bis.

¹⁶¹ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, pp. 300-1, s.v. ناقوس.

¹⁶² Somebody who performs the call to prayer for Muslims.

sovereign power for those fit to exercise it and as a profitable profession for commoners; so does the *Oneirocriticon*.¹⁶³

فإن رأى أنه يؤذن ولم يكن في اليقظة مؤذناً فإنه إن كان للولاية أهلاً يلي ولاية بقدر ما يبلغ صوته... فإن لم يكن لرياسة أهلاً فإنه يصيب تجارة أو حرفة يكثر أجراءه والمشربون.

If someone dreams that he performed the call to prayer and he is not a muezzin when he is awake, he will rule as far away as his voice reached, if he comes from an appropriate family.... If he is unsuitable for leadership because of his family, he will do well in commerce or in a profession where his profits and the cubits of selling and buying <that is, the goods exchanged> will be plentiful.¹⁶⁴

Al-Nābulusī quotes further interpretations of the *adhān*. Their positive overtones, and especially the connection of the *adhān* with the sultan remind one of the *euboulia* (prudent council) to which the emperor's nobles are summoned in the *Oneirocriticon*.¹⁶⁵

وقد يدل الأذان على الدعاء والبر والطاعات وفعل الخير... ومن رأى أنه يؤذن على قوم مجتمعين فإنه يدعو اقواماً إلى الحق... وقد يكون الأذان دعاء إلى أمر من قبل السلطان.

The *adhān* signifies supplication, godliness, pious acts and good deeds.... If someone dreams that he performed the *adhān* among congregated people, he will invite people to the truth.... The *adhān* is indeed an invitation to a business matter in front of the sovereign.

A woman dreaming that she performed the *adhān* has a negative interpretation in Arabic dreambooks, as a woman dreaming that she rang a sounding board does in the *Oneirocriticon*. Ibn Shāhīn (no. 872) interprets such a dream as follows: «ومن رأى أنه يؤذن مع أهل بيته فإنه يدل على حدوث مصيبة» (If someone dreams that he performed the *adhān* together with the members of his household, it signifies that a disaster will occur. It is the same if a woman dreams that she performed the *adhān*).

¹⁶³ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 11, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 74a.

¹⁶⁴ These interpretations are repeated almost verbatim in *al-Muntakhab* (p. 47) and in al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 21, s.v. أذان.

¹⁶⁵ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, pp. 21-22, s.v. أذان.

Building a Church

The final paragraph from chapter 12 of the *Oneirocriticon* associates the building of churches with marriage and with women (Drexl 9, 28–10, 4):

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔκτισεν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰ μὲν ἡ βασιλεὺς, γυναῖκα ἐκ νέας κοσμήσει καὶ ὑψώσει ἀναλόγως τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἔάν δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ θεάσῃται τις, οὗτος πλοῦτον εὕρησει ἀπὸ γυναικὸς προστασίας. ἔάν δὲ τοῦτο ἴδῃ γυνή, εἰ μὲν ἄγαμός ἐστιν, λαμβάνει ἄνδρα, εἰ δὲ ὑπανδρος, χηρεύσει καὶ ἄλλον λήψεται.

If someone dreams that he built a church, if he is the emperor he will adorn a young woman and elevate her by analogy to the size of the church. If a commoner dreams this, he will find wealth through the protection of a woman. If a woman dreams this, if she is celibate, she will take a husband, and if she is married, she will be widowed and marry someone else.

Christian churches are also discussed in Arabic dreambooks, but their interpretations differ greatly from those recorded in the *Oneirocriticon*. Al-Dinawari quotes the views of both Muslim and Christian dream interpreters, but even the Christian interpretations do not coincide with those of the *Oneirocriticon*:¹⁶⁶

من رأى ان في منزله بيعة فان قوله بالقدر يضارع قول النصارى وكذلك لو رأى ان منزله بيعة فان رأى انه تحول بيعة فانه يخرج خارجى على رئيسه فان رأى انه في بيعة فان مذهبه مذهب النصارى * فان رأى انه نقب في بيعة فانه يفتش عن بدعة وقالت النصارى من رأى انه يدخل هيكلًا من الهياكل ويجعل فيه مرمة وبصلح بسبب من الاسباب فانه يجرى على يديه خير ويثني عليه الناس فان رأى كانه يهدمه فانه يضيع ضيعة يعرف على يديه جماعة او يخرج من دينه فان رأى انه دخل هيكل بعض الشهداء فانه يموت او يقتل ويشرف على الهلاك.

If someone dreams that there was a church in his house, his words will have the same power as the words of the Christians; it is the same if he dreams that his house was a church. If he dreams that it was transformed into a church he will revolt against his leader. If he dreams that he was in a church, his views are the views of the Christians. If he passes through a church he will inquire after heresy.

¹⁶⁶ Al-Dinawari, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 75; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 144a; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 143b. The first half of al-Dinawari's chapter is repeated in al-Nābulusi's paragraph on Jewish synagogues (vol. I, p. 52, s.v. *بيعة*). Wherever al-Dinawari has "Christians" al-Nābulusi substituted "Jews." The word *bī'a* can mean both "church" and "synagogue." Al-Dinawari's word for "synagogue" is *kanīsat-al-yahūd*. The word *kanīsa* in al-Nābulusi refers to the Christian churches.

The Christians said: "If someone dreams that he went to an altar and made repairs on it and mended something for some reason, he will practice goodness and people will speak of him in the most laudatory terms. If he dreams that he demolished it, he will let perish a landed estate that a group entrusted him with, or will abandon his religion. If he dreams that he went to the altar of some martyrs he will die or will be killed and will be honored upon his death.

Both *al-Muntakhab* and Ibn Shāhīn regard Christian churches from a clearly Muslim point of view, which results in overwhelmingly negative interpretations. According to *al-Muntakhab*:¹⁶⁷

الكنيسة دالة على المقبرة وعلى دار الزانية وعلى حانوت الخمر ودار الكفر والبدع وعلى دار المعازف والزمير والغناء وعلى دار النوح والسواد والعيول وعلى جهنم دار من عصى ربه وعلى السجن.

A church signifies a graveyard, a brothel, a wine tavern, the abode of the infidels and of heresy, a place with music and singing, a place of lamentation, mourning and wailing, Hell and a God-forsaken place, as well as prison.

There follow another ten lines of interpretations in the same spirit.

Ibn Shāhīn's interpretations of churches are as follows (nos. 1032-1035):

(١٠٣٢) فمن رأى كنيسة او ديرا او شبه ذلك فتعبيره رجل كذاب يغر الناس بأفعاله ولا نتيجة في ذلك (١٠٣٣) ومن رأى انه فعل في كنيسة ما يخالف اهلها مما لم يخالف الشريعة فهو نكايه ذلك الرجل الموصوف وقيل خير. (١٠٣٤) ومن رأى انه مقيم في شيء من ذلك فإن كان من اهل الصلاح فهو خير له وإن كان من اهل الفساد فلا خير فيه. (١٠٣٥) وقيل من رأى انه فعل في الكنيسة ما يوافق اهلها فإنه ارتكاب جرائم.

(1032) If someone dreams of a church or a monastery or something like that, it is interpreted as a man who is a liar and beguiles people with his deeds, and there is no result <from this dream>. (1033) If someone dreams that he did in a church something which offends its people <i.e., the Christians> but does not violate the *sharī'a* <i.e., Islamic law>, this is an offense committed by the aforementioned man, and it is said that this is good. (1034) If someone dreams that he observed one of these things <that Christians do>, if he is a righteous person, this is a good <portent>, but if he is a sinner, there is nothing good in this <dream>. (1035) It is said that if someone dreams that he did inside a church what is suitable for Christians <to do>, this signifies the perpetration of sins.

¹⁶⁷ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 270.

Al-Nābulusī's chapter on churches discusses this dream from both a Christian and a Muslim perspective, though he does not clearly state which of the interpretations should be applied to a Christian and which to a Muslim dreamer.¹⁶⁸

كنيسة: هي عند أهلها في المنام دالة على العلم والعمل والزهد والخشية والبيكاه وربما دلت على الهم والنكد والكذب والبهتان والقذف وربما دلت الكنيسة على البدعة ودار الظلم واللهو والاجتماع واللعب والالفة على الخمر والناجاسات وعلى الجوزة والامة وتدل على الحاكم بالجور فمن دخل الى كنيسة في المنام من العزبان تزوج او رزق ولدا او ضل من بعد هداه وخصوصا ان سجد للتماثيل او قبلها او شاركهم في قربان او كان في وسطه زنار.

The church: this is for its people <i.e., for Christians> in a dream a symbol of knowledge, activity, asceticism, fear, and lamentation. Possibly it signifies sorrow, misfortune, deceit, slander, and defamation. Possibly a church also signifies heresy, the abode of tyranny, entertainment, gatherings, games, wine parties and impurities, a wife or a slave girl. <In addition>, it signifies an unjust ruler. If a bachelor dreams that he entered a church he will get married or will beget a son or will err after pursuing the true religion, especially if he prostrates himself in front of the icons, or kisses them or shares an offering with them or has a *zunnār*¹⁶⁹ around his waist.

There follow another twelve lines of interpretations that largely repeat al-Dīnawarī and *al-Muntakhab*.

Al-Nābulusī's interpretations of a church are both negative and positive; the church can signify knowledge, pious deeds, marriage, and begetting a son, interpretations that coincide with the interpretations of mosques quoted in both al-Nābulusī and other Arabic dreambooks. They should evidently be applied only to Christian dreamers and appear to have been influenced by the significance of mosques for Muslim dreamers.¹⁷⁰ The association of mosques with marriage and women is analogous to the association of churches with

¹⁶⁸ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 187, s.v. كنيسة.

¹⁶⁹ The *zunnār* is a belt that Christians living in Muslim lands were obliged to wear.

¹⁷⁰ Ibn Qutayba (*bāb* 9) associates building a mosque with the performance of good deeds. Al-Dīnawarī (*faṣl* 8, *bāb* 56; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 82a-b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 139b) interprets a mosque as representing a knowledgeable person (رجل عالم), while building a mosque signifies "the treasures of religion or a pious deed and enhancement of <the dreamer's> religion" (نخاير) (الدين او عملا صالحا وزيادة في الدين), and praying in the *mihrāb* of a mosque signifies begetting a son (*faṣl* 8, *bāb* 58; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 82b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 140a). Similar interpretations are repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, pp. 51-52; Ibn Shāhīn no. 984 (knowledge), no. 987 (pious deeds); al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, pp. 229-31, s.v. مسجد and محراب.

marriage and women in the *Oneirocriticon*, and can be found in all five Arabic dreambooks. Ibn Qutayba states:¹⁷¹

ومن بنا مسجدا سما في فعل الخير وربما كان ذلك في صلة الارحام والتزويج واشباه ذلك لان المسجد تؤلف الناس ويجمع المتفرقين على الصلاة والذكر.

Whoever builds a mosque will be prominent for his good deeds, and possibly this refers to a bond of kinship and marriage and such, because a mosque unites people and congregates those who are scattered in order to pray and remember the name of God.

Al-Dīnawarī also interprets the mosque as marriage:¹⁷² فان رأى انه بنى مسجدا ... ربما كان ذلك في صلة الارحام او تزويج قوم من ماله او نحو ذلك (If <someone> dreams that he built a mosque ... possibly this signifies a bond of kinship or marriage within his clan, or something like that).

The interpretation of mosques quoted in *al-Muntakhab* (p. 267) is close to that of churches in the dreams of commoners according to the *Oneirocriticon*: فمن يبني مسجدا في المنام ... في الاعزب <يدل> على نكاح وتزويج (If someone saw in his dream that he built a mosque ... for those who are celibate it signifies wedlock and marriage, as well as pursuit of wealth and worldly acquisitions).¹⁷³

Ibn Shāhīn also associates dreaming of mosques with women and wedlock (nos. 985 and 995): قال جابر المغربي من رأى انه يعمر مسجدا يتزوج (Jābir al-Maghribī said: "If someone dreamt that he erected a mosque, he will marry a devout woman... The mosque is interpreted as a woman of lofty rank").

It is unlikely that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* relied on Muslim interpretations of Christian churches, even if they were recorded in his Arabic sources. More probably, he modeled his Greek interpretation of churches after the Arabic interpretation of mosques.

¹⁷¹ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 9, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 27b.

¹⁷² Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 56, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 82b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 139b. The interpretations of al-Dīnawarī are repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 229, s.v. مسجد.

¹⁷³ *Al-Muntakhab* also discusses mosques on pp. 51-52.

On Changing Faith and Idol Worshiping

In the first part of chapter 12 of the *Oneirocriticon*, "From the Account of the Indians on Changing Faith,"¹⁷⁴ dreams about conversion from Christianity to another religion are interpreted. Conversion to Judaism and Islam is generally interpreted as lack of faith and blasphemy, but other interpretations dependent on the identity of the dreamer are also given (Drex1 8, 1-9):

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι χριστιανὸς ὢν ἐβράϊσεν, οὗτος οὐκ ἦν τέλειος, ἀλλὰ δύσπιστος καὶ βλάσφημος, καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν καταντήσει. ἐάν δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο ἴδῃ, αἵρεσιν νεωτερίσεται κατὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ. ἐάν δὲ τις τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ τοῦτο ἴδῃ, εἰς ψευδομαρτυρίαν αὐτομολήσῃ· ἐάν δὲ γυνή, ἐπίβουλος ἔσται τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς· ἐάν δὲ δοῦλος, κατὰ τοῦ ἰδίου δεσπότου βουλεύσεται. ἐάν δὲ τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι ἐμαγάρισεν, ὁμοίως τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποβήσεται αὐτῷ.

If someone dreams that, though he is a Christian, he converted to Judaism, he is not perfect, but unbelieving and blasphemous, and will end up damned. If a king dreams this, he will invent a heresy to the detriment of his people. If a commoner dreams this, he will resort to false witness. If a woman, she will be treacherous to her husband. If a slave, he will entertain thoughts against his own master. If someone dreams that he became a Muslim, the same thing will happen to him.

Similar interpretations are given in Arabic dreambooks. According to Ibn Qutayba,¹⁷⁵ من رأى أنه تحول إلى جنس من الكفر في منامه فذلك هوى هو (If someone dreamt that he changed into one of the unbelieving races, this is a heretic tendency <of the dreamer> that is practiced by this race). Arabic dreambooks state that dreaming of converting to a religion other than Islam foretells that the dreamer will indeed convert to the religion he dreamt about,¹⁷⁶ but also that he will perpetrate grave sins, depravity, vileness,

¹⁷⁴ 1β' Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ πίστεως διαφορῶν.

¹⁷⁵ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 7, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 27a.

¹⁷⁶ Al-Dīnawarī (*faṣl* 8, *bāb* 85; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 66a; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 145a) interprets conversion to polytheism, including Christianity (which, from the Muslim point of view, counts as polytheism because of its doctrine of the Trinity), as follows: من رأى أنه تحول من دار الإسلام إلى دار الشرك فإنه يكفر ويخرج إلى دار الشرك (If someone dreams that he converted from Islam to a polytheistic religion, he will abandon Islam for polytheism). The same interpretation is repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, which adds (p. 330): فإن رأى كأنه تحول كافراً فإن اعتقاده يوافق (If someone dreams that he became an unbeliever (*kāfir*), his faith will coincide with the faith of the race of unbelievers <that he dreamt of>).

and heresy. According to al-Dīnawarī,¹⁷⁷ وقيل من رأى أنه يهودى فإنه مجترى على المعاصى يصرّ على الذنوب والكبائر وعلى ما نهاه الله تعالى مجترى (It is said that if someone dreamt he was a Jew, he will be bold with sinning and will insist upon <perpetrating> offenses and atrocious crimes by doing what God Almighty has forbidden him <to do>).¹⁷⁸ Ibn Shāhīn states من رأى أنه تحول عن الإسلام إلى أحد الأديان الباطلة (nos. 1070 and 5423): فإنه ارتكاب معاصى وقيل ذلة وحقارة. (If someone dreamt that he changed his religion from Islam to one of the false religions, this indicates the perpetration of a sin and, it is said, depravity and vileness). He then adds: وأما اليهود فمن رأى أنه صار يهودياً فإنه يرتكب طريق البدعة... ويكون على ضلالة. (If someone dreamt that he had become a Jew, he will take the path of heresy ... and will be in error).

The next paragraph in the *Oneirocriticon* interprets dreaming of becoming a *magos* (Drex1 8, 10-12): Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι μάγος ἐγένετο, οὗτος φιλάργυρος καὶ φιλόπλουτος γενήσεται· οἱ γὰρ μάγοι κοσμόφρονες εἰσι, μηδὲν περὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἀνταποδόσεως λογιζόμενοι. (If someone dreams that he became a *magos*, he will be parsimonious and will love wealth, because the *magoi* are worldly minded, and think nothing of the retribution in the hereafter). The word *magos* in Greek means both "a magician" and "a Magian," that is, an adherent of the Zoroastrian religion.¹⁷⁹ The Christian interpretation of such a dream as pursuit of worldly wealth brings to mind the story of Simon the sorcerer (*Simōn magos*), which is related in Acts 8:9-25, and justifies the translation of the word *magos* as "magician." However, according to Arabic dreambooks, the pursuit of worldly wealth is also a characteristic of the Magians. Al-Dīnawarī¹⁸⁰ claims that somebody who becomes a Magian يطلب في ظاهر دينه الدنيا لان المجوس هم طلاب الدنيا (will pursue worldly things without conflict with his religion, because the Magians are seekers of worldly

¹⁷⁷ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 72; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 64a; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 143a. Al-Dīnawarī's interpretations of Jews are repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, pp. 348-49, s.v. يهودى.

¹⁷⁸ Al-Dīnawarī justifies this interpretation by adducing the example of Qur'ān 7:161-66.

¹⁷⁹ The German translator of the *Oneirocriticon* chose to render *magos* as "magician" (Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, p. 27: "Hat er sich einer der Magie ergeben, wird er sein Herz an Geld und Reichtum hängen; Magier sinnieren nämlich nur auf Irdisches und rechnen nicht mit der Vergeltung in Jenseits"). The English translator rendered *magos* as "Magian," but signaled the problem in a footnote (Oberhelman, *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, p. 90 and n. 19).

¹⁸⁰ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 64; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 63b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 142a.

<pleasures and possessions>). A similar interpretation is repeated by al-Nābulusī:¹⁸¹ *ومن رأى انه مجوسى فانه يطلب الدنيا لأن المجوس هم كلاب الدنيا* (If someone dreams that he is a Magian he will seek worldly acquisitions, for the Magians are the dogs of the world,¹⁸² as well as the lovers of temporal things and masters of worldly possessions).

The *Oneirocriticon* also discusses dreams of worshipping idols. The interpretation of such a dream depends on what the idol is made of (Drexel 8, 13-9, 5):

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι προσεκύνῃσεν εἰδῶλον ἢ ὠμίλῃσεν ἢ ἐπάλαισεν ἢ ἔτυψεν ἢ ἐτύφθη παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὁ μὲν προσκυνήσας ψευδῆς γενήσεται εἰς θεὸν διὰ τὸ ψευδὲς τοῦ εἰδῶλου, ὁ δὲ ὠμίλῃσας ἢ παλαίσας ἢ τύψας ἢ τυφθεὶς εἰς θλίψιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐμπεσεῖται, ψευδῆς δὲ ἔσται ἢ θλίψις. Ἐάν εἰδῶλῳ ξυλίνῳ τις προσκυνήσῃ κατ' ὄναρ, οὗτος ἐνδεὲς ἔσται τινὸς μεγιστάνου πονηροῦ καὶ οὐχ ὑπακουσθήσεται, περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐπιδεῇ. Ἐάν δὲ τις προσκυνήσῃ κατ' ὄναρ εἰδῶλῳ ἐν σανίδι κατεσκευασμένῳ, αἰρεσιάρχης λογομάχος ἔσται ψευδῆς. Ἐάν δὲ τις προσκυνήσῃ εἰδῶλῳ ἐξ ἀργύρου, οὗτος πρὸς γυναῖκας ἐπίορκος καὶ ψεύστης γενήσεται. Ἐάν δὲ τὸ εἰδῶλον χρυσοῦν ἢ, πάντλομος ἔσται καὶ παρὰ βασιλέως θλιβήσεται καὶ τιμωρηθήσεται καὶ κυκλώσει αὐτὸν πλεῖστα κακά· Ἐάν δὲ τοῦτο βασιλεὺς ἴδῃ, παρ' ἐναντίων θλιβήσεται, διότι, ὥσπερ ὁ ἀργυρὸς εἰς γυναῖκας διακρίνεται, οὕτω καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς, τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὅσῃν χαρὰν ἐμποιεῖ ἔξω ὕπνου, τοσοῦτον εἰς θλίψιν ἄγει τοὺς ὀρώντας αὐτὸν καθ' ὕπνου. Ἐάν δὲ τὸ εἰδῶλον χαλκοῦν ἢ σιδηροῦν ἢ μολυβδοῦν ἢ, ὁ τοῦτο ἰδὼν ψευδόπλουτος ἔσται· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα σκευὴ τοῦ κόσμου εἰσίν.

If someone dreams that he worshiped an idol or talked to it or wrestled with it or beat it or was beaten by it, the one who worshiped it will be untruthful to God because of the falseness of the idol; he who talked to it or wrestled with it or beat it or was beaten by it will be afflicted by grave sorrow, but this sorrow will be fake. If someone in a dream worships a wooden idol, he will beseech an evil noble <for some favor> and will not be heard, whatever his request. If someone in a dream worships an idol made of planks, he will become a heresiarch and a quibbler filled with lies. If someone worships an idol made of silver, he will lie and swear falsely to women. If the idol is golden, he will be all-daring and will be distressed by the king and will be punished and numerous evils will surround him. If a king dreams this, he will be distressed by enemies, for just as silver is interpreted as women, gold causes to men who have dreamt of it as much sorrow as the joy it brings them when they are awake. If the idol is made of bronze or iron or lead, the one who dreams of it will obtain fake riches, because all these metals are objects of this world.

¹⁸¹ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, pp. 627-28, s.v. *مجوس*.

¹⁸² On the basis of al-Dīnawarī's text, al-Nābulusī's *الكلاب الدنيا* (dogs of the world) should probably be changed to *طلاب الدنيا* (pursuers of worldly pleasures and possessions).

Arabic dreambooks also connect the interpretation of the adoration of idols with the material used for the idol's construction. Their interpretations generally coincide with those given in the *Oneirocriticon*, as is evident in the examples below:

Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 87; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 66a-b; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 145a-b:¹⁸³

قال المسلمون الصنم تمثال باطل مخلق وهو انسان غدار حسن الوجه سيء الخلق * فمن رأى انه يعبد صنما من دون الله تعالى فهو يكذب على الله تعالى بباطل اختلقه براهه فان كان الصنم من خشب فانه يتقرب بدينه الى رجل سلطان ظالم منافق حسن لقوله تعالى كانهم خشب مسندة وان كان من حطب فانه يطلب بدينه الجدل والكلام في الدين وان كان من فضة فانه ياتي في دينه ما يتقرب به الى امرأة او جارية اعجمية خيانة او بطرا وان كان من ذهب فانه ياتي في دينه بامر مكروه ويتقرب الى رجل يبغضه الله تعالى وينال منه مكروه ويخاف على مال يغرمه او بزيينة الدنيا وان كان من صفرا او حديد او رصاص فانه يطلب بدينه الدنيا ومتاعها وينسى ربه.

The Muslims say: "An idol is a false and fabricated image; it is a deceitful man with a beautiful face and an evil character. If someone dreams that he worshiped an idol rather than God Almighty, he will lie against God with a falsehood that he devised according to his own opinion. If the idol is made of wood he will approach by analogy to his faith <in the idol> a man of power who is unfair, hypocritical, and handsome, according to the saying of God Almighty: "And when thou seest them their figures please thee; and if they speak thou givest ear unto their speech. They are as though they were propped up blocks of wood" [Qur'an 63:4]. If the idol is made of faggots, the dreamer will pursue theological disputes and debates in his religion. If the idol is made of silver, the dreamer will go to a woman or a foreign slave girl in treachery or wantonness by using his religion. If the idol is made of gold, he will perpetrate something abominable in connection with his religion, approach a man whom God Almighty detests and suffer from him something abominable, and fear for money that he paid or for worldly ornaments. If the idol is made of brass, iron, or lead, he will pursue worldly pleasures and acquisitions through his religion and will forget his Lord.

Cf. also *al-Muntakhab*, chapter 46, pp. 329 ff:

المستحق للعبادة هو الله تعالى فمن عبد غيره فقد خاب وخسر فمن رأى كانه يعبد غيره دل على انه مشغل بباطل مؤثر لهوى نفسه على رضا ربه فان كان ذلك الصنم الذي عبده من ذهب فانه يتقرب الى رجل يبغضه الله

¹⁸³ The same interpretations are repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, pp. 48-49, s.v. *صنم*.

تعالى ويصيبه منه ما يكره وتدل رؤياه على ذهاب ماله مع وهن دينه وإن كان ذلك الصنم من فضة فإنه يحصل له سبب يتوصل به إلى امرأة أو جارية على وجه الخيانة والفساد فإن كان ذلك الصنم من صفر أو حديد أو رصاص فإنه يترك الدين لأجل الدنيا ومتاعها وينسى ربه وإن كان ذلك الصنم من خشب فإنه ينبذ دينه وراء ظهره ويصاحب واليا ظالما أو رجلا منافقا ويكون متحليا بالدين لأجل امر من أمور الدنيا لا من أجل الله تعالى.

The <only> one entitled to be worshiped is God Almighty. Whoever worships anything other than Him is wrong and has gone astray. If someone dreams that he worshiped anything other than God, it means that he is occupied with deception affecting his own love for what is approved by his Lord. If the idol which he worshiped is made of gold, he will approach a man who is odious to God Almighty and will suffer something horrible at his hands. His dream signifies the loss of his money together with weakness in his faith. And if this idol is made of silver, something regarding disloyalty and immorality will afflict the dreamer in connection with a woman or a slave girl. And if this idol is made of brass or iron or lead, he will renounce religion for the sake of worldly pleasures and will forget his Lord. If this idol is made of faggots, he will renounce his religion and leave it behind him, and will befriend an oppressive governor or a hypocritical man and will find religion pleasant, not for the sake of God, but for the sake of worldly things.

Cf. also Ibn Shāhīn, nos. 1073 and 1075:

(١٠٧٣) ومن رأى أنه يعبد صنما من خشب فإنه يقترب برجل باطل إلى رجل خبيث منافق، وإن كان من حطب مشبك فإنه يطلب بذلك ما يأتي به من الجدل وما أشبه ذلك، وقيل أنه يقترب لأحد بنميمة، وإن كان الصنم من فضة فإنه يأتي إلى امرأة بما لا يليق، وإن كان من ذهب فإنه يقترب إلى امر يكرهه ويحصل له من ذلك ضرر وإن كان من نحاس أو حديد أو رصاص أو ما أشبه ذلك فإنه يقترب لطلب الدنيا وقيل أنه يقترب رجل متلصص... (١٠٧٥) ومن رأى أنه يعبد صنما من الأصنام أو كلمه أو فعل معه فعل إنسان في اليقظة فإنه يصحب من لا فائدة في صحبتته وربما يكون حصول ضرر من ذلك الصاحب، وقيل من ارتكاب معاصي وحدث أمور له بسببها حتى أنه يتعجب من ذلك غاية العجب ولا تكون خطرة بباله قط.

(1073) If someone dreams that he adored an idol made of wood, he will approach, through a good-for-nothing man, a devious and hypocritical individual. If the idol is made of woven twigs, he will pursue whatever disputes are brought to him, or something like that, and it is said that he will become associated with someone because of slander. If the idol is made of silver, he will go to a woman for something improper. If the idol is made of gold, he will become involved in an abominable situation and harm will befall him because of it. If the idol is made of

copper or iron or lead or something like that, he will become associated <with someone> because of worldly pursuits, and it is said that he will approach a man who behaves like a thief....

(1075) If someone dreams that he worshiped an idol or talked to it or did with it something that people do when they are awake, he will befriend someone whose friendship will not be beneficial, and harm may befall him because of this friend. It is said that <this harm> will be the perpetration of a sin or something that will happen to <the dreamer unbeknownst to him> because of this <friendship> to the point that <the dreamer> will be greatly amazed <when he finds out>, and will have no idea at all about his situation.

The *Oneirocriticon* includes a paragraph on fire worship (Drexl 9, 6-11):

‘Εάν τις ἴδῃ κατ’ ὄναρ, ὅτι προσεκύνῃσιν τῷ πυρί, οὗτος ἐστὶν ἐπιζητῶν ἀξιώματα καὶ ἐξουσίαν διὰ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμιν. εἴαν τις προσκυνήσῃ ἀνθρακας, ἤγουν πῦρ ἄφλογον καὶ ἄκαπνον καὶ ἀναιθάλωτον, κτήτωρ ἔσται χρυσοῦ ἀπὸ ἀδικίας ἀναλόγως τῆς ποσότητος οὗ εἶδε πυρὸς καὶ ἀποκτήσεται τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ.

If someone dreams that he worshiped fire, he is seeking office and authority because of the power of fire. If someone worships coals, that is, fire that has no flame, smoke, or soot, he will acquire through wrongdoing gold in proportion to the amount of fire he saw and will lose his faith.

Similar interpretations are given in Arabic dreambooks. According to Ibn Qutayba,¹⁸⁴ إن رأى أنه يعبد النار فإنه يعصى الله عز وجل بطاعة الشيطان أو يطلب الحرب فإن لم يكن للنار لهب فإنه حرام يطلبه بدينه (If someone dreams that he worshiped fire, he will defy God Almighty by showing obedience to the devil or will seek war. If the fire had no flames, it represents something unlawful that he will seek with his religious life, because unlawfulness <is symbolized by> fire). Ibn Shāhīn (no. 1072) adds: من رأى أنه يعبد النار فإنه يعين السلطان، فإن كانت النار خامدة: (If someone dreams that he worshiped fire, he will support the sultan, and if the fire abates, he will seek unlawful money. And it is said that the adoration of fire <indicates> serving an unjust king).

¹⁸⁴ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb 7, Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 27a; the interpretation is repeated verbatim in *al-Muntakhab*, chap. 46, p. 330; similar interpretations in al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 290, s.v. نار.

Judges

In the Byzantine Empire, the term *kritēs* (judge) could mean any one of a number of high-ranking officials with judicial and administrative authority.¹⁸⁵ The significance of judges in dreams is discussed in chapter 15 of the *Oneirocriticon*, "From the Indians on Judges and Balances." The qualifications and functions of a Byzantine *kritēs* do not justify placing this discussion with the religious chapters; the author merely followed the order he found in his Arabic sources,¹⁸⁶ as is confirmed by the fact that almost every interpretation contained in chapter 15 can be matched to interpretations found in Arabic dreambooks:

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ ἑαυτὸν κριτὴν γεγονότα λαοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἵν' ἱκανὸς εἰς τὸ κρίνειν, οὗτος, ἐὰν ἔχῃ ὁδὸν ταξειδίου, ληστευθήσεται· ἐὰν δὲ ὁδὸν οὐκ ἔχῃ ταξειδίου, πτωχεύσει σφόδρα ἐλεεινὸς γενόμενος.¹⁸⁷

If someone dreams that he became a judge of people and he was not fit to judge, if he is traveling, he will be robbed. If he is not traveling, he will become poor and extremely pitiful.

Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 10 (القاضي), *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 27b:

و من رأى انه صار قاضيا بين الناس و ليس هو كذلك باهل قطع عليه الطريق ان كان مسافرا وان لم يكن مسافرا ابتلى ببعض بلاء الدنيا.

If someone dreams that he became a judge among the people and was not suitable for it, he will be robbed if he is traveling, and if he is not traveling, he will be afflicted with some worldly tribulation.¹⁸⁸

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐκρίθη παρὰ κριτοῦ ἀγνωρίστου, οὗτος πᾶν, ὃ τι αὐτῷ ἐκρίθη, κρατεῖτω· ὁ γὰρ κριτὴς εἰς θεοῦ πρόσωπον ἀνάγεται.¹⁸⁹

If someone dreams that he was judged by an unknown judge, let him hold onto whatever was decided in his case, because the judge is reckoned to be God.

¹⁸⁵ For the meaning of the term in various texts and periods, see *ODB*, s.v. "Judge." Additional information and bibliography in S. Troianos, *Hē thesē tou nomikou dikastē stē Byzantinē koinōnia* (Athens, 1993).

¹⁸⁶ In the Muslim lands, a judge (*qādī*) is appointed by the government on the basis of his superior knowledge of religious law, and by virtue of this connection is usually listed among the religious dream symbols of Arabic dreambooks.

¹⁸⁷ Drex1 12, 1-6.

¹⁸⁸ The same interpretation is repeated in al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 9, *bāb* 19 (القاضي); *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 101a; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 154a-b; also in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 148; Ibn Shāhīn, no. 1098; al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 157, s.v. قاض.

¹⁸⁹ Drex1 12, 10-12.

Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 10, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 27b:

وإذا كان مجهولا فإنه في التأويل الله عز وجل لقوله يقضى للحق وهو خير الفاصلين ولقوله وقض ربك وهو يقضى بين عباده لأن كل شيء بقضائه فان رأى انه قضى له بامر فهو كما قضى.

And if the judge is unknown, this is interpreted as God, the omnipotent and exalted, according to His saying "He telleth the truth and He is the Best of Deciders" [Qur'an 6:57],¹⁹⁰ and according to His saying "Your Lord has decreed" [Qur'an 17:23] and <because> He will judge His servants and because everything is done according to His decree. If he dreams that <the unknown judge> has pronounced a judgment about something in his favor, this will be done according to what was decreed.¹⁹¹

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ ζυγίον ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον καμπανὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ σταθμιζόμενα, ταῦτα εἰς πρόσωπον νοεῖτω κριτοῦ. καὶ ἐὰν ἔχῃ ὁ ταῦτα ἰδὼν δίκην, εἰ μὲν ἴδῃ αὐτὰ ἐξισοῦμενα ἐν τῷ σταθμιζέσθαι, δικαιωθήσεται, εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐ δικαιωθήσεται· αἱ γὰρ πλάστιγγες τοῦ ζυγοῦ εἰς τὰ ὅτα ἀνάγονται τοῦ κριτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς πλάστιγγας ἴδῃ οἱ λόγοι εἰσὶ τῶν κρινόμενων. ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ζυγίον ἴδῃ ἐπιδέξιον καὶ καθαρὸν, νοεῖτω, ὅτι ὁ κριτὴς τοῦ τόπου δίκαιός ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ τὰς πλάστιγγας ἴδῃ συνεστραμμένας ἢ κεκλασμένας, τὸν κριτὴν τοῦ τόπου, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα εἶδε, νοεῖτω ἄδικον. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ κλασθέντα τὸν ῥυμόν τοῦ ζυγίου, ἐν ᾧ αἱ πλάστιγγες ἀπηώρηται, ἴστω, ὅτι κινδυνεύει ὁ κριτὴς τοῦ τόπου ἢ ἀποθανεῖται. Ὅμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λεγομένου καμπανοῦ. ὁμοίως τὰ τε μόδια καὶ τὰ μέτρα τὴν αὐτὴν κρίσιν καὶ λύσιν ἔχουσιν ἀναλόγως, κατωτέροις δὲ προσώποις κριτῶν ἐφαρμόζονται.¹⁹²

If someone sees in his dream that a balance or a steelyard was used someplace for weighing, let him understand it to represent the person of a judge. If the dreamer is involved in a lawsuit and dreams that the scales were balanced in the weighing, he will be vindicated; if they were uneven, he will not be vindicated, because the scales of the balance are reckoned as the judge's ears, while the goods on the scales are the words of the litigants. If he sees that the balance was well adjusted and honest, let him know that the local judge is fair. If he sees the scales turned upside down or broken, let him understand that the judge of the place where he saw this is unfair. If he sees that the pole of the balance that the scales hang from is broken, he should know that the local judge is in danger or will die.

Likewise for the steelyard. And likewise, the *modii*¹⁹³ and other measures have the same interpretation and solution, but are applied to judges of lower ranks.

¹⁹⁰ The quotation reads slightly differently in standard editions of the Qur'an: يقضى الحق.

¹⁹¹ The same interpretation is repeated in al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 9, *bāb* 19 (القاضي); *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 101a; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 154b. Also in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 149; Ibn Shāhīn, no. 1100; al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 158, s.v. ضاض.

¹⁹² Drex1 12, 16-13, 3.

¹⁹³ The *modios* was a unit of measure for both grain and land. Cf. *ODB*, s.v. "modios."

εὐχῶν αὐτοῦ. καὶ πρῶτος ὁ μέγας τῶν δακτύλων κρίνεται εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ ὀρθρου, δεῦτερος ἦτοι ὁ λιχανὸς εἰς τῆς τρίτης ὥρας τὴν εὐχὴν κρίνεται, τρίτος ὁ μέσος τῆς ἑκτῆς ὥρας, ὁ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἦτοι ὁ τέταρτος τῆς ἐνάτης ὥρας, πέμπτος ὁ ἐλάχιστος τῆς ἑσπερινῆς εὐχῆς. καὶ ὁ ἐάν πάθῃ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, εἰς τὰς εἰρημένας εὐχὰς διακρίνεται. ὁμοίως ἐάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἐψύγῃ ἢ ἐκόπη τέλεον ἢ ἐχωρίσθῃ, εἰς μεγίστην ἁμαρτίαν ἐλεύσεται· ἐάν δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἀποκατέσθῃ καὶ ἰάθῃ, εἰς μετάνωσιν καὶ ἐπιστροφὴν ἤξει.

72. From the Indians on Hands

The hands and fingers signify a person's acts of faith. If someone dreams that he had more <than five> fingers on his hand, he will add to his prayers and will be strong in his faith. Likewise, if someone dreams that one of his fingers has been cut off, he will neglect and lessen the number of his prayers. The thumb signifies the morning prayer; the forefinger, the prayer of the third hour; the middle finger, the prayer of the sixth hour; the ring finger, the prayer of the ninth hour; the little finger, the evening prayer. And whatever happens to one of the fingers refers to the <corresponding> prayers just mentioned. Likewise, if someone dreams that <one of his hands> is frozen, or completely cut off, or severed, he will commit a very great sin. If he dreams that it is healed and became healthy, he will repent and reform.

In Christianity, prayer is the means by which the believer communicates with God, but there are no set times or numbers for prayer. The New Testament enjoins Christians to pray without ceasing. Monastic communities from the fourth century onward developed a schedule of daily prayer that evolved into the six (not five) liturgical hours contained in the *horologia*, the earliest surviving manuscript of which dates from the 9th century.¹⁹⁶ In Islam, on the other hand, ritual prayer (*ṣalāh*) is one of the Five Pillars of the faith.¹⁹⁷ Its performance with prescribed movements and recitations at five set hours daily is obligatory from the age of seven. If it is impossible to perform the ritual prayer at the appointed time, it must be made up later. The five fingers representing five daily prayer in the *Oneirocriticon* is therefore much more appropriate for Islam, and in fact can be found in Arabic dreambooks and was copied from the Arabic source for the Greek text. Ibn Qutayba states it succinctly (*bāb* 14, fol. 30a): *الأصابع عن اليد فهي الصلوات الخمس* (The fingers on the hand are the five daily prayers). Al-Dīnawarī's relevant passage (*faṣl* 6,

¹⁹⁶ See *ODB*, s.v. "Horologion," "Prayer," and "Hours, Liturgical."

¹⁹⁷ The Five Pillars of Islam (i.e., the fundamental tenets that all Muslims are required to observe) are the following: the bearing of witness (*shahāda*), the five daily prayers (*ṣalāh*), almsgiving on a stipulated scale (*zakāh*), fasting during the month of Ramaḍān (*ṣawm*), and performing the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*).

bāb 90; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 58a) is more detailed:

وأصابع اليد اليمنى هي الصلوات الخمس * فالإبهام صلوة الفجر والسبابة صلوة الظهر والوسطى صلوة العصر والبنصر صلوة العشا والخنصر صلوة الغمي فإن رأى أن أصابعه قصار فإنه يتوافى في صلواته * فإن رأى أن أصابعه أطول وأحسن مما كانت فإنه قيامه في الصلوة * فإن سقطت واحدة من أصابعه فإنه يترك تلك الصلوة.

The fingers of the right hand are the five <daily> prayers: the thumb is the early morning prayer; the forefinger is the midday prayer; the middle finger is the afternoon prayer; the ring finger is the sunset prayer and the small finger is the night prayer. And if the dreamer dreams that his fingers are short, this refers to his prayers; and if he dreams that his fingers became longer and more beautiful than they were, this signifies the proper performance of his prayers. And if one of his fingers is missing, <it means> he is neglecting the prayer that corresponds to that finger.¹⁹⁸

The Color Green as Representing Piety and Godliness

In discussing various articles of clothing and ornamentation, the *Oneirocriticon* frequently refers to the special significance of color for the interpretation of a given object seen in a dream. Green, in particular, is consistently associated with religious faith. For example, five of the six times it is mentioned in the *Oneirocriticon* it involves religion. The six passages are the following: εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔβαλε διπλὸν νέον, νέαν γυναῖκα ἐύρησει ... εἰ δὲ <ἐστὶ> πράσινον, πιστὴ ἔσται τὰ πρὸς θεόν (If someone dreams he wore a new cloak, he will get a new wife and if it <is> green, she will be faithful in matters pertaining to God);¹⁹⁹ καὶ τὸ πράσινον χρῶμα ἐπὶ παντός προσώπου εἰς πίστιν καλὴν διακρίνεται καὶ ἐπὶ νεκροῦ καὶ ζώντος εἰς σῶμα αὐτοῦ διακρίνεται (The color green is interpreted as good faith for every person. For both a dead and a living person it is interpreted as salvation);²⁰⁰ εἰ δὲ πράσινον <καμελαύκιον ἔβαλε> εὕρησει ὕψος καὶ ὄνομα μέγιστον εἰς τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ (If someone puts on a green *kamelaukion*,²⁰¹ he will

¹⁹⁸ Repeated verbatim in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 90, and Ibn Shāhīn, no. 1527.

¹⁹⁹ Chap. 156, Drexl 115, 9.

²⁰⁰ Chap. 156, Drexl 116, 24-26.

²⁰¹ A *kamelaukion* is a kind of cap; for details, see E. Piltz, *Kamelaukion et mitra, Insignes byzantins impériaux et ecclésiastiques* (Stockholm, 1977).

acquire a lofty and exalted reputation on account of his faith);²⁰² εἰ δὲ ἦν πράσινος <ή ζοῦπα>, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον καὶ ἐξουσίαν διὰ γυναικὸς (If his outer garment is green, he will find wealth and power through a woman);²⁰³ εἰ δὲ ἦν ἐκ πρασίνων λίθων <τὸ στέμμα>, εὐρήσει ὑπέρφημον ὄνομα ἐν πᾶσιν εἰς τε τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ (If the crown was adorned with green stones, he will enjoy a tremendous reputation throughout the world for his faith and rulership);²⁰⁴ and <εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔλαβε δακτύλιον> εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν πράσινος ὁ λίθος <τοῦ δακτυλίου> εὐρήσει ἐξουσίαν καὶ πίστιν ἀγαθὴν κατὰ τὴν καθαρότητα τοῦ λίθου (If he dreams that he received a ring, if the stone of the ring is green, he will have power and good faith commensurate with the clarity of the stone).²⁰⁵

In the Byzantine world, green was also not devoid of social and political symbolism, since commerce in certain green items was controlled, and court ceremonial dictated its use on particular occasions.²⁰⁶ However, what its religious symbolism was is unclear. The green color of the unpainted relief icons in steatite, which were produced from the tenth century onwards, is associated with purity and is used as a metaphor for the Virgin's immaculate state. But it is uncertain whether this symbolism was understood by the Byzantines as universal and was applied to everything green.²⁰⁷ In the Muslim world, on the other hand, green is indisputably an auspicious color; its special significance is established in the Qur'ān, where the believers resting in Paradise are said to be dressed in robes of green silk (18:31; 36: 80; 76:21) and "reclining upon green cushions and lovely druggets" (55:76). Green is the color of both heaven and water. The Prophet's standard and the clothes of his son-in-law 'Alī were also green. To this day green turbans are the exclusive prerogative of the descendants of the Prophet through 'Alī, and green is the color of the ceremonial dress of religious scholars, the 'ulamā'.

The special significance of green in the Muslim context is also evident in the interpretations of Arabic dreambooks.²⁰⁸ Ibn Qutayba states that

²⁰² Chap. 216, Drexl 169, 7-8.

²⁰³ Chap. 225, Drexl 177, 14-15.

²⁰⁴ Chap. 245, Drexl 201, 19-20.

²⁰⁵ Chap. 258, Drexl 212, 13-15.

²⁰⁶ See Hunger, *Reich der neuen Mitte*, pp. 86-88; see also I. Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1985), vol. 1, p. 84.

²⁰⁷ To the best of my knowledge, the only discussion of the symbolism of green in Byzantine civilization is by Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, vol. 1, esp. pp. 31-32 and 79-85.

²⁰⁸ An analysis of the significance of green in Arabic dream interpretation based on *al-Muntakhab*,

في الثياب جيدة في الدين لانها لباس اهل الجنة... (Green clothes signify excellence in religion, because green is the color of the clothes worn by the inhabitants of Paradise).²⁰⁹ Further on in his dreambook, Ibn Qutayba interprets a broken sandal as a journey, and its color as revealing the purpose of the journey:²¹⁰ فان كانت سوداء كانت مالا وسؤدا وان كانت حمراء كانت لطلب سرور وان كانت خضراء كانت لطلب دين وان كانت صفراء كان (If the sandal is black <the journey> is about money and sovereignty, if it is red it is in pursuit of joy, if it is green <the journey> is in pursuit of religion, and if it is yellow <the journey> is about sickness and sorrow). A few lines down, Ibn Qutayba states that a new sandal symbolizes a woman. Her qualities depend on the color of the sandal, according to the symbolism of colors just outlined.²¹¹

In his chapter on green clothes, al-Dīnawarī also associates green with religious piety:²¹²

فان رأى انه لبس لبس الأخضر فان الاخضر للحى دين وعبادة لقوله تعالى ويلبسون ثيابا خضرا من سندس واستبرق وهو للميت حسن حال عند الله تعالى لان ثياب اهل الجنة خضر وبالحرب ان يكون فارق الدنيا شهيدا * وقيل من لبس خضرة اعطى ميراثا...

If someone dreams that he wore green clothes, the color green for a living person signifies religion and submission to God, according to the saying of God Almighty: "They shall be robed in green garments of silk and brocade" [Qur'ān 18:31]. Green for a dead person <indicates> that he is in a good position beside God Almighty, because the clothes of the inhabitants of Paradise are green.²¹³ At war <a green garment> means that <the person wearing it in the dream> will depart from this world as a martyr. It is said that if someone is wearing green, he will receive an inheritance.

Ibn Shāhīn, and al-Nābulusī was made by I. Zilio Grandi, "Un esempio di interpretazione dei sogni nell'Islam: il colore verde," *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 26:3 (1987), pp. 53-66; the special significance of green in Islam is discussed on pp. 57-58.

²⁰⁹ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 24, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 40b.

²¹⁰ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 25, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 41b.

²¹¹ An identical interpretation of sandals and their color (omitting green, however) can be found in the *Oneirocriticon*, chap. 226, Drexl 178, 12-15. The same significance for each of the colors discussed by Ibn Qutayba can be found in various passages in the *Oneirocriticon*; see, for example, chapter 156, Drexl 115, 6-11 and 116, 15-26.

²¹² *Faṣl* 25, *bāb* 30 (في الخضرة من اللباس); *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 251a; repeated in al-Nābulusī; see Zilio Grandi, "Un esempio di interpretazione dei sogni," p. 58.

²¹³ Cf. Drexl 116, 24-26 mentioned earlier.

Al-Dīnawarī's interpretations connect precious stones in shades of green with religious righteousness:²¹⁴ *الزمرّد والزبرجد من الرجال المهذب الشجاع* (The emerald and the chrysolite <signify>, among men, a cultured²¹⁵ and valiant person and a truthful friend who is characterized by religious piety. <They also signify> godliness, high esteem, and attainment of lawful money).

Interpretations of green along the same lines can also be found in *al-Muntakhab*, Ibn Shāhīn, and al-Nābulusi.²¹⁶ It is possible that the symbolism of green in Islam coincided with an analogous Christian notion in Byzantium, but if so it is not nearly as well attested and omnipresent as the Muslim one.²¹⁷ The evidence of the Arabic dreambooks suggests that the Greek interpretations of green were not prompted by associations this color might have had for the Byzantines, but by the interpretations found in the Arabic sources employed by the Greek author.

Muslim Taboos

Among the best known of Muslim religious observances is abstinence from alcohol and pork. Given the Islamic provenience of the interpretations contained in the *Oneirocriticon*, one might expect that these Muslim taboos would somehow be reflected in the Christian dreambook, but instead the *Oneirocriticon*

²¹⁴ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 20, *bāb* 32; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 206a.

²¹⁵ The text is not vocalized. The word *مهذب* could mean either "well-mannered, cultured, educated" (*muhadhdhab*) or "teacher, educator" (*muhadhdhib*).

²¹⁶ For references, translation and discussion of further examples from *al-Muntakhab*, Ibn Shāhīn and al-Nābulusi, see I. Zilio Grandi, "Un esempio di interpretazione dei sogni," esp. pp. 58 ff.

²¹⁷ In Revelation 21:18 the foundation of the wall in New Jerusalem is of jasper, which is thought of as a dark green color. At least two Middle Byzantine descriptions of Paradise mention thrones of green stone. In the 9th-century Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful (who lived in the 8th century), God is said to be seated on an emerald stone; and in the 10th-century Life of St. Basil the Younger, the saint is said to be seated in Paradise on a green throne. See M. H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, "La Vie de S. Philarète," *Byzantion* 9 (1934), p. 163; A. N. Veselovskij, "Razyskanija v oblasti russkogo duchovnogo sticha," *Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk* 46 (1889-90), p. 44. However, a system of color symbolism does not seem to have existed in Byzantium; see L. James, *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art* (Oxford-New York, 1996), pp. 108-9.

consistently interprets both drunkenness and alcohol as wealth and authority;²¹⁸ the eating of pork is also interpreted as representing wealth, and pigs and boars as signifying a strong enemy.²¹⁹ Although these chapters have no religious overtones, this does not necessarily indicate that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* departed radically from his Arabic sources. In fact, he followed the Arabic interpretations on the same topics quite closely.

Most of the interpretations appearing in chapter 279, "From the Indians, Persians and Egyptians on Pigs,"²²⁰ can be matched with identical interpretations found in the five Arabic dreambooks:

Drexl 226, 14-20: 'Ο χοῖρος εἰς πρόσωπον καταπεφρονιμένον ἐχθροῦ δυνατόν κρίνεται. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἐπολέμησεν χοῖρον ἄγριον, ἐχθρὸν δυνατόν καὶ πολυεξόπιστον πολεμήσει. <εἰ δὲ ἐφόνευσεν τὸν χοῖρον, τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀπωλέσει>. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐξουσιασταῖς μόνοις θεωρεῖται. ἄλλος δὲ εἰ ἴδῃ τοῦτο, εἰς πρόσωπον ἐκείνων κρίνεται αὐτό. εἰ δὲ πτωχὸς ἢ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ ὁ ἰδὼν, εὐρήσει φόβον καὶ θλίψιν καὶ τιμωρίαν ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν.

The pig is to be interpreted as a strong and contemptible enemy. If someone dreams that he fought a wild pig, he will fight a mighty and heavily armed enemy; <if he killed the pig, he will slay the enemy>. Such a dream is only dreamt by rulers. If someone else dreams it, it should be interpreted as referring to a ruler. If the dreamer is a pauper or a commoner, he will find fear, sorrow and punishment at the hands of his enemies.

Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 39, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 53b-54a:

والخنزير رجل شديد الشوكة بدني.

The pig represents a corpulent²²¹ man who is vehement in the fury of his fighting.

²¹⁸ Cf. chap. 113, "From the Indians on Inebriety," Drexl 66, 21-67, 4; chap. 114, "From the Persians and Egyptians on Inebriety," Drexl 67, 5-14; chap. 195, "From the Indians on Wine and Beverages," Drexl 150, 11-152, 7; chap. 196, "From the Persians and Egyptians on Wine and Beverages," Drexl 152, 8-153, 21. Four additional excerpts from other chapters also associate alcohol with wealth, authority, and figures in a position of power. Cf. chap. 130, "From the Persians and Egyptians on Weddings," Drexl 83, 1-3; chap. 183, "From the Indians, Persians and Egyptians on Warm Water," Drexl 143, 6-8; chap. 207, "From the Indians on Radishes and Carrots," Drexl 162, 22-25; chap. 244, "From the Persians and Egyptians on Cinnamon," Drexl 200, 12-14.

²¹⁹ Chap. 279, "From the Indians, Persians and Egyptians on Pigs," Drexl 226, 12-227, 14.

²²⁰ Drexl 226, 14-227, 14.

²²¹ The manuscript clearly has *بدني* (corpulent, fat); this can easily be corrupted to *دني* (contemptible), which occurs in other Arabic dreambooks, as well as in the Greek *Oneirocriticon* (as *καταπεφρονιμένος*).

Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 21, *bāb* 50, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 218a-b (repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 198, s.v. خنزير):

قال المسلمون الخنزير عدو ملعون قوى مكاید جزوع عند النوائب يقول ولا يفنى بما يقول.

The Muslims said: "The pig is an abominable, strong, crafty, and ugly enemy who becomes apprehensive when there is a misfortune and does not keep his word."

Al-Muntakhab, *bāb* 34, p. 191 (repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 199):

الخنزير رجل ضخم موسر فاسد الدين خبيث المكسب قذر ذويد كافر او نصراني شديد الشوكة دنيء.

The pig signifies a man who is stout, wealthy, religiously corrupt, wicked in order to make profit, filthy, repulsive,²²² an unbeliever or a Christian, vehement in the fury of his fighting and contemptible.

Ibn Shāhīn, no. 5933-5934:

ومن رأى انه يقاتل خنزيرا فإنه ينازع رجلا دنيئا لا خير فيه ومن رأى انه قهر خنزيرا فإنه يبلغ امله من عدوه.

If someone dreams that he fought a pig, he will fight a contemptible man who has no good in him. And if he defeated the pig, he will attain what he hopes for from his enemy.

Cf. al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 199:

ومن رأى انه يقاتل خنزيرا فانه يظفر بعدوه ظالم.

If someone dreams that he has fought a pig he will triumph over a tyrannical enemy.

Drexl 226, 20-22: *εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἐπωχεῖτο χοίρῳ ἀγρίῳ, ἄνδρα μέγιστον ἐχθρὸν καταδουλώσει· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἰδὼν πτωχός, εἰς ὕψος καὶ πλοῦτον μέγαν ἥξει.*

If someone dreams that he rode on a boar, he will vanquish a great enemy. If the dreamer is a pauper, he will attain a lofty position and tremendous wealth.

²²² The word ذويد does not exist in dictionaries; I decided its meaning extrapolating from the meaning of the verb ذار = to drive away, to repel (Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*) and the participle ذائد = propellens, repellens (Freytag, *Lexicon arabico-latinum*).

Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 39, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 54a (repeated verbatim in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 191; repeated in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 5932):

ومن ركب خنزيرا اصاب سلطانا وظفر بعدوه.

If someone rides on a pig he will obtain sovereignty and victory over his enemy.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 21, *bāb* 50, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 218b; repeated without the Quranic passage in al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 198, s.v. خنزير:

فان رأى انه ركب <خنزيرا> اصاب مالا كثيرا لقوله تعالى انما حرم عليكم الميتة والدم الاية

If someone dreams that he rode on a pig he will obtain a great deal of money, according to the saying of God Almighty: "He hath forbidden for you only carrion and blood and swineflesh and that which hath been immolated in the name of any other than Allah; but he who is driven thereto, neither craving nor transgressing, lo! then Allah is Forgiving, Merciful" [Qur'an 2:173 and 16:115²²³].

Cf. Ibn Shāhīn, no. 5948:

ومن رأى انه راكب على خنزير فإنه يدل على الظفر بالاعداء وعلو مرتبه في الدنيا.

If someone dreams that he rode on a pig, this signifies the conquest of his enemies and the elevation of his worldly status.

Drexl 226, 23-227, 2: *εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι συνάγρους ἤνεγκαν αὐτῷ, ἢ αὐτὸς ἐθήρασε κυνηγῶν, ἐχθροὺς δυνατοὺς ἀναλόγως δεσμήσει καὶ συνάξει· εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἡμέρους χοίρους ἤνεγκαν αὐτῷ, οἱ αὐτῇ κρίσις τῆς ἀνωθεν εἰρημένης, ἀλλ' ἐλαττόνως καὶ μετρίως.*

If the king dreams that boars were brought to him, or that he captured them while hunting, he will capture and bring together an analogous number of strong enemies. If he dreams that domesticated pigs were brought to him, the interpretation is the same as above, but to a lesser degree and more moderate.

Cf. Ibn Shāhīn, no. 5931:

وقال الكرمانى من رأى انه اصاب خنزيرا فإنه يتمكن من رجل دنيء شديد الشوكة

²²³ The two verses are identical; their connection with the interpretation that riding a pig signifies money is not clear.

If someone dreams that he obtained a pig he will gain power over a contemptible and strong man.

Drexl 227, 3-4: Εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ <τις>, ὅτι τρώγει χοίρειον κρέας, εὐρήσει χρυσίον καὶ πλοῦτον ἀνάλογον τῆς βρώσεως.

If someone dreams that he ate pork, he will find wealth commensurate to the amount he ate.

Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 39, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 53b-54a:

ولحمه <لحم الخنزير> وجلده ويطونه مال حرام دني.

The meat, skin, and entrails of a pig represent unlawful and contemptible money.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 21, *bāb* 50, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 218b; repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 198, s.v. خنزير:

فان رأى انه اكل لحمه اكل حراما وهو يعلم * فإن كان لحمه مطبوخا نال في تجارته مالا من غير حله وكذلك المشوى.

If someone dreams that he ate <pig's> meat he knowingly ate something unlawful. If its meat was cooked, he will obtain money from commerce that he was not supposed to make. Likewise if its meat was roasted.

Cf. also al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 199:

ومن رأى انه يكل لحم خنزير فانه يصيب مالا حراما محضا.

If someone dreams that he ate the flesh of a pig, he will obtain exclusively unlawful money.

Al-Muntakhab, p. 191:

ولحمه وشحمه ويطنه وجلده مال حرام دني.

Its flesh, fat, belly, and skin represents unlawful and contemptible money.

Ibn Shāhīn, no. 5934:

ولحم الخنزير مال حرام.

The flesh of a pig represents unlawful money.

Drexl 227, 4-5: εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι περιπατεῖ ὥσπερ χοῖρος, εὐρήσει χαρὰν ταχεῖαν.

If someone dreams that he walked like a pig, he will soon find pleasure.

Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 21, *bāb* 50, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 218b; repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 198, s.v. خنزير:

ومن رأى انه يمشى كما مشى الخنزير اصاب قرة عين عاجلا

If someone dreams that he walked like pigs walk, he will soon find pleasure.

As these examples demonstrate, Arabic dream interpretation does reflect the Islamic abomination of the pig and of the consumption of its flesh. Although the flesh of any living being signifies money and wealth,²²⁴ the money represented by unclean pork is unlawful (*ḥarām*). This prejudice is much attenuated in the *Oneirocriticon*, where the wealth and the enemy²²⁵ signified by the pig are not given negative characteristics, although they must have been prominent in its Arabic sources. The Greek author appears to have “de-Islamicized” the chapter on the pig simply by removing the negative characteristics when he copied the Arabic interpretations.

Something similar seems to have happened with the interpretations of drunkenness and alcohol, which also lost many of their negative attributes in their transfer from Arabic to Greek. The majority of the interpretations found in the “Indian” chapters of the *Oneirocriticon* have parallel Arabic interpretations:

Drexl 66, 21-67, 4: 'Εάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐμεθύσθῃ οἶνω, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἀνάλογον τῆς μέθης. εἰ τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐμεθύσθῃ ἀνεὺ οἶνου, εὐρήσει φόβον ἀνάλογον καὶ τιμωρίαν ἀπὸ ἐξουσίας. εἰ τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐμεθύσθῃ ἀπὸ σκευαστοῦ γλυκέος, δολεῖται μεγίστῳ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ εὐρήσει πλοῦτον. εἰ τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐμεθύσθῃ ἀπὸ ὕδατος, φανήσεται πλούσιος ψευδὴς καὶ ἐπικαυχῆσεται ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ.

If someone dreams that he was intoxicated with wine, he will find wealth and power analogous to his intoxication. If he dreams that he was inebriated without <having drunk> wine, he will suffer an equal amount of fear and punishment at the hands of the authorities. If someone dreams that he became drunk from a sweet fermented beverage, he will serve a powerful person and receive wealth from him. If he dreams that he became drunk from water, his wealth will prove to be false and he will boast of power that is not his.

²²⁴ This includes both human and animal flesh. Cf. *Oneirocriticon*, chap. 87 (Drexl 53, 10-18); chap. 272 (Drexl 223, 2-3); chap. 276 (Drexl 225, 5-7); chap. 277 (Drexl 225, 19-20); chap. 278 (Drexl 226, 6-7); chap. 281 (Drexl 229, 9-11); etc.

²²⁵ It only briefly mentions that this enemy is “contemptible” (καταπεφρονήμενος) and dwells more on his strength.

Drexl 67, 6-7: Η μέθη εις κόρον λογαρίου κρίνεται. εάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐμεθύσθῃ ἀπὸ οἴνου, πλῆθος χρυσίου κτᾶται.

Drunkenness is interpreted as abundance of riches. If someone dreams that he was drunk with wine, he will acquire much wealth.

Similar interpretations of wine and drunkenness are repeated in chapter 195, "From the Indians on Wine and Beverages":

Drexl 150, 11-151, 2: Ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἔπιεν οἶνον ἄκρατον ἢ μεθ' ὕδατος, εὐρήσει χρυσίον ἀνάλογον καὶ ἐξουσίαν. εἰ δὲ πιών ἐμεθύσθῃ, εὐρήσει χρυσίον ἐξ ἀδικίας καὶ ἀξίωμα μείζον ἀνάλογον τῆς μέθης· εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐμεθύσθῃ διχα οἴνου, τοῦτο ἐξουσία κρίνεται, ἀλλὰ ψευδὴς ἀποβήσεται. ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐὰν ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐμέθυσε, ἐξουσιαστῶν κυριεύσει καὶ χαρὰν μεγίστην εὐρήσει διὰ τὸν οἶνον. ἐὰν ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔπιεν ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων οἶνον, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον ἐξ ἐθνῶν διὰ κολάσεως διὰ τὴν ἐκ πυρὸς κόλασιν τῆς ἐψησεως τοῦ οἴνου.

Εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔπιεν οἶνον ἐκ σαχάριτος τὸ λεγόμενον ζουλάπιν, εἰ μὲν ἐμεθύσθῃ, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον καὶ ἐξουσίαν μετὰ κόπου διὰ τὸ πῦρ· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐμεθύσθῃ, εἰς πλοῦτον καὶ μόνον τοῦτο κρίνεται. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἔπιεν τὸν ἐκ σταφίδων οἶνον καὶ ἐμεθύσθῃ, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον ἔμφοβον καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἀπὸ γυναικῶν. ὁ οἶνος ὁ καθαρὸς εἰς χρυσίου κτήσιν ἄκοπον καὶ ἐξουσίαν ὑψηλὴν ἐκρίθη. καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ποτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ σκευασίας διὰ τοῦτο εἰσιν εἰς κόπον καὶ ἐξουσίαν ὑπεύθυνον διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἔψησιν.

If someone dreams that he drank wine, either pure or mixed with water, he will acquire a corresponding amount of wealth and power. If he drank it and became intoxicated, he will attain wealth through wrongdoing and a major office commensurate with his intoxication. If he dreams that he became inebriated without wine, this is interpreted as power, but it will turn out to be false. If the emperor dreams that he became inebriated, he will vanquish powerful people and have great joy because of the wine. If he dreams that he drank wine made from dates, he will acquire through punishment wealth from foreign races, because of the fire <used> in distillation <which symbolizes punishment>.

If he dreams that he drank wine made of sugar cane, the so-called julep, if he becomes inebriated he will find wealth and power through toil because of the fire <of the distillation>. If he does not get drunk, <the dream> is interpreted as wealth only. If someone dreams that he drank wine made from resins and became inebriated, he will be granted by women terrible wealth and power. Undiluted wine is interpreted as the effortless acquisition of wealth and lofty power. Distilled beverages are interpreted as toil and power with many responsibilities because of their preparation with fire.²²⁶

²²⁶ On the preparation of julep and wine, see *Paris. gr.* 2419, fol. 154v (inventory of the recipes in *CMAG*, vol. 1, p. 63); on the various methods of preparing and serving wine and on various beverages consumed by the Byzantines, see Ph. Koukoules, *Byzantinōn bios kai politismos*, vol. 5, pp. 121-35.

Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 20 (الاشربة), *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 37a-b:

الخمر مال حرام بلا نصب والسكر منها مال وسلطان والسكر من غير شراب خوف شديد لقوله عز وجل وتري الناس سكارى وما هم بسكارى ولكن عذاب الله شديد * والنبيذ مال طيبة وخبثه على قدر النبيذ في الاشربة ويكون فيه نصب بحسب ما نالت النار منه.

Wine is unlawful money <acquired> without toil; intoxication from it is money and sovereignty. Intoxication without drinking represents great fear, according to the saying of God Almighty: "And thou shalt see mankind drunk, yet they are not drunk, but God's chastisement is terrible" [Qur'an 22:2]. *Nabidh*²²⁷ is licit money; the wickedness <involved in acquiring it> will be analogous to how strong the *nabidh* was when drinking it, and the toil analogous to the fire needed for its preparation.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 24, *bāb* 2 (خمر), *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 143a:

والخمر مال حرام ليس فيه نصب ولا كد.

Wine is unlawful money <acquired> without labor and toil.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 24, *bāb* 7 (السكر); *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 143b:

قال المسلمون كل الاشربة المكروهة لا خير فيها والسكر اشدها وهو هم وزن <؟> لقوله تعالى لا تقربوا الصلاة وانتم سكارى وقوله عز ذكره وتري الناس سكارى وما هم بسكارى * والسكر غنى الدهر مع البطر * فاذا كان السكر من نبيذ او ما يستحل شربه فهو سلطان على كل حال الا ان اضعف في المبلغ واوهن... ومن رأى انه شرب خمرا وسكر منه فانه يصيب مالا حراما... وكذلك السكر سلطان ومال اذا كان من شراب والسكر من غير شراب خوف شديد بمغلب السكر لقوله تعالى وتري الناس سكارى.

The Muslims said: "Nothing good will come from <dreaming of> any of the reprehensible beverages. Drunkenness is worse than they are. It is trouble and ...²²⁸ according to the saying of God Almighty: "Draw not near to prayer when you are drunken" [Qur'an 4:43] and according to His saying: "And thou shalt see mankind drunk, yet they are not drunk, but God's chastisement is terrible" [Qur'an 22:2]. Drunkenness represents inexhaustible wealth combined with vanity. If the intoxication comes from *nabidh* or something <else> that is lawful to drink, this

²²⁷ *Nabidh* is an alcoholic beverage made from dates, raisins, or grains. Its use by Muslims is lawful (see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. "nabidh").

²²⁸ Illegible word.

represents authority in every case, unless it is weak and ineffective in its results. If someone dreamt that he drank wine and was intoxicated by it, he will receive unlawful money.... Likewise, inebriation signifies authority and wealth, if it is the result of drinking. Becoming intoxicated without having drunk signifies great fear commensurate with the degree of <the dreamer's> intoxication, according to the saying of God Almighty: "And thou shalt see mankind drunk, yet they are not drunk, but God's chastisement is terrible" [Qur'ān 22:2].

Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 24, *bāb* 4 (نبيذ من التمر والزبيب), *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 143b:

اما نبيذ التمر فان صرفه مال فيه شبهة... وقالوا النبيذ مال حلال فيه كد ونصب وغنى لما نالت منه النار وهو خير الاموال التي هي تاويل الخمر لحال النبيذ مع الاشربة * فاما شرب النبيذ فمن رأى انه شرب نبيذا او غيره مما يسكر فانه مال تحليله وتحريمه بقدر كراهة ذلك الشرب في الدين والبقظة ويكون في ذلك المال من النصب والكلام والعلاج له بقدر ما نالت النار منه.

As for *nabīdh* <made> from dried dates, its unmixed state is money characterized by uncertainty as to its lawfulness.... <The dream interpreters> said: "*Nabīdh* is lawful money combined with hard work, toil, and wealth commensurate with how much the fire affected it. In the case of *nabīdh* and <other> drinks in its category, <the dream also signifies> the blessing of the wealth which is <generally> signified by wine. As for drinking *nabīdh*, if someone dreams that he drank it, or something like it, from the category of drinks that cause intoxication, this indicates money which is either lawful or unlawful, depending on the status of the beverage with regard to religion and to life when one is awake. The money <signified by this dream> will be acquired through toil, dispute and effort commensurate with the fire needed for its preparation."²²⁹

Cf. Ibn Shāhīn, no. 4346:

ومن رأى انه يشرب خمرا فسكر منه فإنه يصيب مالا حراما ويصيب من ذلك المال سلطنة بقدر السكر، وان السكر بغير خمرة فإنه يصيب هم وخوف شديد لقوله تعالى وتراى الناس سكارى الآية.

If someone dreamt that he was drinking wine and got drunk from it, he will acquire unlawful money and, from this money, he will also attain power analogous to his drunkenness. If he became drunk without wine, sorrow and terrible fear will befall him, according to the saying of God Almighty: "And thou shalt see mankind drunk, yet they are not drunk, but God's chastisement is terrible" [Qur'ān 22:2].

²²⁹ Ibn Qutayba's and al-Dīnawarī's interpretations are repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, pp. 134-35; al-Dīnawarī's interpretations are repeated in al-Nābuluṣī, vol. 1, p. 309, s.v. السكر العقل and vol. 1, p. 182, s.v. خمر.

Drexl 151, 3-12: 'Εὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι διαμάχεται τινὶ ἔνεκεν πόσεως οἴνου ἐν ποτηρίῳ, εἰ μὲν γνωρίζει αὐτόν, μαχήσεται μετ' αὐτοῦ χάριν χρυσοῦ καὶ νῆκος καὶ κέρδος εὐρήσει ὁ νικήσας, εἰ δὲ οὐ γνωρίζει αὐτόν, ἐχθρῷ μαχήσεται ἔνεκεν τούτου· εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐμαχήσατο διὰ τὸ ποτήριον τὸ ὑέλινον, περὶ γυναικὸς μαχήσεται αὐτῷ. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔπιεν οἶνον συγκεκρασμένον, εὐρήσει θλίψιν εἰς τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ ἀναλόγως τῆς ζέσεως. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐκίρνα αὐτῷ ἕτερος γνώριμος τοῦτον τὸν οἶνον, διὰ τὸν κινῶντα ἐκείνον θλιβήσεται· εἰ δὲ ἀγνώριστος ᾦν, δι' ἐχθροῦ.

If someone dreams that he is quarreling with someone over drinking wine in a cup, if he knows him, he will quarrel with him over gold, and the winner will attain victory and profit. If the dreamer does not know the person he is quarreling with, he will fight an enemy for this reason. If he dreams that he fought over a glass goblet, he will fight his opponent over a woman. If he dreams that he drank wine mixed with warm water, he will grieve over his wealth by analogy to the warmth <of the drink>. If he dreams that this wine was mixed by someone he knew, <the dreamer> will grieve because of this man; if he did not know the man, he will grieve because of an enemy.

Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 20 (الاشربة), *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 37a-b:²³⁰

ومنارعة الكأس منارعة الخصومة وكذلك منارعة الدلاء.

Fighting for a goblet <of wine> signifies fighting over litigation; fighting over buckets <of wine is interpreted> likewise.

Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 24, *bāb* 2 (خمر), *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 143a:

ومن رأى انه يشربها وليس معه من ينازعه فيها فانه يصيب مالا حراما وقالوا بل مالا حلالا * فان شربها ولم ينازعه كاسها فانه ينازعه الكلام والخاصومات والصخب بقدر ذلك * فان كانوا ثلثة او زيادة فبقدر ذلك.

If someone dreams that he was drinking <wine> and there was no one with him to fight about it, <the dreamer> will acquire unlawful money; and even lawful money. If someone drank the wine and did not fight over the cup, he will fight disputes and litigation, and the uproar will be analogous to what he saw in his dream. And if there were three or more <persons in the dream, its interpretation> is by analogy to their number.

Drexl 151, 13-14: 'Εὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι πατεῖ ἐν ληνῷ καὶ ποιεῖ οἶνον, δουλεύσει ἐξουσίᾳ μεγίστῃ καὶ καταπιστευθήσεται διοικήσεις μεγίστας.

²³⁰ Repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 134, ll. 15-17.

If someone dreams that he was walking in a vat and was making wine, he will serve a person of great authority and be entrusted with very important administrative matters.

Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 20 (لاشرية), *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 37a-b.²³¹

ومن اعتصر خمرا خد سلطانا واخصب وجرى على يده امور عظام.

If someone dreamt that he was pressing <grapes to make> wine, he will serve a person of authority and prosper and carry out important affairs.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 24, *bāb* 2, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 143a:

فمن رأى انه يعصر خمرا فانه يخدم السلطان ويجرى على يده امور عظام.
If someone dreams that he was pressing <grapes to make> wine, he will serve a person of authority,²³² and will carry out important affairs.

Drexl 151, 15-21: 'Εὰν ἴδῃ τις ποταμὸν ἐξ οἴνου ῥέοντα, ὅπερ ἀνεπίδεκτόν ἐστιν ἐτέρῳ θεαθῆναι πλὴν βασιλέως ἢ μεγίστων, ἡ μὲν ἐξουσιάζει τὸν ποταμὸν, εὐρήσει ἐξουσίαν μείζονα καὶ πόλεμον κατ' ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀνυπότακτος ἔσται πᾶσιν· εἰ δὲ ἐτέρων ὁ ποταμὸς ἐδεσπόζετο, εἰς τὴν δεσποτείαν ἡ κρίσις. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἤγγισε τῷ τοιούτῳ ποταμῷ ἢ ἤρην ἐξ αὐτοῦ, εὐρήσει ἐξουσίαν ἀνάλογον οὗ ἥρε ποσοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δεσπότου τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

If someone dreams of a river flowing with wine, which is impossible for anyone other than an emperor or nobleman to dream, if he is master over the river he will be given great authority, will wage war against his enemies and will not succumb to anyone. If others were masters over the river, the interpretation <of the dream> refers to these masters. If someone dreams that he approached this river or took wine from it, he will be given power by the master of the river by analogy to how much wine he takes.

Arabic dreambooks also interpret dreaming of a river flowing with wine as having some association with *fitna*, which means both "temptation" and "riot" or "civil strife". Given that the *Oneirocriticon* connects a river of wine with war against one's enemies, the second meaning of *fitna* should possibly be given preference:

²³¹ Repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 134; and Ibn Shāhīn, no. 4349.

²³² The Greek phrase δουλεύσει ἐξουσίᾳ μεγίστη (lit., "he will serve an authority") has its exact parallel in the Arabic phrases خد سلطان from Ibn Qutayba and يخدم السلطان from al-Dīnawarī, since the Arabic word *sulṭān* in earlier texts (such as the Qur'ān) means "authority," while in later texts it also means "ruler", that is the person in authority.

Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 20 (لاشرية), *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 37b:

ومن رأى نهرا من خمر واصاب منه نالته فتنة بقدر ما انال منه.

If someone dreams of a river of wine and took some from it, *fitna* will influence him by analogy to how much he took.

Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 24, *bāb* 2 (خمر), *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 143a:

فان رأى انه اصاب نهرا من خمر فانه يصيبه فتنة في دنياه فان دخله وقع في فتنة بقدر ما نال منه.

If someone dreams that he reached a river of wine, *fitna* will befall him in his worldly life. If he stepped into the river, he will meet with²³³ *fitna* by analogy to how much he took from the river.

Cf. Ibn Shāhīn, no. 4350:

ومن رأى نهرا من خمرة فان على وجهين ان دخله اصاب فتنة ومضرة، وان لم يدخله فيؤول بتغيير رئيسه عليه.

If someone dreams of a river of wine, it has a twofold interpretation: if he entered the river he will meet with *fitna* and harm. If he did not enter the river, this is interpreted as a change in his leaders.

Arabic dreambooks do include negative interpretations of wine. For example, al-Dīnawarī states (*faṣl* 24, *bāb* 2, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 143a): فمن رأى انه يشرب خمرا فانه يصيب اثما كبيرا (If someone dreams that he drank wine, he will fall into grave sin). Conceivably, such interpretations did exist in the Arabic sources of the *Oneirocriticon*, and the Greek author simply omitted them. There was plenty of neutral material he could draw from, and this is evidently what he did.

The interpretations of Christian dream symbols in the *Oneirocriticon* are based on equivalent interpretations of Muslim dream symbols found in Arabic dreambooks. Depending on the dream symbol, the Greek author either did not change anything (e.g., Resurrection, Paradise and Hell, Angels), or made minimal changes in order to transform Muslim notions into Christian ones (e.g., mosques become churches), including omitting details that would associate a

²³³ *Esad Efendi* has وعاجله فهي instead, which makes no sense. I corrected the text on the basis of identical phrases that occur in *al-Muntakhab* (chap. 18, p. 134) and al-Nābulusi, vol. 1, p. 182, s.v. خمر.

dream symbol and its interpretation too closely with Islam (e.g., in his handling of well-known Muslim taboos). Though it is not always possible to extrapolate which Arabic interpretation inspired a given Greek one (as in the interpretation of monks), it is safe to conclude that the Greek author did not invent new interpretations, but kept as close as possible to his Muslim sources.

CHAPTER EIGHT

REFLECTIONS OF THE OLD AND THE NEW TESTAMENT IN
THE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE *ONEIROCRITICON*

Artemidoros, the earliest of the authors that we are examining, based a good number of his interpretations not only on language and figures of speech, but also on a body of literary texts, including Homer, Hesiod, Euripides and Menander,¹ that must have enjoyed a wide readership in the ancient world. Many of the interpretations quoted in the Babylonian Talmud, on the other hand, are based on the Torah, a text of religious rather than literary significance. Arabic dream interpretation is based on both sacred and literary texts. Its interpretations are inspired by the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth*, but also poetry, proverbs, etc. The Quranic passages are introduced with the standard phrase *قال تعالى* or *قال الله تعالى* ("God the Most High said" or "The Most High said"²); the passages from the *ḥadīth* are also introduced with a standard phrase, *قال صلى الله عليه وسلم* or *قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم* ("The Prophet said, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him," or "He said, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him"), so they are immediately identifiable, even by someone who is not familiar with the original texts.

Since the *Oneirocriticon* is a Christian adaptation of Muslim material, it is important to ascertain whether it rejects or retains the Quranic contents. The interpretations based on Quranic passages were certainly repeated in the *Oneirocriticon*, without, however, translating the relevant verse.³ But does the author try to substitute for the Quranic passages similar passages from the Christian revelation or even from the Old Testament?

¹ For example, Artemidoros cites Theognis (i.32 Pack 41, 5-6; i.66 Pack 71, 20-21), Homer (i.50 Pack 56, 2-3; iv.proem. Pack 239, 6-13; iv.59 Pack 285, 2-3), Menander (ii.4 Pack 106, 1-2; ii.12 Pack 125, 15), Euripides (ii.10 Pack 116, 10; iv.59 Pack 284, 15-22), Hesiod (iv.59 Pack 284, 12), among others.

² Contrary to the Christian Gospels, which were written by divine inspiration but by human beings, the Qur'ān is considered to be the word of God itself. Other eulogistic formulas that accompany the name of God in Arabic dreambooks are: *قال الله عز وجل*, *قال الله سبحانه*. All are generally translated as "God Almighty."

³ For examples, see the sections titled "Crucifixion and Cross," "Decapitation and Eating a Human Head," and "Elephant" in chapter 5; also the sections on "Resurrection of the Dead," "Paradise and Hell," and "Color Green as Symbol of Piety and Godliness" in chapter 7.

The author says that he uses a scriptural quotation only twice. The first time, the quotation is incorporated into the introduction to the dreambook according to Syrbacham, the dream interpreter to the king of the Indians, to whom the Christian interpretations throughout the *Oneirocriticon* are ascribed. In this case the author of the *Oneirocriticon* in all likelihood quoted a passage from the Gospels to replace a Quranic passage with a Christian one.⁴ Both the Muslim and the Christian quotations convey a similar message. The second instance is provided to justify an interpretation in the same way as Quranic quotations are used in Arabic dreambooks:⁵

ἐάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ὁ πάλαι νεκρὸς ἀνέζησε καὶ λέγει· “ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέθανον, ἀλλὰ ζῶ” καὶ θαυμάζει ὁ ἰδὼν, τοῦτο εἰς σῶμα τοῦ νεκροῦ κρίνεται, πληρο-φορούμενον ἐκ τῆς θείας γραφῆς λεγούσης, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἔστι νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ ζώντων. νεκρὸς οὖν ὁ βλεπόμενος, ὅτι ζῇ, σέσωσται.

If someone dreams that a person who is already dead returned to life and said “I did not die, but I am alive,” at which the dreamer was amazed, this represents the dead man’s salvation, which has been fully assured in the Holy Writ: “He is not the God of the dead, but of the living” [Matthew 22:32; Mark 12:27; Luke 20:38]. Thus, a dead man seen as being alive has been saved.

The same interpretation is given by Ibn Qutayba, but he justifies it with a Quranic passage:⁶

ومن رأى ميتا فآخبره أنه حيّ فهو صلاح لحاله لقول الله عز وجل ولا تحسبن الذين قتلوا في سبيل الله أمواتا بل أحياء عند ربهم يرزقون

Whoever dreams that a dead person informs him that he is alive, this is goodness in <the dead man’s> condition <in the Hereafter>, according to the saying of God Almighty, “Think not of those who are slain in the way of God, as dead. Nay, they are living. With their Lord they have provision” [Qur’ān 3:169].

An identical interpretation justified with the same Quranic passage, is quoted by al-Dīnawarī:⁷

ومن رأى ميتا قد عرفه وأخبره بأنه لم يمت فإن ذلك صلاح ذلك الميت في الآخرة لقوله تبارك وتعالى تحسبن الذين قتلوا في سبيل الله أمواتا بل

⁴ See chapter 4, pp. 161-163.

⁵ Drexel 83, 15-19.

⁶ Ibn Qutayba, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 32b.

⁷ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 29, *bāb* 16, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 269a.

أحياء عند ربهم يرزقون والميت لا يكذب * وكذلك إن ظن صاحب الرؤيا في منامه أنه لا يموت أبدا فإنه يقتل بسبيل الله.

Whoever dreams of a dead person whom he knew and who informs him that he is not dead, this is goodness in the condition of this dead person in the Hereafter, according to the saying of God Almighty: “Think not of those who are slain in the way of God as dead. Nay, they are living. With their Lord they have provision” [Qur’ān 3:169]; and the dead do not speak lies. Likewise, if the dreamer thought in his sleep that he would never die, he will be slain in the way of God <i.e., he will die a martyr>.

Similar interpretations are also given in the remaining three Arabic dream-books.⁸ In both instances where a biblical passage is quoted in the *Oneirocriticon*, it replaced a Quranic passage quoted in its Arabic sources. Since there are numerous interpretations that Arabic dreambooks base on passages from the Qur’ān, the two biblical passages quoted in the *Oneirocriticon* suggest that finding a quotation from the New Testament with a meaning analogous to a given Quranic passage is not easy, and considerable effort must have been spent in identifying the two New Testament passages that finally did appear. The first biblical passage in the introduction is important for the whole work, as it gives a Christian justification for dream interpretation in general; the effort expended by the author to locate it is therefore understandable. The second quotation inserted in order to support one of the many interpretations does not, at first sight, seem to be of special importance.

What is the particular meaning of Qur’ān 3:169, the verse that consistently appears in this place in the Arabic dreambooks and which the author of the *Oneirocriticon* apparently wanted to substitute with a passage from the New Testament? Muslim commentators of the Qur’ān have sometimes interpreted

⁸ The first section of al-Dīnawarī’s interpretation is repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, chap. 16, p. 63; the second section is repeated verbatim in *ibid.*, p. 59; Ibn Shāhin’s relevant entry (no. 2586) appears to be a combination of the two interpretations quoted by al-Dīnawarī: ومن رأى أن أحداً ممن يقبل قوله في اليقظة يخبره بأنه لا يموت أبداً فإنه يقتل في سبيل الله ويكون حياً بعد ذلك لقوله تعالى ولا تحسبن الذين قتلوا في سبيل الله أمواتاً بل أحياء الآية (Whoever dreams that one of those who, in waking life, is reliable in his words, informed him that he will never die, he will be slain in the way of God <i.e., he will die a martyr> and will always live after that, according to the saying of God Almighty: “Think not of those who are slain in the way of God as dead. Nay, they are living. With their Lord they have provision” [Qur’ān 3:169]). Al-Nābulusi gives an abbreviated version of the interpretations found in Ibn Qutayba and al-Dīnawarī without the Quranic passage (vol. 2, p. 280, ll. 5-6, s.v. موت): ومن أخبره ميت أنه لم يمت فإنه في مقام الشهداء منعم في الآخرة (When a dead person informs someone that he did not die, this dead person is in the place reserved for martyrs, luxuriating in the abode of the Hereafter).

it as an elucidation of Qur'ān 4:157-58, which states that Jesus was not killed but raised up to God,⁹ but its meaning is most often connected with the special status attained in the Hereafter by the martyrs who die for the Muslim faith, and this is evidently the way it is understood in the dreambooks where it is cited. The martyrs of *jihād*, that is the victims of Holy War, are guaranteed entry into Paradise. Though a concept of a Christian holy war never developed in Byzantium in response to the *jihād*,¹⁰ both the civil and the religious authorities were aware of its existence among their Muslim adversaries and Byzantine theologians, including Theodore Abū Qurra and Niketas of Byzantium, who lived earlier than the tenth century, launched arguments against it in their polemical writings.¹¹ It is therefore conceivable that the special effort expended by the author of the *Oneirocriticon* to substitute a passage from the New Testament for Qur'ān 3:169 might represent his Christian answer to the significance of this verse either in the context of Christology or of *jihād*.

In addition to these two quotations modern scholars have discerned other biblical influences in the *Oneirocriticon*. Both its editor and its two most recent translators believed that some of its interpretations were inspired by passages from the Bible.¹² The question is whether they represent innovations introduced by the Christian author into his Muslim material, or whether they

⁹ See *Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Martyrs"; also Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'ān*, p. 113.

¹⁰ See A. Laiou, "On Just War in Byzantium," in *Tō' Ellēnikōn. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, ed. S. Reinert, J. Langdon, J. Allen, vol. 1 (New Rochelle, 1993), pp. 153-74; and N. Oikonomides, "The Concept of 'Holy War' and Two Tenth-Century Byzantine Ivorys," in *Peace and War in Byzantium. Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, ed. T. Miller and J. Nesbitt (Washington, D.C., 1995), pp. 62-88. For the opposite view, see A. Kolia-Dermitzakē, "Hē idea tou hierou polemou sto Byzantio kata ton dekato aiōna: hē martyria tōn taktikōn kai tōn dēmēgoriōn," *Kōnstantinos Z ho Porphyrogennētos kai hē epochē tou* (Athens, 1989), pp. 39-58. For a broader view, see A. Kolia-Dermitzakē, *Ho Byzantinos "hieros polemos": hē ennoia kai hē probolē tou thrēskeutikou polemou sto Byzantio* (Athens, 1991). The author dates the origin of the idea of Christian holy war to the 4th century A.D. and follows its development until the 11th. For a review by W. Kaegi that challenges many of Dermitzakē's arguments, see *Speculum* 69:2 (1994), pp. 518-20.

¹¹ For an overview and references to sources, see Khoury, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam*, pp. 243-59.

¹² Drex1, *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, p. 242, gives a list of *loci laudati* to his edition. Only two of these *loci* suggest that interpretations were actually based on the New Testament (the interpretation of the fruit of Paradise and of locusts); the rest simply signal biblical influences in the language and expression of the *Oneirocriticon*. As is evident from the footnotes in their respective translations, both Oberhelman and Brackertz agreed with him and especially Brackertz singled out further passages which they thought were inspired by either the Old or the New Testament.

copy interpretations already quoted in the *Oneirocriticon*'s Arabic sources.¹³

Locusts

One interpretation thought to have been inspired by the New Testament is that of locusts representing a host of enemies:¹⁴ καθ' ὅλου ἡ ἀκρις ἀπαραλλάκτως εἰς πλῆθος ἐχθρῶν κρίνεται· οὕτως γὰρ γέγραπται, ὅτι θεῖον κελεύσματι ἐκστρατεύονται εἰς ἀπώλειαν τόπου (In general, a locust is unfailingly interpreted as a host of enemies; for so it is written, that by divine order they march out to destroy the land).

Drex1 connected this interpretation to two passages in Revelation,¹⁵ and not

¹³ Some have been dealt with in passing already: Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, n. 36, correlates Drex1 2, 19-22 with Matthew 5:45 and Luke 6:35. However, for Arabic passages equivalent to Drex1 2, 19-22, see chapter 4, "Principles of Dream Interpretation." Brackertz (n. 42) follows Drex1 and correlates the interpretation of the fruit of Paradise in Drex1 4, 26 ff. with John 14:17 and 1 John 4:6 ff; however, the interpretation of Paradise in Arabic dreambooks shows that this passage was copied from Arabic sources. Brackertz (n. 48) correlates the Greek interpretation of eunuchs with Matthew 19:12; but this passage was derived from Arabic dream interpretation as shown in chapter 7, "Angels and Eunuchs." Brackertz (n. 54) correlates the interpretation of Jesus with Luke 10:23, but see chapter 7, "Prophets, Apostles and Teachers, Jesus Christ and Icons." Brackertz (n. 407) comments on the differentiation between λαός ("people" = God's people, the Byzantines) and ἔθνος ("nation" = the foreign peoples) made in Drex1 163, 19-23; the same differentiation is made in Islam between the *umma* (the nation of Islam, the Muslims) and the *kāfirūn* (the unbelievers). Chapter 159 ("From the Persians and Egyptians on Fire", Drex1 121, 29-122, 10) gives the following interpretation: Εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔφερε πῦρ ἐν ἱματίῳ ἀκαύστως, οἰκειότητα εὐρήσει καὶ μυστήρια δέξεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως (If someone dreams that he was carrying fire in his clothes without being burned, he will be a familiar of the king and will listen to his secrets). Brackertz (n. 321) correlates this with Proverbs 6:27: ἀποθήσει τις πῦρ ἐν κόλπῳ, τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια οὐ κατακαύσει; (Can a man take fire in his bosom, and his clothes not be burnt?). The biblical passage adduced by Brackertz does not concern the interpretation, but the dream symbol itself. Dreams of fire that does not burn are also discussed in Arabic dreambooks, e.g., Ibn Shāhin, no. 5293: ...ومن رأى أن أحداً القاه في النار ولم يحرقه... (If someone dreams that he held in his hand fire that was ablaze, he will be granted goodness and beneficence from the ruler).

¹⁴ See Drex1's testimonia in 238, 24-26. See also Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, n. 552; and Oberhelman, *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, n. 975.

¹⁵ Revelation 9:3: καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ ἐξῆλθον ἀκρίδες εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐταῖς ἐξουσία ὡς ἔχουσιν οἱ σκορπίοι τῆς γῆς (And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth: and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power). Also Revelation 9:7: καὶ τὰ ὁμοιώματα τῶν ἀκρίδων ὅμοια ἵπποις ἡτοιμασμένοις εἰς πόλεμον (And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle).

to the plague of locusts in Egypt related in the Old Testament (Exodus 10:1-20).¹⁶ However, Arabic dreambooks also interpret locusts as hostile armies.¹⁷ Ibn Qutayba states,¹⁸ وكقولهم في الجراد انهم جند وفي الجند انهم جراد (And as their saying about locusts that they are an army and about an army that it is locusts).¹⁹ Al-Dīnawarī repeats this interpretation and explains it as follows:²⁰ الجراد عذاب وجند الله تعالى لانه من آيات موسى عليه السلام (Locusts are a punishment and an army <sent> by God Almighty, for they were one of the signs of Moses, may peace be upon him).²¹ A similar interpretation is quoted by Ibn Shāhīn (nos. 6299 and 6300): اما الجراد فإنه (As for locusts, they are interpreted as an army, if they were flying) قال الكرمانى الجراد جند من الله تعالى (al-Kirmānī said: "Locusts are an army <sent> by God Almighty").

As al-Dīnawarī mentions, the Arabic interpretation of this dream refers to an incident described in the Qur'ān;²² a plague of locusts was sent by God to afflict the land of the pharaoh in order to persuade him that Moses is indeed a prophet. The same story is told in the Old Testament (Exodus 10:1-20) and is also implied in the *Oneirocriticon*, whose author saw no difficulty in incorporating this interpretation into his work, since the story of Moses is also part of Christian sacred history.

Three further interpretations that modern scholars considered as having been influenced by the Bible all refer to the Old Testament story of Joseph. Pressing

¹⁶ Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, n. 552, adds the reference to Exodus 10:1-20 and Joel 1:2-2:11.

¹⁷ A different interpretation is given by Artemidoros, ii.21 (Pack 139, 16-19): Ακρίδες δὲ καὶ πάρνοτες καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι μάστακες γεωργοῖς μὲν ἀφορίαν ἢ φθορὰν τῶν καρπῶν προαγορεύουσι· σίνονται γὰρ τὰ σπέρματα ἢ διαφθείρουσι· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς πονηροῦς ἄνδρας ἢ γυναῖκας σημαίνουν (Grasshoppers, locusts, and the so-called jaw-locusts indicate barren soil or the devastation of their crops for farmers. For these insects damage seeds or destroy them completely. But for other men, they signify wicked men and women).

¹⁸ Ibn Qutayba, introduction, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 8a; Ankara *Is. Saib Sincer* I, 4501, fol. 192b.

¹⁹ Repeated almost verbatim in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 11: وكقولهم في الجراد انه جند وفي الجند انه جراد (And their saying about locusts that they are an army and about an army that it is locusts).

²⁰ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 21, *bāb* 39, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 214a.

²¹ Repeated in al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 126, s.v. جراد.

²² Qur'ān 7:133: "So We sent against them the flood and the locusts and the vermin and the frogs and the blood—a succession of clear signs. But they were arrogant and became a guilty folk."

grapes is interpreted as serving a person of authority,²³ and this reminds one of the interpretation that Joseph gave to the dream of pressing grapes into the pharaoh's cup that the pharaoh's butler had in prison.²⁴ However, the Greek interpretation of pressing grapes was copied from the Arabic sources, as is evident from the passages regarding the interpretation of wine.²⁵

Another two instances that bring to mind incidents from the story of Joseph are the interpretations of cows and chariots.

Cows

The *Oneirocriticon* interprets cows as representing years. Fat cows symbolize years of abundance; lean cows years of want. This interpretation evidently reflects the Old Testament dream of the pharaoh and its interpretation by Joseph (Genesis 41:1-32), but the *Oneirocriticon* makes no direct reference to the Bible:²⁶

Τὰ βοῖδια ... τὰ θήλεια εἰς χρόνους <κρινέτω>. καὶ εἰ μὲν εἰσι πίονα, χρόνους εὐφόρους δηλοῦσιν, τὰ δὲ λεπτά καὶ πτωχά, χρόνους δυσφόρους... ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι εὖρε βοῦν λιπαρὰν ἢ πολλὰς, εὐρήσει χρόνον ἢ χρόνους καλοὺς καὶ εὐφόρους καὶ προκοπὴν ἑκάστος τῆς ἐργασίας αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι εὖρε βοῦν ἢ ἀγέλην λεπτὴν καὶ ἐδέσποσεν αὐτῶν, εὐρήσει χρόνον ἢ χρόνους ἀναλόγως τοῦ μέτρου αὐτῶν κακοὺς καὶ λιμόν καὶ ζημίαν καὶ πενίαν ἀνάλογον τῆς λεπτότητος. Ἐὰν ἴδῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι ἤνεγκαν αὐτῷ βοὺς λιπαράς, εὐρήσει χρόνους ἀγαθοὺς καὶ εὐτυχεῖς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ πλούτον τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐφορίαν ἀναλόγως τῆς τῶν βοῶν πιάνσεως καὶ τοῦ πλήθους· τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως τὸ ὄναρ ἐν τοῦτοις εἰς πάντα τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖραν αὐτοῦ κρίνεται. ὁμοίως ἐὰν ἴδῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι ἤνεγκαν αὐτῷ λεπτὰς βοὺς καὶ πτωχάς, εὐρήσει χρόνους δυστυχεῖς τῶν τε πολεμίων καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ ἀναλόγως τοῦ μέτρου καὶ τῆς λεπτότητος ἐν τε αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ.

Let heifers ... be interpreted as years. If they are fat, they indicate fruitful years, if lean and meager, years that are hard to bear.... If someone dreams that he found one or many fat heifers, he will have either one or several years of good fortune and abundance, as well as progress in his work. If someone dreams that he found either one or a herd of lean heifers and owned them, he will have one or several

²³ Chap. 195, Drexl 151, 13-14.

²⁴ Genesis 40:1-13; Qur'ān 12:36-41.

²⁵ See chapter 7, "Muslim Taboos."

²⁶ Chap. 237, Drexl 189, 25-190, 17. Cf. also Drexl 207, 12-13: εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ ἡ κρίσις τοῦ βοός (oxen are interpreted as years).

bad years, depending on their number, as well as famine, ruin and poverty by analogy with their leanness.

If the king dreams that they brought him fat cows, he will have good years with success in war, wealth from his land, and abundance in proportion to the fatness and number of cows. For the dream of the king, as far as such things are concerned, is interpreted with respect to everyone in his power.²⁷ Likewise, if the king dreams that they brought him lean and meager cows, he will find years of misfortune regarding both his enemies and his land in proportion to the number and leanness <of the cows>, regarding both himself and everyone in his power.

The pharaoh's dream of seven fat and seven lean cows and its interpretation by Joseph are also recounted in Qur'ān 12:43-49. Arabic dreambooks interpret cows in the same way that Joseph interpreted them in the biblical and the Quranic narrative. Ibn Qutayba says,²⁸ والبقرة سنة والبقرة سنون ولحومها (One cow signifies one year, while many cows signify many years. Their flesh is interpreted as money The fatness of the cow is abundance). Al-Dinawari's interpretations of cows are also in the same spirit:²⁹

البقرة السوداء والبقرة الصفراء سنة فيها سرور وخصب لقوله تعالى تسر الناظرين قال ابن سيرين سمانها لمن ملكها أحب إلى من مهازِيلها لأن السمان سنون وخصب * والمهازِيل سنون اجذب لقوله تعالى اني ارى سبع بقرات ياكلهن سبع عجاف...

A black and a yellow cow <signifies> a year during which there is joy and abundance, according to the saying of God Almighty, "She shall be a golden cow, bright her color, gladdening the beholders" [Qur'ān 2:69]. Ibn Sirin said: "The fat among them, for whoever owned them is preferable to the lean ones, because fat cows <indicate> a more abundant year. Lean cows <signify> a more barren year, according to the saying of God Almighty: "Lo! I saw in a dream seven fat kine which seven lean were eating" [Qur'ān 12:43].

Al-Muntakhab repeats al-Dinawari:³⁰

البقرة سنة وكان ابن سيرين يقول سمان البقر لمن ملكها أحب إلى من المهازِيل لأن السمان سنون وخصب والمهازِيل سنون جدب لقصة يوسف عليه السلام...

²⁷ The expression ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ corresponds to a word-for-word translation of the Arabic expression تحت يديه = under his hands = under his power.

²⁸ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 35, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 52b (cf. also Ibn Shāhīn, no. 5689).

²⁹ Al-Dinawari, *faṣl* 21, *bāb* 21, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 211a.

³⁰ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 181; repeated in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 5702.

A cow is a year. Ibn Sirin used to say: "Fat cows, for whoever owns them, are, according to me, preferable to the lean ones, because the fat cows represent years of abundance, while the lean cows years of barrenness, according to the story of Joseph, may peace be upon him."

Ibn Shāhīn's interpretation of cows (no. 5692) is also similar:

وقال ابن سيرين من رأى بقرة وهو ملكها وكانت سمينة فإنها تدل على النعمة الكثيرة في تلك السنة، وإن كانت مجهولة فإنها تدل على حصول النعمة لأهل ذلك المكان في تلك السنة، وإن كانت مهزولة فتأويلها بضد ذلك.

Ibn Sirin said: "If someone dreams that he owns a cow, if she is fat <the dream> signifies plentiful blessings throughout that year. If she is unknown <as to who her owner is>, she signifies the attainment of blessings by the people of that place throughout that year. If she is lean, her interpretation is the opposite of that.

Similar interpretations of cows are also quoted in al-Nābulusi.³¹ Evidently, the interpretation of cows in the *Oneirocriticon* was copied from its Arabic sources. The Christian author did not need to make any changes in the Arabic interpretations in order to conform with Joseph's story in Genesis; the details of the equivalent Quranic narrative, the immediate source of the Arabic interpretations, are no different from the details found in the Old Testament.

Chariots

The *Oneirocriticon* makes its third and only direct reference to the story of Joseph in its interpretation of chariots:³²

ὅσοις δὲ τὸ βασιλείον ὄχημα θεωρεῖται κατ' ὄναρ, εἰς ἐγγύτητα βασιλείας ἐκρίθη, διότι καὶ τῷ Ἰωσήφ, ὅτε ἠλευθερώθη καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἦρξεν, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐκ τοῦ ὀχήματος ἐδηλώθη τὸ τῆς βασιλείας δόξης ὕψος παραδεδομένον ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων.

The royal chariot, for whoever dreams of it, is interpreted as closeness to kingship, because both for Joseph, after he was freed and ruled over Egypt, and for other people the loftiness of royal glory was made apparent by the royal chariot, according to a tradition handed down from the ancients.

³¹ Al-Nābulusi, vol. 1, pp. 60-62, s.v. بقر .

³² Chap. 238, "From the Egyptians on Carriages, Chariots and Wagons"; Drex1-191, 22-26.

This passage follows Genesis 41:43, where Joseph's accession to power is described: καὶ ἀνεβίβασεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ δεύτερον τῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκήρυξεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ κήρυξ· καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὅλης γῆς Αἰγύπτου (And he made him ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, "Bend the knee": and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt).³³ The Quranic narrative, which is far less detailed than the story in Genesis, does not mention a chariot. However, Muslims considered the Torah, which includes the first five books of the Old Testament from Genesis to Deuteronomy, as a divinely inspired text and used it to supplement their version of sacred history. The role played by the chariot in the story of Joseph was therefore known to al-Dīnawarī, who refers to it to justify his interpretation of chariots as sovereignty and power:³⁴ اما العجل فقد قال المسلمون انه كان من مراكب الملوك الاوائل وحمل يوسف عليه السلام حين اكرم ونال ملكا عظيما (As for the chariot, the Muslims said, "This is one of the vehicles used by the ancient kings, and it carried Joseph, may peace be upon him, when honors were bestowed upon him and he attained mighty rulership").

The other Arabic dreambooks interpret chariots in the same way as al-Dīnawarī and the *Oneirocriticon*, without, however, directly referring to Joseph's chariot. Ibn Qutayba says:³⁵ من رأى انه ركب عجلة اصاب سلطانا عجميا ونال شرفا وكرامة (If someone dreamt that he rode on a chariot he will obtain a foreign dominion and will have glory and honor). Ibn Shahin also gives similar interpretations (nos. 7353, 7355, 7356):

(٧٣٥٣) والعجلة تؤول على أوجه، ومن رأى أنه ركب عجلة وهي تسير به فإنه يدل على حصول الشرف والرفعة. (٧٣٥٥) ومن رأى أن ملكا أعطى له عجلة فإنه يصيب سلطانا بقدر كبرها. (٧٣٥٦) ومن رأى يتبع عجلة فإنه يتبع صاحب السلطان.

(7353) A chariot is interpreted in several ways. Whoever dreams that he rode on a chariot and that it was led by him, it means that he will gain honor and a lofty

³³ Cf. also the Syriac dreambook from BL Or. 4434, the text of which was translated by Furlani, "Une clef des songes en syriaque," p. 139. The relevant passage in Furlani's translation reads as follows: "VIII. Chapitre sur les pouvoirs, les rois, les serviteurs et les chars: Celui qui (se voit) monté sur une charette trainée par des taureaux ou des chevaux, il se peut que royauté et puissance lui soient dévolues; le roi Pharaon montait sur un chariot." Cf. also Exodus 15:4: ἄρματα Φαραώ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ ἔρριπεν εἰς θάλασσαν (Pharaoh's chariots and his hosts hath he cast into the sea).

³⁴ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 13, *bāb* 22, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 71a.

³⁵ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 46, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 67a.

position. (7355) Whoever dreams that a king offered him a chariot, he will gain power analogous to the size of the chariot. (7356) If someone dreams that he was following a chariot, he will follow a powerful person.

Al-Nābulusī also interprets chariots as sovereignty and power.³⁶

(عجلة) تدل في المنام على تدبير عيش صاحب الرؤيا لانها مركبة من اشياء كثيرة وتحمل اشياء كثيرة وتنقلها من مكان الى مكان ومن رأى انه راكب عجلة و تحت يد العجلة رجال فانه يدل على أن صاحب الرؤيا يسوس قوما كثيرين أو على انه يولد له اولاد خيار... والعجلة عز من سلطان أعجمي لمن ركبها أو ادراك شرف وكرامة ومن رأى انه متعلق بعجلة تحمله أو يتبعها فانه يتبع سلطانا ويستمكن منه بقدر استمكانه من العجلة.

The chariot in a dream is interpreted as the organization of the life of the dreamer, because a chariot is the vehicle for several things: it carries several things and transports them from one place to another. If someone dreams that he rode a chariot and that the chariot was drawn by men, it means that the dreamer will rule a numerous people or that he will give birth to good children.... A chariot signifies power from a foreign sovereign or the attainment of glory and honor for whoever rides on it. When someone dreams that he was clinging to a carriage that was carrying him, or that he was following it, it means that he will follow a ruler or he will win control over him commensurate to the control he had over the carriage.

It is evident that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* did not have to invent or adapt interpretations in order for the contents of his dreambook to conform to the interpretations given in Genesis. His Arabic sources already contained all the requisite details; he only had to copy them.

Eyes

The opening statement in the *Oneirocriticon*'s discussion of eyes says:³⁷ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ πίστις καὶ δόξα καὶ φῶς εἰσι τῆς ψυχῆς (Eyes are the faith, glory and light of the soul³⁸). Brackertz³⁹ connected this interpretation with a

³⁶ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 96, s.v. عجلة.

³⁷ Chap. 52, "From the Indians on Eyes"; Drexel 33, 4.

³⁸ The phrase could also be translated as "The eyes are the faith, glory and vision of the soul." The word φῶς was used in Greek in reference to the eyes as early as Homer; cf. Liddell-Scott, s.v. "φῶς."

³⁹ Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, p. 245, n. 130.

phrase from the New Testament:⁴⁰ ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματος ἐστὶν ὁ ὀφθαλμός (the <lamp> light⁴¹ of the body is the eye). Three of the five Arabic dreambooks have interpretations that are very close to this:⁴² العين دين الرجل وبصيرته (The eye is a man's religious faith and the vision by which he can distinguish the rightly guided path from the one leading him astray).

Arms

Among the *Oneirocriticon*'s interpretations of arms we read the following:⁴³

ἐὰν οὖν ἴδῃ τις κατ' ὄναρ ὅτι ταῦτα <οἱ βραχίονες καὶ οἱ μῦες αὐτῶν> ἐμεγεθύνθησαν ἢ ἐνεδυναμώθησαν, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς, ταῦτα εἰς τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ διακρίνονται καὶ μεγαλυνθήσεται ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ.

If someone dreams that his arms and their muscles became larger or stronger, if he is king, they are interpreted as his power, and his power against his enemies will become greater.

Brackertz⁴⁴ correlated this interpretation with a biblical passage that occurs both in the Old and the New Testament:⁴⁵ κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη; (Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?). The arm as a metaphor for strength in the Greek Bible originates in the literal translation of a Semitic expression which is found not only in Hebrew, the language from which the Old Testament was translated into Greek, but also in Arabic: *taht*

⁴⁰ Matthew 6:22 and Luke 11:34.

⁴¹ λύχνος = lamp, light. See Lampe, s.v. "λύχνος." This is a different word than the Greek φῶς (light) employed in the *Oneirocriticon*.

⁴² Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 6, *bāb* 51, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 52a; repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, chap. 22, p. 81; repeated in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 1388. In addition, Arabic dream interpretation generally correlates the eyes with religious faith, as is done in the *Oneirocriticon*. Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 14, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 30a: واشقار العين وقاية الدين (Redness in the eyes <signifies> precaution in one's religious faith); Ibn Shāhīn, no. 1386 bis: واما العينان فيؤلان بالدين وغيره (As for the two eyes, they are interpreted as one's faith and the like).

⁴³ Chap. 70, "From the Indians on Arms and Their Muscles"; Drexl 44, 9-12.

⁴⁴ Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, p. 248, n. 154.

⁴⁵ John 12:38 and Isaiah 53:1.

yadih = under his hand/arm⁴⁶ = under his power. The Arabic interpretation of the lengthening and strengthening of one's hands/arms is based not only on the literal and metaphorical meaning of this expression, but also on the fact that the Arabic words for "length" (*tūl*) and "might" or "power" (*tawl*) are spelled identically as طول. Ibn Qutayba interprets the lengthening of hands/arms as follows:⁴⁷ ومن رأى في يده طولاً كان ذلك طولاً على الناس (If someone dreams of length (*tūl*) in his hand/arm, this is power (*tawl*) over men⁴⁸). In addition, al-Dīnawarī states:⁴⁹ فان رأى ان يده طالت او قويت ان كان والياً (If someone dreams that his hand/arm became longer or stronger, if he is a governor (*wālī*), this represents his triumph over his enemies, and the power of his assistants and his chief bodyguard). Ibn Shāhīn's interpretation is also similar (no. 1498 bis): وطول اليدين زيادة (The lengthening of the two hands/arms means an increase in power).

Blood

The following passage from the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 60, 10-12) appears to have been inspired by the Bible: ἐὰν δὲ ἔπιεν ἢ ἔφαγεν αἷμα, εὐρήσει ἐφ' αὐτῷ ἀλλότριον χρυσίον. οὐ γὰρ θεόθεν ὥριται ἡ μετάληψις τοῦ αἵματος (If he drank or ate blood, he will sinfully acquire gold that belongs to somebody else. For the partaking of blood is not ordained by God). This interpretation has been connected to a number of passages in the Old Testament.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ The Arabic *yad* is the exact equivalent of the Greek *cheir*: it means primarily "hand", but also signifies the whole arm, from the shoulder joint to the tips of the fingers.

⁴⁷ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 14, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 30b.

⁴⁸ Ibn Qutayba further justifies this interpretation with an Arab proverb, which is repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 10.

⁴⁹ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 6, *bāb* 82, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 56a; repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, chap. 22, p. 89; al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 340, s.v. يد.

⁵⁰ Cf. Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, p. 253, n. 193; also Oberhelman, *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, n. 213; both cite Leviticus 17:10-14: καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἢ τῶν προσελύτων τῶν προσκειμένων ἐν ὑμῖν, ὃς ἂν φάγῃ πᾶν αἷμα, καὶ ἐπιστήσῃ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἑσθουσάν τὸ αἷμα καὶ ἀπολῶ αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς ... διὰ τοῦτο εἶρηκα τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξ ὑμῶν οὐ φάγεται αἷμα ... (And whatsoever man they be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, that eateth any manner of blood; I will even set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people.... Therefore I said unto the children of Israel, No soul of you shall eat blood...); also Genesis 9:4; Deuteronomy 12:16.

In a more strictly Christian context, it appears to derive from the New Testament prohibition against eating blood and "things strangled."⁵¹ However, the Qur'ān also forbids the eating of blood,⁵² and Arabic dreambooks interpret blood as unlawful money.⁵³ In addition, Ibn Shāhin (no. 1777), quoting al-Kirmānī, interprets imbibing blood in the same way as the *Oneirocriticon*: قال الكرمانى ومن رأى انه يشرب دما فإنه حصول مال حرام او اهراق دم. (Al-Kirmānī said: "If someone dreams that he drank blood, it means he will acquire unlawful money or <be guilty of> unjust bloodshed").

White Clothes

According to the *Oneirocriticon*, dreaming of wearing white clothes is very auspicious:⁵⁴ ὅσα ἰδῆ ἄνθρωπος ὅτι φορεῖ λευκὰ ἱμάτια, εὐρήσει χαρὰν καὶ δόξαν εἰς τὴν πίστιν καὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ κόσμιος ἔσται ἐν τῇ θεᾷ αὐτοῦ (If a man dreams that he is wearing white clothes, he will find joy and glory in his faith and in his worldly affairs, and his appearance will be decorous).

Brackertz⁵⁵ correlates this interpretation with numerous passages from Revelation that refer to the white robes of the Christian martyrs,⁵⁶ but Arabic

⁵¹ Acts 15:19: καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων καὶ αἵματος καὶ πνικτῶν καὶ πορνείας (That ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication).

⁵² Qur'ān 2:173: "He hath forbidden you only carrion, and blood, and swineflesh, and that which hath been immolated to (the name of) any other than Allah. But he who is driven by necessity, neither craving nor transgressing, it is no sin for him"; 5:3: "Forbidden to you are carrion, blood"; 6:145: "Except if it be carrion or blood outpoured"; 16:115: "These things only has He forbidden you: carrion, blood...."

⁵³ Cf. *al-Muntakhab* p. 104; cf. also al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 216, s.v. دم.

⁵⁴ Chap. 156, "From the Indians on Clothes"; Drexl 116, 15-7.

⁵⁵ Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, p. 265, n. 306.

⁵⁶ Revelation 6:11: καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἑκάστῳ στολὴ λευκὴ καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται ἔτι χρόνον μικρόν, ἕως πληρωθῶσιν καὶ οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτείνεσθαι ὥς καὶ αὐτοὶ (And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellowservants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled); Revelation 7:9: Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ὄχλος πολὺς, ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο, ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ φυλῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν ἐστῶτες ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκάς καὶ φοῖνικες ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν (After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands); Revelation 7:13-14: καὶ ἀπεκρίθη εἰς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων

dreambooks interpret white clothes in the same way. Al-Dinawarī states:⁵⁷ قال المسلمون البياض ولبسه لمن اعتاده في اليقظة صالح في امر دينه وديناه وجمال (The Muslims said: "White clothes, for someone who wears them habitually when he is awake, signify goodness both in his religious faith and in his worldly affairs, as well as beauty"). *Al-Muntakhab* quotes a similar interpretation:⁵⁸ وبياض من الثياب جمال في الدنيا والدين (Whiteness of clothes signifies beauty in one's worldly affairs and religious faith). Ibn Shāhin (no. 4558) justifies this interpretation with a Quranic passage: وقال الكرمانى من رأى انه يلبس ثيابا بيضاء نقيه فانه يدل على صلاح دينه وحسن حاله وذهاب همومه لقوله الله تعالى وثيابك فطهر (Al-Kirmānī said: "If someone dreams that he was wearing clean white clothes, this signifies righteousness in his religious faith, well-being and relief from his troubles, according to the saying of God Almighty: "Thy robes purify" [Qur'ān 74:4]). Al-Nābulusī's interpretation is vague, but in the same spirit as the interpretations quoted above:⁵⁹ والثياب البيض خير لمن لبسها في المنام (White clothes mean good fortune for whoever wears them in a dream).

Earthquakes

The *Oneirocriticon* quotes the following interpretation of earthquakes:⁶⁰

ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ ἐν τόπῳ, ἐνθα ὑπάρχει, σεισμόν, τοῦτο νέον διάταγμα παρὰ βασιλέως σημαίνει θροοῦν καὶ σεῖον τοὺς κατοικοῦντας· καὶ ἐάν ἐστὶν ὁ σεισμός πανταχοῦ, καθολικὸν ἔσται καὶ τὸ διάταγμα, εἰ δὲ μερικὸς ὁ σεισμός, μερικὸν καὶ τὸ διάταγμα.

λέγων μοι· οὗτοι οἱ περιβεβλημένοι τὰς στολὰς τὰς λευκὰς τίνας εἰσὶν καὶ πόθεν ἦλθον; καὶ εἶρηκα αὐτῷ· κύριέ μου, σὺ οἶδας. καὶ εἶπέν μοι· οὗτοι εἰσὶν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης καὶ ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλεύκαναν αὐτάς ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἀρνίου (And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they? And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb).

⁵⁷ Al-Dinawarī, *faṣl* 25, *bāb* 32, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 251b.

⁵⁸ *Al-Muntakhab*, chap. 19, p. 127.

⁵⁹ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 95, s.v. ثوب.

⁶⁰ Chap. 145, "From the Indians, Persians and Egyptians on Earthquakes"; Drexl 99, 16-18.

If someone dreams that in the place where he is there was an earthquake, this means a new edict from a king will shake and move the inhabitants. And if the earthquake occurred everywhere, the edict will also be universal. If the earthquake is partial, so too the edict.

Brackertz commented that the Christian interpretation of earthquakes as representing the wrath of kings is analogous to the imagery employed in the prophetic books of the Old Testament, where all kinds of punishment and misfortune are equated with an earthquake.⁶¹ Here again, however, the Arabic dreambooks turn up the same interpretation. According to Ibn Qutayba,⁶² والزلزلة حدث في الناس من قبل الملك الاعظم (The earthquake is an event <brought about> among the people by the most powerful king). Al-Dīnawarī's interpretation is similar:⁶³ قال المسلمون من رأى ارضا زلزلت... فان (The Muslims said: "If someone dreams that a land was shaken by an earthquake, ... the ruler will come to that land and punish its people"). Al-Nābulusī's interpretation of earthquakes distinguishes between an earthquake that shakes a particular locale and one that is universal, just as the *Oneirocriticon* does:⁶⁴

زلزلة: هي في المنام خوف من سلطان وقيل الزلزلة في المكان المخصوص تدل على نقلة وتحويل وقيل الزلزلة حادث يحدث من قبل الملك الاعظم فان كانت عامة فالحدث عام والا فالموضع والبلدة التي خصصت بالزلزلة.

Earthquake: This in a dream is fear of authority. And it is said that the earthquake in a specific place signifies migration and dislocation. And it is said that an earthquake is an event <brought about> by the most powerful king. And if the earthquake is general, the event is also general; if not, <it will occur> only in the place or the land that was specified by the earthquake.

Wheat

The *Oneirocriticon* quotes the following interpretation of a land sown with wheat:⁶⁵

⁶¹ Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, n. 330.

⁶² Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 17, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 35a.

⁶³ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 31, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 158a; repeated verbatim in *al-Muntakhab*, chap. 38, p. 233; Ibn Shāhīn's interpretation on the sinking of the earth (no. 3084) copies the interpretation of earthquakes quoted by al-Dīnawarī (earthquakes and sinking of the earth are interpreted in the same chapter in al-Dīnawarī).

⁶⁴ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 270, s.v. زلزلة.

⁶⁵ Chap. 208, "From the Indians on Fields and Seeds"; Drexl 163, 3-7.

ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ λογιζόμενος, ὅτι ἔσπειρε χώραν γνωρίμην σῖτον καὶ ὅτι ἐφύτρωσε καὶ ἦν καλὴ καὶ ἦν ὁ καιρὸς φυτρώσεως, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ ὁ ἰδὼν τῶν πιστῶν καὶ εὐλαβῶν ἢ καὶ ἀναχωρητῶν, τοῦτο εἰς τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ διακρίνεται τὰς κατὰ θεόν.

If someone dreams that by his reckoning he sowed a familiar field with grain and that the grain sprouted and grew well and that it was the growing season, if he is pious and devout or even an anchorite, this represents his deeds before God.

This interpretation might appear to a Christian reader as inspired by the parable of the sower that is narrated in three of the four Gospels (Luke 8:4-48; Matthew 13:1-9; Mark 4:1-9).⁶⁶ However, an examination of Arabic dream interpretation demonstrates that it was again copied from the Arabic sources of the *Oneirocriticon*. The relevant interpretation from Ibn Qutayba reads as follows:⁶⁷

الارض المكثنة خص ومال وخير للعامه ، والزرع اعمال بني آدم اذا كان معروفا تشبهه [sic] مواضعه مواضع الزرع وكان [sic] كقدر الزرع في طوله يقال في المثل من يزرع خيرا يحصد غبطة ومن يزرع شرا يحصد ندامة

A land abounding with herbage is abundance, money, and goodness for everybody. Sowing represents the deeds of men; if it is a good <deed>, its places <i.e. where the good deed was done> will resemble the places of sowing <i.e. like the grain it will grow and bear fruit> and it will be like the size of the grain in its length. It is said in a proverb: He who sows goodness will harvest bliss and he who sows evil will harvest regrets.

ومن رأى انه زرع حنطة:⁶⁸ (Whoever dreams that he sowed wheat, he will do a deed that will please God). Yet another example comes from *al-Muntakhab*:⁶⁹

ومن بذر بذرا في وقته فانه قد عمل خيرا فان كان واليا اصاب سلطانا وإن كان تاجرا نال ربحا وإن كان سوقيا اصاب بلغة وان كان زاهدا نال ورعا.

If someone sows seeds in the appropriate season, he will do a good deed. And if he is a ruler he will gain power; if he is a merchant he will make a profit; if he is a commoner, he will obtain sufficiency; and if he is an ascetic he will gain in piety.

⁶⁶ See Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, p. 275, n. 405.

⁶⁷ Ibn Qutayba, chap. 22, fol. 38b; repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 317.

⁶⁸ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 19, *bāb* 32, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 188a.

⁶⁹ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 317.

...وربما دلت رؤيا الزرع على اعمال الناس: فإن كانت مخضرة فإن الاعمال سالحة، وإن كان غير ذلك فتعبيره ضده (Dreaming of sowing possibly signifies the deeds of people. If <the land sown> is green, the deeds are righteous, and if it is not, the interpretation of the dream is the opposite). Al-Nābulusī also connects the sowing of wheat with good deeds:⁷⁰ من رأى انه زرع حنطة عمل عملا فيه لله تعالى رضا (If someone dreams that he sowed wheat, he will do a deed that will please God).

Thorns

According to the *Oneirocriticon*,⁷¹ ἡ ρακὶς τῶν ἀκανθῶν εἰς σφάλματα τῆς πίστεως διακρίνεται (Thorns are interpreted as mistakes in one's faith). Brackertz⁷² suggested that this interpretation was also inspired by the parable of the sower.⁷³ In the words of Luke 8:14, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας πεσόν, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀκούσαντες, καὶ ὑπὸ μεριμνῶν καὶ πλούτου καὶ ἡδονῶν τοῦ βίου πορευόμενοι συμπήγονται καὶ οὐ τελεσφοροῦσι (And that <seed> which fell among thorns are they, which, when they have heard, go forth, and are choked with cares and riches and pleasures of this life, and bring no fruit to perfection).

The Arabic interpretations of this dream again demonstrate that the *Oneirocriticon*'s passage is from an Arabic source. According to an interpretation quoted by al-Dīnawarī and repeated elsewhere,⁷⁴ ومن ناله من الشواك ضرر نال من الدين ما يكرهه بقدر ما ناله من الشواك (If someone was harmed from thorns, he will commit something reprehensible in his religious life, by analogy to the harm he suffered from the thorns).

⁷⁰ Al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 149, s.v. حنطة.

⁷¹ Chapter 212, "Likewise on Thorns"; Drexl 166, 23.

⁷² Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, n. 410.

⁷³ Matthew 13:22; Mark 4:18; Luke 8:14.

⁷⁴ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 19, *bāb* 74, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 194a; repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 316. Al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 25, s.v. شوك (thorn) repeats that thorns signify harm, but omits the religious dimension that is evident in al-Dīnawarī.

Pearls

The *Oneirocriticon* consistently interprets pearls and precious stones as religious knowledge and wisdom: οἱ μαργαρίται καὶ οἱ λίθοι τῶν τιμίων εἰς θεῖους λόγους καὶ θεογνωσίαν καὶ θεοσοφίαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ διακρίνονται. (Pearls and precious stones are generally interpreted as divine words, knowledge of God and divine wisdom);⁷⁵ ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι εὗρεν ἢ ἔλαβε παρά τινος μαργαρίτας ἢ λίθους τῶν τιμίων, θείων ἐφεύρη λαμπρότητα δογμάτων ἀναλόγως τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς λαμπρότητος (If someone dreams that he found or received from someone pearls or precious stones, he will devise a brilliant doctrine commensurate with the size and brilliance <of the gems>).⁷⁶

Brackertz suggested that these interpretations were inspired by the parable quoted in the New Testament, whereby the kingdom of heaven is likened to a precious pearl,⁷⁷ but the direct source is once more Arabic. Arabic dreambooks frequently interpret pearls as wisdom and knowledge, especially of the Qur'ān. According to Ibn Qutayba,⁷⁸ for example, فإن اللؤلؤ المنظوم كلام الله عز وجل او كلام من كلام البر (Strung pearls are the words of God Almighty or words of goodness). Further on, Ibn Qutayba quotes the words of Ibn Sirin, which are authenticated by a preceding *isnād*:⁷⁹

قال محمد بن سيرين اذا رايت اللؤلؤ فهو قرآن واذا رايت العقد فهو حكمة ... فإن كان اللؤلؤ المنثورا غير منظوم ... ربما كان كلاما حسنا لقول الناس في وصف ما يستحسنون من الكلام كانه لؤلؤ منثور ...

Muḥammad b. Sirin said: "If you see pearls, this is the Qur'ān, and if you see a necklace it is wisdom.... The scattered pearls that are not strung... are possibly beautiful words, according to the popular saying regarding the description of beautiful words that they are like scattered pearls.

The interpretation of pearls as religious knowledge and wisdom is repeated by

⁷⁵ Chap. 245, "From the Indians on Crowns, Pearls and Precious Stones"; Drexl 200, 22.

⁷⁶ Ibid., Drexl 201, 9-12.

⁷⁷ Brackertz, *Traumbuch des Achmet*, n. 479; Matthew 13:45-46: Πάλιν ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνθρώπῳ ἐμπόρῳ ζητοῦντι καλοὺς μαργαρίτας. εὗρων δὲ ἓνα πολύτιμον μαργαρίτην ἀπελθὼν πέπρακε πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν καὶ ἀγόρασεν αὐτόν (Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls: Who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it).

⁷⁸ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 27, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 44b.

⁷⁹ Ibn Qutayba, *bāb* 27, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 44b; repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 280.

al-Dīnawarī.⁸⁰ اللؤلؤ المنظوم القرآن والعلم (Strung pearls are the Qurʾān and knowledge) and Ibn Shāhīn (no. 4798): وقيل رؤيا اللؤلؤ المتفرق يؤول (It is said that scattered pearls are interpreted as the Qurʾān, and if they were strung they are interpreted as knowledge and wisdom...).⁸¹

It is unlikely that the agreement between the Arabic interpretations and the interpretations of the *Oneirocriticon* that appear to have been inspired by the Bible is the result of the Greek and Arab authors having independently used the Old and New Testament as a source and arriving at the same interpretations. Not only the passages excerpted above, but a whole series of additional passages in the *Oneirocriticon* on the same topics, coincide with passages found in Arabic dreambooks. This indicates that the Greek author, despite his occasional creativity in adapting the Islamic material, resorted to adaptation only when absolutely necessary; generally he chose to remain close to his Arabic source, especially when the Islamic interpretations not only did not clash with Christian beliefs, but even seemed to be supported by the Scriptures. The elements common to Christianity and Islam, including eschatology, sacred history, and even linguistic expression, facilitated the absorption of Muslim interpretations into a Christian text. The imagery and language of the Greek Bible, which permeates the writings of several medieval Greek authors, including the author of the *Oneirocriticon*, is interspersed with semitisms, because the Septuagint is a translation from Hebrew and the Greek New Testament was written mostly by authors whose mother tongue was Aramaic.⁸² Since Arabic is also a Semitic language and the imagery and expression of its medieval authors is influenced by the Qurʾān, which presents analogies with the imagery and expressions of the Bible, it shares with biblical Greek a number of expressions and imagery. The equivalents can sometimes be so close that a word-by-word translation of certain Arabic expressions results in irregular classical but regular biblical Greek.⁸³ The linguistic coincidences must have facilitated the work of the

⁸⁰ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 20, *bāb* 33, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 206a. Al-Dīnawarī's interpretations of pearls are repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, pp. 279-80.

⁸¹ Similar interpretations also quoted in Ibn Shāhīn, nos. 4804, 4808, 4809, 4814 bis; al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 197, s.v. لؤلؤ.

⁸² For the introduction of Semiticisms into the Greek *koinē*, see A. Debrunner, O. Hoffmann and A. Scherer, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1969), §§ 147-51.

⁸³ E.g. وجه الارض = πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς = "surface of the earth."

author of the *Oneirocriticon*, who seems to have been familiar with the biblical language. Among the several Semitisms that can be identified in the text of the *Oneirocriticon*, one can distinguish Arabisms from biblical expression only when a given linguistic peculiarity does not occur in biblical Greek but can be translated back into correct Arabic. The closeness between Christian and Muslim eschatological beliefs, religious imagery, and linguistic expression is also the reason why the Greek interpretations of religious notions such as angels, Paradise and Hell, and the interpretations that seem to have been inspired by the language, imagery and content of the Old and New Testaments, could, in the eyes of the readers of the *Oneirocriticon*, be considered genuinely Christian for a good millennium, from the tenth to the twentieth century, even though they had all been copied almost verbatim from a Muslim source. The two instances where the *Oneirocriticon* actually does quote passages from the New Testament represent a deliberate effort to replace a passage from the Qurʾān with one from the Christian scriptures.

If the author of the *Oneirocriticon* understood the role of the Quranic passages in Arabic dream interpretation, why did he not try to replace them with biblical passages more often? It is possible that he simply was not creative enough, but I suspect that the reason for the discrepancy is related rather to the nature of basic education in Byzantium and among the Muslims. For Muslims, education began with memorizing the Qurʾān at a very young age, beginning possibly as early as four or five. A verse in the Qurʾān itself encourages its memorization (54:17), and completion of this task was a prerequisite for entering a school of higher study. Regardless of whether or not these students were able to remember all of the Qurʾān later in life without the discipline of reciting a portion of it every single day,⁸⁴ memorization of the Holy Book at a very young age enabled them at least to recognize a verse and recite the rest of it, if given only a few words. For that reason, Arabic dreambooks rarely quote a verse in its entirety; they usually quote a piece of it followed by the word الآية ("the verse"), which suggests to the reader that he should supply the rest himself.

The author of the *Oneirocriticon* was probably not nearly as proficient with the Bible; he could not recite by heart innumerable appropriate passages at will. The study of the Bible in Byzantium was not nearly as systematic as the study of the Qurʾān in the Muslim world. The New Testament and the Psalter could form part of elementary education, but memorizing them was not its

⁸⁴ This is how contemporary *ḥuffāz* (memorizers of the Qurʾān) manage to retain their ability.

goal, though it is possible that individuals memorized passages from both, especially since excerpts from them were read during church services. The parts of the Bible used in the liturgy were obviously more familiar than others, and familiarity with the texts of the Old and New Testament lent a biblical coloring to the language of Byzantine authors, but having the entire text of the Old and the New Testament (which is much longer than the Qur'ān) at one's fingertips is quite a different matter. Nor did a medieval author have a concordance to help him find a particular passage with the same ease that modern concordances afford.

CHAPTER NINE

THE THIRTEEN ANECDOTES QUOTED IN THE
ONEIROCRITICON

In addition to providing the meanings of the various dream symbols, the *Oneirocriticon* recounts thirteen short anecdotes to illustrate the fine points of dream interpretation. Such stories are also standard features of Arabic dreambooks, and equivalents to at least seven of the thirteen repeated in the *Oneirocriticon* can be found in Arabic sources. They are usually sprinkled throughout a dreambook, accompanying the theoretical interpretation of the dream symbol that they discuss,¹ but some collected them together either at the very end of the work,² in a manner vaguely reminiscent of Artemidoros, or at its beginning, as is done by Ibn Qutayba. Eleven of the thirteen anecdotes of the *Oneirocriticon* are clearly appended to the pertinent theoretical interpretation of the dream symbol that forms their core (chapters 19, 20, 46, 96, 144, 147, 153, 176, 194, 199 and 264). The remaining two (chapters 36 and 139) at first seem out of place, but an explanation for their position can be found.³

¹ This is the approach in al-Dīnawarī, in the Pakistani edition of the dreambook attributed to Ibn Sirīn, *Ta'bīr al-ru'yā*, Arabic text and Urdu translation, and in the texts that formed the basis for its Italian translation (Ibn Sirīn, *Libro del sogno*, trans. Zilio Grandi), as well as in the dreambook also called *Ta'bīr al-ru'yā*, attributed to 'Umar al-Khayyām.

² *Al-Muntakhab* quotes anecdotes throughout its chapters, and includes a final chapter that consists mostly of anecdotes preceded by an *isnād*, i.e., a list of the people who transmitted the story orally until it was written down. The same practice is followed by Ibn Shāhīn, and in the text (the Arabic version of which, either printed or manuscript, is not identified by the translator) used as the basis for the French translation of ps.-Ibn Sirīn, *Ta'bīr al-ru'yā* (*Interprétation des rêves*, trans. Penot). Artemidoros mentions dreams dreamt and interpreted throughout his work, but the last of his five books is exclusively dedicated to this kind of practical exercise.

³ The position of chapter 139 could be explained if we view it as the Christian adaptation of an Islamic dream about a woman preaching from the *minbar*; in at least one Arabic dreambook this dream belongs to a chapter on mountains and elevated places, which would explain why one finds it in an approximately equivalent position in the *Oneirocriticon*; see chapter 7, "Priests and Priestly Duties." It has been impossible to locate an Arabic narrative equivalent to the contents of chap. 36, which might have provided some insight regarding its position. Chap. 36 narrates a dream dreamt by one of al-Ma'mūn's nobles who had a white grapevine at his house. He dreamt that this vine produced black grapes. Sirīm's interpretation was that one of the dreamer's wives was pregnant by his Ethiopian servant, and did later gave birth to a black child. Chapter 36 is inserted between a chapter on beards (35) and two chapters on dying one's hair (37 and 38). Further chapters around it discuss members of the human body. The only conceivable relationship of the narrative with its surrounding chapters is its reference to the change in the color of the

Four of the thirteen narratives refer to historical events allegedly predicted by interpreting dreams. The first one, chapter 46 (Drexl 29, 18–30, 10), tells of a dream dreamt by Caliph al-Ma'mūn:

“Ὁναρ ἐθεάσατο ὁ πρωτοσύμβουλος Μαμοῦν τοιοῦτον, ὅτι εὐρέθη εἰς τὸν μέγιστον ναὸν εἰς τὸ Μέκκε, ἦγουν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ καὶ ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὸ ἄνω μέρος, ἔνθα ὁ θρόνος ἐστὶ, πρὸς τὰς δύο γωνίας οὖρησεν ἔξω τοῦ ναοῦ ἐν αὐταῖς. καὶ θορυβηθεὶς ὡς ἐπ' ἁμαρτία μεγίστη ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν ὄνειροκρίτην Σηρεῖμ λάθρα οἰκειωσάμενον τὸ ὄναρ ἐρμηνευθῆναι αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ ὄνειροκρίτης Σηρεῖμ διήλεγξεν αὐτὸν λέγων· ὅτι τοῦτο ἐστὶ οὐχ ἐώρακας· οὐ γὰρ εἶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ πρωτοσυμβούλου αἱμάτων. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ μὴ κρίνω αὐτό. τότε δὲ αὐτοῦ καλέσας αὐτὸν ὁ πρωτοσύμβουλος ἐξηγόρευσε ὀρκίσας αὐτὸν μὴ ἀποκρύψαι τὴν τοῦ ὄνειρατος κρίσιν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· αἱ τέσσαρες γωνίες τοῦ ναοῦ, ἐν αἷς οὖρησας, τέσσαρα τέκνα σημαίνουσιν. τὰ μὲν δύο τοῦ ἄνω μέρους, ἔνθα ὁ θρόνος, τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχοι ἔσονται· τὰ δὲ δύο τοῦ κάτω μέρους γεννήσεις μὲν, οὐκ ἐπιλήψονται δὲ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ θρόνου.

The caliph Mamoun had the following dream: he found himself in the most holy shrine in Mecca, that is the tent of Abraham. He went into the upper part where the throne stands and urinated in the two corners outside the temple. The caliph was troubled over this very great sin and sent a person to the dream interpreter Sēreim to find out secretly the dream's meaning by pretending that he had seen it himself. But the dream interpreter refuted him, saying: “You did not dream this, for you are not a blood relative of the caliph. Therefore, I will not interpret the dream.” The caliph then summoned Sēreim into his presence and, having confessed, made Sēreim swear not to conceal the interpretation of the dream. Sēreim replied: “The four corners of the temple in which you urinated signify four children. The two of the upper part, where the “throne” is located, will become successors to your throne and empire. The two of the lower part will be born to you but will not gain possession of your throne and kingdom.”

The anachronism of presenting Ibn Sirīn (d. 728) and Caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 813–33) as contemporaries has been pointed out by modern scholars time and again. In addition, the events foretold by al-Ma'mūn's dream—that he will be succeeded by two of his sons—are also historically wrong. Al-Ma'mūn did not father any caliphs. He was followed on the throne by his brother al-Mu'taṣim who, in his turn, was succeeded by two of his sons, al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil.

grapes, which was possibly perceived as similar to the effect of the dyes on human hair. If the position of chapter 36 is not arbitrary but somehow reflects its placement in the Arabic sources used by him, it suggests that a number of Arabic interpretations of a change of color in various objects was omitted by the Greek author, which would be consistent with his statement, “I have extracted summarily” (ἐξ ἐκάστου τούτων ἐκλεξάμενος κεφαλαϊωδῶς) (Drexl 1, 9–10). According to Arabic dream interpretation, a tree in one's yard is to be interpreted as one's wife, while the products of the tree should be understood as her offspring. A similar but not identical anecdote to the one in chapter 139 is recounted by al-Dinawarī, *faṣl* 19, *bāb* 71, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 194a.

Al-Ma'mūn's dream is not original. Similar dreams were purportedly dreamt by or about at least two other caliphs, both belonging to the previous Umayyad dynasty. One of the oldest surviving records of Islamic dream interpretation, the list of dreams interpreted by Sa'id b. al-Musayyab (d. 712) and mentioned in the biographical dictionary of Ibn Sa'd (d. 845), includes a dream signifying that Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685–705) would beget four of his successors:

قال: اخبرنا محمد بن عمر قال: حدثني الحكم بن القاسم عن اسماعيل ابن ابي حكيم قال: قال رجل رأيت كأن عبد الملك يبول في قبلة مسجد النبي أربع مرار، فذكرت ذلك لسعيد بن المسيب فقال: إن صدقت رؤياك قام فيه من صلبه أربعة خلفاء.

He said: “Muḥammad b. 'Umar informed us and said that al-Ḥakam b. al-Qāsim reported on the authority of Isma'il ibn Abi Ḥakīm, who said: ‘A man said: “I dreamt that 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān urinated in the *qibla* of the Mosque of the Prophet <in Mecca> four times.” I mentioned this to Sa'id b. al-Musayyab who said: “If your dream is truthful, four caliphs from among his offspring will rise in it.”’

'Abd al-Malik was in fact the father of al-Walīd, Sulaymān, Yazīd II, and Hishām, who were the sixth, seventh, ninth, and tenth Umayyad caliphs respectively. A story quoted by al-Dinawarī says that a similar dream was dreamt by 'Abd al-Malik's father, Caliph Marwān I:⁴ *ورأى مروان بن الحكم كأنه يبول في المحراب فقصر رؤياه على سعيد بن المسيب فقال انك تلد الخلفاء* (Marwān b. al-Ḥakam dreamt that he urinated on the *mihrāb*.⁵ He narrated his dream to Sa'id b. al-Musayyab, who said: “Indeed, you will beget caliphs”).⁶ Further on in his dreambook, al-Dinawarī quotes a similar anecdote, though the identity of the dreamer is not mentioned and the outcome of the dream is less grand:⁷

رأى رجل في منامه كأنه يال في محراب فسال عنه معبرا فقال يولد لك غلام يصير اماما يقتدي به.

⁴ *Faṣl* 7, *bāb* 20; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 69a, BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 113a.

⁵ The prayer niche of a mosque.

⁶ The same anecdote is also recorded in the dreambook of al-Kharkūshī and in *al-Munṭakhab*. Cf. Lamoreaux, “Dream Interpretation in the Early Medieval Near East,” p. 321 (table 12).

⁷ Al-Dinawarī, *faṣl* 8, *bāb* 59; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 62b, BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 140b.

A man saw in his dream that he urinated on a *mihrāb* and asked a dream interpreter about it. He said: "A boy will be born to you who will become an imam and his example will be followed."

Unusual urination as a symbol of begetting exceptional sons is an ancient topos of Near Eastern dream interpretation (but is unknown in Artemidoros). Similar dreams are quoted in the Assyrian dreambook of the seventh century B.C., though it does not attach them to a specific historical personage, and by Herodotos of Halicarnassos (fifth century B.C.), a Greek author who wrote on Persian history and mentions it in connection with the birth of the Persian king Cyrus the Great (r. 550-29 B.C.).⁸ Throughout the centuries, the symbolism of such a dream was adapted to reflect the particular circumstances to which it was applied. The example concerning Marwān I could have been intended as propaganda during his son's, or even his own, reign.⁹ Both Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (Marwān I) and his son 'Abd al-Malik, who was named heir apparent shortly after his father's accession, had to struggle to consolidate their position. A dream foretelling that they would beget future caliphs would add supernatural legitimacy to their power. As for the dream concerning 'Abd al-Malik, which is quoted in the ninth century by Ibn Sa'd, the accuracy of its detail suggests that the narrative was invented after the fact, possibly in order to enhance the prestige of dream interpretation as an art. The dream of al-Ma'mūn quoted in the *Oneirocriticon* represents yet another revision of the topos.¹⁰ Three of the

⁸ The passage in question is from Herodotus 1:107 ff.; see Oppenheim, "The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East," p. 265. Oppenheim says that a narrative about a similar dream dreamt, not by Cyrus's grandfather Astyages, but by his daughter Mandane, is given by Ktesias of Knidos (4th century B.C.). I have been unable to locate such a narrative in the fragments of Ktesias assembled and published by F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, (Berlin, 1923), no. 688. Unfortunately, Oppenheim does not give the source of his information.

⁹ The accession of Marwān changed the branch of the clan of Umayyads who exercised power. After three descendants of Abū Sufyān (Mu'āwiyah I, Yazid I and Mu'āwiyah II) Marwān began a line of caliphs descended from al-Ḥakam, in spite of the existence of Sufyanid descendants, because they were too young to be acceptable. Al-Ḥakam's line eventually produced both the remaining Umayyad caliphs and the Umayyad rulers of Spain. For a history of the Umayyads, see H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates. The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century* (London and New York, 1986).

¹⁰ Chapter 46 repeats a second topos: a dream interpreter can deduce from the nature of a dream whether he is conversing with the dreamer or with someone who pretends to be the dreamer. In the latter case, he would either demand to know the identity of the dreamer (as is done in chapter 46 of the *Oneirocriticon*) or announce that he is aware he is dealing with an impersonator and then nonetheless interpret the dream correctly (chapters 20 and 176). The same topos can be found in the Arabic sources, beginning with the interpretations by Ibn al-Musayyab quoted by Ibn Sa'd. After a chain of authorities (*isnād*) that is meant to guarantee the authenticity of the narrative, the events are narrated by an eyewitness: "'Umar b. Ḥabib b. Qalī' said: 'I was sitting by Sa'id b.

caliphs who reigned between the seventh and the eleventh centuries fathered two of their successors and one of them, al-Walid I (705-15), was indeed a contemporary of Ibn Sirin; the other two were al-Mahdī (r. 775-85) and al-Mu'tasim (r. 833-42). It is conceivable that the narrative of the *Oneirocriticon* was initially devised with al-Walid in mind and that al-Ma'mūn's name was inserted later, most likely not by an Arab author, but by the Greek compiler of the *Oneirocriticon*.

The second anecdote that seems to refer to actual historical events appears in chapter 192 (Drexl 148, 18-25):

Ἐλθὼν Ἀμάμ, ὁ δεῦτερος πολεμιστὴς τοῦ πρωτοσυμβούλου, ἠρώτησε τὸν Σηρεῖμ λέγων· εἶδον κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι πάντες οἱ κέραμοι τῆς πόλεως ἄνευ ὕετοῦ ἔρρεον ἐνθολόν καὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο τὸ ὕδωρ ἄνευ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὁ δὲ ἔφη· ἐπίβουλοι καὶ ἄρπαγες ἔσονται τοῦ πρωτοσυμβούλου πολλοί, σὺ δὲ ἐκείσε οὐ μὴ ἐγχειρισθῇς. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας δέκα ἐγένετο σφαγὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρπαγὴ τῶν αὐτοῦ. καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀμάμ οὐκ ἐκοινώνησεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Σηρεῖμ.

Amam, the second most important warrior of the caliph Mamoun, came and consulted Sereim: "I dreamt that without rain all the clay pipes in the city were overflowing with turbid water and that everybody was receiving it except for me and my people." Sereim replied: "Many will plot against and rob the caliph, but you will have no hand in it." Ten days later the caliph was slaughtered and his possessions plundered. However, Amam did not participate with them, just as Sereim had predicted.

The details of the story are both vague and inaccurate, obfuscated by the simultaneous presence of Ibn Sirin and Caliph al-Ma'mūn and the fact that al-Ma'mūn did not die in a revolt. Any effort to identify Amam with a historical

al-Musayyab one day and I was anguished by certain things and a debt was burdening me. So I was sitting by Ibn al-Musayyab not knowing where to go. And a man came to him and said: "Abū Muhammad, I had a dream." Ibn al-Musayyab said: "What was it?" The man said: "I saw myself seize 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and make him prostrate on the earth. Then I threw him on the ground and fixed four pegs in his back." Ibn al-Musayyab said: "It is not you who had this dream." The man said: "And yet I had it." Ibn al-Musayyab said: "I am not going to interpret this dream unless you tell me <who the dreamer was>." The man said: "Ibn al-Zubayr saw it, and it was he who sent me to you." Ibn al-Musayyab said: "Indeed, if his dream was truthful, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān is going to kill him. And from the line of 'Abd al-Malik four men are going to spring forth and all four of them are going to be caliphs." <Umar b. Ḥabib> said: "Therefore I went to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in Syria [al-Shām] and gave him the news from Sa'id b. al-Musayyab and delighted him. He asked me about Sa'id and about how he was and I told him. And he ordered that my debt be cleared on my behalf and I received beneficence from him." For the Arabic text, see Ibn Sa'd, *Al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 5 (Beirut, 1957), p. 123; see also Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 310. The same dream is related in pseudo-Ibn Sirin, *Ta'bīr al-ru'yā*, chap. 9, Pakistani ed., p. 93; *Interprétation des rêves*, trans. Penot, p. 77.

figure is frustrated by the inadequacy of the rendering of his name in Greek; it might have been changed beyond recognition in the course of the Greek manuscript tradition.¹¹

An equivalent Arabic anecdote quoted in al-Dīnawarī's dreambook¹² and from there copied to *al-Muntakhab*¹³ is backed by solid and accurate historical details:

أتى ابن سيرين رجل فقال رايت الماء يسبيل من غير مطر ورايت الناس يأخذون منه فقال ابن سيرين لا تأخذ منه فقال الرجل اني لم افعل ولم اخذ شيئا فقال قد احسنت فلم يلبث الا يسيرا حتى كانت فتنة ابن مهلب.

A man came to Ibn Sirīn and said: "I saw that the water was pouring into the clay pipes without rain, and I saw that people were taking from it." Ibn Sirīn said: "You did not take from it." The man said: "Indeed, I did not do it, and I did not take any of it." <Ibn Sirīn> said: "Then your dream was a good omen." It did not take long before the revolt of Ibn Muhallab [*sic*] broke out.

The revolt referred to is that of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the son of the celebrated general Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, which took place in 720. Ibn Sirīn died in 728, and therefore his presence in the narrative is historically accurate. But when we compare al-Dīnawarī's story with the anecdote in the *Oneirocriticon*, the details do not tally. The *Oneirocriticon* describes a successful revolt that resulted in the reigning caliph's assassination; in reality, the revolt of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was crushed by General Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik before the rebels could overthrow the regime. It is possible that the dream of overflowing pipes without rain was a topos that could be applied to a variety of historical situations, as is demonstrably the case with the dream of urinating in a mosque. However, the small number of its attestations (only two, and effectively one, since the narrative of *al-Muntakhab* is clearly copied from al-Dīnawarī) argue against such an explanation. The Greek narrative of chapter 192 could be manipulated to apply to the revolt of Ibn al-Muhallab: if we make a slight textual emendation by inserting τῶν between σφαγή and αὐτοῦ in the penultimate period of the anecdote (making the Greek text read: μεθ' ἡμέρας δέκα ἐγένετο σφαγή

¹¹ A confusion between μ (m) and ν (n) is usual in Greek manuscripts in the minuscule. It is even conceivable that "Amam" is not a name, but conveys the Arabic title "imam."

¹² Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 15, *bāb* 41, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 160b.

¹³ *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 231, ll. 11 ff. The version of *al-Muntakhab* is almost identical with the one quoted in al-Dīnawarī: وحي ان رجلا اتى ابن سيرين فقال رايت المباعث تسيل من غير مطر ورايت الناس يأخذون منه فقال ابن سيرين لا تأخذ منه فقال الرجل اني لم افعل ولم اخذ منه شيئا فقال قد احسنت فلم يلبث الا يسيرا حتى كانت فتنة ابن المهلب.

τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρπαγῇ τῶν αὐτοῦ) and understand the pronoun αὐτοῦ as referring to Amam and not the reigning caliph, the interpretation of Amam's dream could be as follows:

Sēreim replied: "Many will plot against and rob the caliph, but you will not be touched by <their schemes>." Ten days later the members of Amam's household were slaughtered and his possessions plundered. However, Amam himself was not harmed, just as Sēreim had predicted.

Al-Dīnawarī's anecdote does not explain how the dream was fulfilled and therefore cannot be used to corroborate either version of the Greek text. The historical accuracy of the Arabic anecdote and the inaccuracy of the Greek version suggest that the original was tampered with, possibly on the Greek side of the tradition.

A third anecdote in the *Oneirocriticon* suggests that Ibn Sirīn and Caliph al-Ma'mūn were contemporaries (chapter 144, Drexl 99, 6-13):

Ἐθεάσατό τις κατ' ὄναρ ἐκ τῶν μεγιστάνων Μάμουν ὄναρ καὶ ἐλθὼν εἶπε τῷ ὀνειροκρίτῃ Σηρεῖμ· εἶδον κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι πεδίον εὐρύχωρον περιεῖχε με ἐστώτα, ὅπερ τὰ πρῶτα μὲν ἦν δασὺ καὶ πολύχορτον, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐγένετο ψιλὸν καὶ μαδαρὸν. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ ὀνειροκρίτης Σηρεῖμ· ὅτι τοῦτον ἀπιστίαν καὶ διγνώμιαν τοῦ ἰδόντος σημαίνει. καὶ καθὼς εἶπεν, οὕτως καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἰδόντι.

A certain noble of the Caliph Mamoun had a dream and came to the dream interpreter Sēreim and said: "I dreamt that I was standing in the middle of a roomy and flat plain. At first, this plain was thickly wooded and very grassy, but then it became barren and treeless." The dream interpreter Sēreim replied: "This signifies the infidelity and double-mindedness of the dreamer." And as he said, such was the outcome for the dreamer.

Though the *Oneirocriticon* comments that Sēreim's interpretation was accurate, it does not explain in what way the dream was fulfilled.

The anecdote of chapter 144 again turns out to be an Arabic topos, whereby the fertile, wooded, and therefore shaded land represents Islam, and its abandonment foretells apostasy. The symbolism of this imagery is consistent with the psychology of the Arabs as a people of the desert, where a shaded and cool place is much desired, and is further exploited in the Arabic interpretation of gardens.¹⁴ The earliest attestation of an Arabic anecdote equivalent to chapter 144 of the *Oneirocriticon* is found in the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd:¹⁵

¹⁴ See Zilio Grandi, "Un esempio di interpretazione dei sogni," pp. 53-66.

¹⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *Al-ṭabaqāt al-kubra*, vol. 5, p. 125; Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 312, no. 13.

قال: أخبرنا محمد بن عمر قال: حدثنا ابن أبي ذئب عن مسلم الخياط عن ابن المسيب قال: الكبل في النوم ثبات في الدين. قال وقال له رجل: يا أبا محمد إني رايتُ كاني جالس في الظل فقامتُ إلى الشمس. فقال ابن المسيب: والله لئن صدقت رؤياك لتخرجن من الإسلام. قال: يا أبا محمد إني أراني أخرجت حتى أدخلت في الشمس فجلست. قال: تُكره علي الكفر. قال فخرج في الزمان عبد الملك بن مروان فأُسر فأُكره على الكفر فرجع ثم قدم المدينة وكان يخبر هذا.

He said that Muḥammad b. 'Umar said that Ibn Abi Dhi'b told us on the authority of Muslim al-Khayyāt on the authority of Ibn al-Musayyab that <Ibn al-Musayyab> said: "Fetters in a dream are firmness in religion." A man told him: "O Abū Muḥammad, I dreamt that I was sitting in the shade and I stood up <in order to sit> in the sun." Ibn al-Musayyab said: "By God, if your dream is truthful, you will abandon Islam." The man said: "O Abū Muḥammad, I saw that I was ousted until brought into the sun where I sat down." Ibn al-Musayyab said: "You will be forced to become an infidel." He went out <to fight> at the time of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. He was taken prisoner and was forced to become an infidel. He later returned and went to Medina, where he used to tell this <story>.

A similar anecdote is repeated by al-Dīnawarī. This time the land abandoned by the dreamer is said not simply to be shaded, but covered with lush vegetation, which brings al-Dīnawarī's paradigm closer to chapter 144 of the *Oneirocriticon*. This time the dream is said to have been interpreted by Abū Bakr, a companion of the Prophet and first caliph of Islam, who, according to Muslim tradition, was also a gifted dream interpreter:¹⁶

قال رجل لابي بكر الصديق رضى الله عنه رايت كاني في ارض مخصبة معشبة فخرجت منها الى الارض كالحة مجدبة قال ان صدقت رؤياك خرجت من الاسلام الى الشرك فكان كذلك.

A man said to Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, may God be pleased with him: "I dreamt that I was in a fertile and grassy land and I left it to go to a fallow and barren land." Abū Bakr said: "If your dream is truthful, you will abandon Islam for polytheism." And it happened thus.

The dreambook called *Ta'bīr al-Ru'yā* and attributed to Ibn Sīrīn (though definitely written later than the late eleventh century¹⁷) quotes a longer version

¹⁶ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 18, *bāb* 4; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 174b.

¹⁷ The anecdote can be found in Ibn Sīrīn, *Ta'bīr al-ru'yā* (Pakistani ed.), p. 54; *Libro del sogno*, trans. Zilio Grandi, p. 34; *Interprétation des rêves*, trans. Penot, p. 45.

of the story and identifies the dreamer by name. This version also explains the insertion of fetters (كبل) into the interpretation that preceded the narrative of the same dream in Ibn Sa'd:

حكى أن ربيعة بن أمية بن خلف جاء إلى أبي بكر الصديق رضى الله تعالى عنه فقال يا خليفة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أني رايت البارحة في منامي كاني في ارض خضرة مخصبة وقد افضيت منها إلى ارض مجدبة لا نبات فيها ورايتك قد جمعت يداك وغلقتا إلى عنقك فقال له الامام ابو بكر الصديق رضى الله تعالى عنه إن صدقت رؤياك خرجت من دين الاسلام إلى دين الكفر فاما أنا فقد جمعت لي اموري وغللت يداي عن حطام الدنيا قال فلما كان في ايام عمر ابن الخطاب رضى الله تعالى عنه خرج ربيعة من المدينة ولحق بارض الروم فتصمر عند قيصر ومات نصرانياً والله اعلم.

It is told that Rabi'ah b. Umayyah b. Khalaf¹⁸ went to Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, may God be pleased with him, and said: "O viceregent of the messenger of God, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, indeed I saw yesterday in my sleep that I was in a green and fertile land and I abandoned it to go to a barren land with no vegetation. And I saw you with your hands bound and fettered to an iron collar around your neck. And the imam Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, may God be pleased with him, said: "If your dream is truthful, you will leave the religion of Islam for the religion of the infidels. As for me, my affairs are bound <to develop in a certain way> and my hands are fettered <so that I cannot touch> the vanities of this world." <The narrator> said: "In the days of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, Rabi'ah left Medina and entered the land of the Byzantines and became a Christian before the emperor and died as a Christian. God knows best."

The abandonment of a green and fertile land as representing the abandonment of Islam is repeated in all the Arabic versions. It is evidently related to the significance of the color green and, by extension, of vegetation, in Muslim religious symbolism. It is therefore unlikely that the dream was interpreted simply as "infidelity and double-mindedness" (ἀπιστία καὶ διγνώμια) and not as apostasy from Islam in the original Arabic version used for compiling the *Oneirocriticon*. The down-playing of the dream's interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* must be the work of the Christian author.

A fourth anecdote (chapter 153) purports to be set in historical time, as it mentions al-Ma'mūn, Ibn Sīrīn and the outbreak of a revolt.¹⁹ An analogous

¹⁸ The father of Rabi'a, Umayya b. Khalaf, was one of the earliest converts in Islam; see Ibn Sīrīn, *Libro del sogno*, trans. Zilio Grandi, p. 34.

¹⁹ Drexl 111, 24§112, 4: "Ἀρχὸν λαοῦ ἐλθὼν τοῦ πρωτοσυμβούλου Μαρμούν ἠρώτησε τῷ

narrative could be found in the Arabic sources investigated and therefore neither the revolt nor the dreamer can be identified.

Though the Greek versions of the anecdotes purporting to refer to historical events and repeatedly mentioning Ibn Sirīn and Caliph al-Ma'mūn as if they were contemporaries are unhistorical, in their Arabic versions, whenever the names of both the dreamer and the dream interpreter are given, great care is taken to make the narrative historically accurate. Both the author and readers would have had biographical information about the people mentioned, since Abū Bakr, Ibn al-Musayyab and Ibn Sirīn were important as transmitters of the Prophetic traditions. The need to authenticate these traditions spurred Muslims to compile biographical dictionaries with information on the transmitters, especially as to dates of birth and death.²⁰ The gross error of presenting Ibn Sirīn and Caliph al-Ma'mūn as contemporaries would have been easy for an educated Muslim to avoid and for an educated Muslim reader to detect, but it could go completely unnoticed by a Greek. It is therefore more likely that the mistake was introduced by the Greek author of the *Oneirocriticon*, rather than by his Arabic source. Ibn Sirīn was chosen as the protagonist for a number of Greek narratives, evidently because of his reputation as the quintessential Arab dream interpreter and the frequent references to him in Arabic dreambooks. Al-Ma'mūn's name could have appeared in the Arabic sources of the *Oneirocriticon* as well—though not in connection with Ibn Sirīn—but making him a figure in seven out of the thirteen Greek narratives²¹ is a more plausible

Σηρεϊμ λέγων· "εἶδον κατ' ὄναρ φάραν ξανθὸν ἄχρι μιλίου ἐποχοῦμενον καμὲ ἐκείνον κάκεινον ἐμέ". ὁ δὲ ἔφη· "ποία ὥρα ἦν, ὅτε εἶδες τοῦτο;" καὶ ἀπεκρίθη· "ὅτι πρὸς τὴν εὐχὴν τῆς αὐγῆς ἦτοι τὸ περιόρθριον". καὶ εἶπεν· "ἐπειδὴ ἡ ὁδὸς σου μετ' αὐτοῦ μίλιον ἦν, οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ὁ μὴν οὗτος καὶ σφαγῇσιν ἐν πολέμῳ μούλτου". καὶ ἐγένετο μούλτου τῶν Ἀράβων καὶ ἐσφάγη ὁ ἰδὼν (One of the leaders of Caliph Mamoun came and asked Sēreim saying: "I saw in my dream that a light brown horse was riding on me and that I was riding on it for about a mile." Sēreim said, "What time was it, when you dreamt this?" He answered, "It was around the morning prayers, that is dawn." Sēreim said, "Because your trip with the horse was a mile long, before this month goes by you will be slain in a rebellion." <Indeed, a rebellion of the Arabs took place, and the dreamer was slain>).

²⁰ On the importance of these three figures for *ḥadīth* literature and on the compilation of biographical dictionaries, see M. Zubayr Siddiqi, *Hadīth Literature: Its Origin, Development and Special Features* (Cambridge, 1993), esp. pp. 91-105. For an essay on the cultural and intellectual significance of biographical dictionaries in classical Islam, see W. al-Qāḍi, "Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance," in *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, ed. G. N. Atiyeh (New York, 1995), pp. 93-122.

²¹ Chaps. 19 (Drex1 15, 18 ff.); 20 (Drex1 16, 1 ff.); 36 (Drex1 23, 23 ff.); 46 (Drex1 29, 28 ff.); 96 (Drex1 57, 11 ff.); 144 (Drex1 99, 6 ff.); 153 (Drex1 111, 24 ff.).

choice for the Byzantine author, since al-Ma'mūn is cited in Byzantine sources as a caliph distinguished for his scientific interests.²²

Two more of the Greek anecdotes repeat *topoi* frequently attested in the Arabic dreambooks. Chapter 147 (Drex1 102, 1-12) demonstrates through the use of an example that the structural elements of a house correspond to the members of the family that inhabits it:

Ἡρώτησέ τις γυνὴ τὸν ὄνειροκρίτην Σηρεϊμ· ὅτι εἶδον κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι ἡ ἄνω φλιά τῆς οἰκίας μου τῇ κάτω φλιᾷ προσέπεσε καὶ τῶν δύο θυρῶν ἡ μὲν ἔσω, ἡ δὲ ἔξω ἔπεσε. καὶ ἀντηρώτησεν ὁ Σηρεϊμ τῇ γυναικί· ἔχεις ἄνδρα καὶ τέκνα; ἡ δὲ ἔφη ἔχω· ἐν τῇ ξένῃ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος μου μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ μου, ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ μου παρ' ἐμοί. ὁ δὲ Σηρεϊμ ἀπεκρίνατο· ταχὺ ἤξει πρὸς σε ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὴν ἄνω φλιάν μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου καὶ τῆς νύμφης αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἔνδον πτωσίν· ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ σου ἐτέρῳ προσκολληθήσεται ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἀποδημήσει, διότι πρὸς τὰ ἔξω ἡ μία θύρα ἔπεσεν. καὶ καθὼς ἡρμήνευσεν, οὕτως καὶ ἐγένετο.

A woman consulted the dream interpreter Sirim: "I dreamt that the top door jamb of my house fell down onto the lower one, causing one door leaf to fall to the outside of the house, the other to the inside." Sirim asked the woman: "Do you have a husband and children?" She said: "I do, my husband is abroad with my son, and my daughter is with me." Sirim answered: "Your husband will soon return to you because of the fall of the top door jamb, together with your son and his bride, because one door fell to the inside. But your daughter will become attached to another man and go away, because one of the doors fell to the outside." And things happened exactly according to his interpretation.

The same anecdote is told by al-Dīnawarī, except that one of the details of the dream (the leaf of the door that fell toward the inside) remains unexplained. The Greek version therefore complements our understanding of al-Dīnawarī's narrative:²³

جاءت امرأة الى ابن سيرين فقالت رايت في المنام اسكفة بابي العليا وقعت على اسكفة السفلي ورايت المصراعين سقطا فوق احداهما داخل البيت والاخر خرجة فقال هل لك زوج وولد غائبان قالت نعم قال اما سقط الاسكفة العليا فزوجك يقدم عليك عاجلا واما المصراع الذي وقع خارجا فابنك

²² See also the remarks in P. Magdalino, "The Road to Baghdad in the Thought World of Ninth-Century Byzantium," in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* ed. L. Brubaker (Hampshire, Eng., and Brookfield, Vt., 1998), pp. 195-213. Magdalino notes that in the Byzantine account of the invitation extended to Leo the Mathematician to visit the caliphal court, the name of the caliph was changed from al-Mu'tasim to al-Ma'mūn, because of the latter's reputation among the Byzantines as a patron of letters and science (ibid., pp. 200-1).

²³ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 18, *bāb* 51; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 182b; repeated in *al-Muntakhab*, p. 252 (corrections to *Esad Efendi* introduced on the basis of *al-Muntakhab*).

يتزوج مع امرأة غريبة فلم يلبث الايسيرا حتى قدم الزوج وابنها ومعه امرأة غريبة.

A woman went to Ibn Sirin and said: "I saw in a dream that the upper lintel of my door fell on the lower one. And I saw that the two leaves of the door had fallen and one of them was lying toward the inside of the house, while the other toward the outside." He said: "Do you have a husband and son who are away?" She said, "Yes." He said: "The fall of the upper lintel <means that> your husband will return to you soon. Regarding the doorleaf that fell toward the outside, your son will marry a foreign woman." It did not take long before the husband and her son came back, and with him there was also a foreign woman.

Al-Dīnawarī quotes yet another anecdote with similar contents:²⁴

جاءت امرأة الى معبر واسقطت جلبابها متحيرة وكانت غائبة من وطنها وسألت عن رؤيا راتها وهي انها رأت كان بيتها انهدم على اولادها وطار كتاب منه الى وطنها الاول فقال المعبر ابشري فانه يصل اليك مال وسترجعين الى وطنك مكان الكتاب الطائر فلم يبرح مكانها حتى ورد عليها نعى عم لها تاجر بانه غرق في البحر وقد اتيت بالدواب فرجعت مع اولادها الى وطنها.

A woman went to a dream interpreter and was so disconcerted that her *jilbāb* dropped. She had been away from her homeland and asked about a dream she had seen. This was that her house had fallen on her children and a written message had flown from it to her homeland. The dream interpreter said: "Be happy, because this tells you that <you will receive> money and will return to your homeland, the source of the flying message." She was still in her place when she received news that an uncle of hers who was a merchant had drowned at sea. She was brought beasts to ride and returned with her children to her homeland.

Interpreting a house's structural elements as standing for one of its inhabitants is mentioned both in Artemidoros (ii.10; Pack 115, 2-117, 2) and in the Babylonian Talmud.²⁵ It is repeated in numerous anecdotes found in the Arabic dreambooks, some of which seek to make points beyond the equation between the symbol and its interpretation. Ibn Qutayba tells the following story:²⁶

وحدثني احمد بن سعيد عن ابي عبيد في كتاب غريب الحديث ان امرأة اتت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقالت رايت كان حائزة بيتي انكسرت قال يقدم زوجك....

²⁴ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 18, *bāb* 38; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 180a.

²⁵ Kister, "Interpretation of Dreams," p. 100.

²⁶ Ibn Qutayba, *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 8a-b, Ankara fol. 194a-b.

Aḥmad b. Sa'īd told me on the authority of Abū 'Ubayd in the book, *Rare Words in the Traditions*, that a woman went to the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and said: "I saw that the beam of the roof of my house broke." He said: "Your husband will return."

Ibn Qutayba further relates that the woman dreamt the same thing a second time. She went to the Prophet again, but could only find Abū Bakr. He said that her dream meant that her husband would die, and so it happened. Ibn Qutayba comments that the same dream was given two different interpretations, either because the countenance of the woman changed or because the time that she dreamt it was different in each case.²⁷ A similar dream is narrated by al-Dīnawarī:²⁸

حكى ان امرأة خرج زوجها وهي حامل فجاءت الى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقالت اني رايت اني ولدت جارية وان عمود بيتي انكسر فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم تلدين إن شاء الله ويرجع زوجك فولدت ثم قدم زوجها ثم خرج ورات مثل ذلك فجاءت الى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال لها مثل قوله الاول فكان كذلك ثم عاد زوجها ثم خرج ورات رؤيا فأتت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فلم تلقه فقالت لها بعض ازواجه عليه السلام اخبرينا برؤياك فاخبرتهن فقلن لها تلدين ويموت زوجك ثم أتت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقالت لها هل عبر لك احد قالت نعم قال هو على ما قال فكان كذلك.

It is told that a pregnant woman whose husband was away went to the Messenger of God, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and said: "I dreamt that I gave birth to a girl and that the pillar of my house²⁹ broke." The Messenger of God, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, said: "God willing, you will give birth and your husband will return." <Indeed,> she gave birth and her husband came back, and then left <again>. She had the same dream and went to the Prophet, who gave her the same interpretation as the first time, and it happened thus. Her husband came back and then left again, and she had the same dream. She went to the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and did not find him. Some of his wives, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, told her: "Relate your dream to us." She related it to them, and they said to her: "You will give birth and your husband will die." Then the Prophet

²⁷ Variations of this narrative are recorded in other Arabic sources and in the Talmud; see Kister, "Interpretation of Dreams," pp. 100-1.

²⁸ Al-Dīnawarī, *faṣl* 6, *bāb* 3, *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 46a; BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 67a.

²⁹ The translation renders as "house" the Arabic word *bayt*, which could mean either a tent (especially in the context of mostly nomadic early Islamic Arabia) or a house erected as a permanent construction.

came, and asked her: "Did someone interpret your dream <already>?" She said, "Yes." And he said "The dream will be fulfilled according to what he said," and so it happened.

Besides interpreting the pillar of a house as standing for its master, this anecdote illustrates a principle already recorded in the Talmud, whereby a dream is fulfilled according to its interpretation.³⁰ The above narratives are representative not only of the agreements but also of the variety within the general consistency between the ancient Greek, Jewish, Arabic, and medieval Greek traditions of dream interpretation.

Chapter 199 of the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 156, 6-19) shows that the meaning of a dream symbol could change depending on the season of the year when it was dreamt. This principle is copied from the *Oneirocriticon's* Arabic sources and is expounded in chapters 2 (Drexl 2, 15-16) and 301 (Drexl 240, 21-25). The story in chapter 199 reads as follows:

"Ἀνθρώπος τις ἐλθὼν ἠρώτησε τὸν Σηρεῖμ ἐνώπιον πολλῶν λέγων· εἶδον κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι εἰς δένδρον, ὃ λέγεται βερικοκκία, ἀναβὰς ἤσθιον τοῦ καρποῦ. καὶ ἔφη αὐτῷ· ὅτι εὐρήσεις ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐποιῖαν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς πλουσίου. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς ἐλθὼν ἕτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐνώπιον τῶν αὐτῶν ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν λέγων· ὅτι εἰς δένδρον, ὃ λέγεται βερικοκκία, ἀναβὰς ἤσθιον τοῦ καρποῦ. καὶ ἔφη αὐτῷ· ὅτι εὐρήσεις θλίψεις καὶ βάσανον. καὶ διηπόρησαν οἱ συγκαθήμενοι, πῶς ἐνὸς ὄντος τοῦ ὁράματος διάφορον τὴν κρίσιν ἐποιήσατο. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη· ὅτι, ὅτε ἠρώτησεν ὁ πρῶτος, καρποφόρος ἦν ὁ καιρὸς, ὅτε δὲ ὁ δεύτερος, φθινόπωρον ἦν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μετελλάγη ἡ κρίσις. καὶ ἐρευνήσαντες εὗρον ἐν ἀμφοτέροις, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ ὀνειροκρίτης.

A man came and consulted the dream interpreter Sēreim in front of many other people saying: "I saw in a dream that I climbed on an apricot tree and was eating its fruit." Sirim said to him that "you will receive goodness and benefaction from a wealthy man." A sufficient number of days later, a second man came and in front of the same people asked him the following question: "I climbed on an apricot tree and was eating its fruit." Sirim said to him that "you will have sorrow and troubles." His companions were surprised that, though the dream was the same, he gave a different interpretation <each time>, and he answered: "When the first man asked, it was the fruit-bearing season, but when the second man asked, it was autumn. This is why the interpretation changed." Upon investigation they found out that things had turned out for both of them the way the dream interpreter had foretold.

³⁰ See Kister, "Interpretation of Dreams," p. 100.

The Arabic story closest to the one in chapter 199 is quoted in a little dreambook called *Ta'bīr al-ru'yā* attributed to 'Umar al-Khayyām:

واتى رجل الى ابن سيرين فقال: رأيت كأن في يدي رمانة أكل منها، فقال تصيب ولدا، وتصيب خيرا من جهته. فأتى رجل الى ابن سيرين فقال: رأيت أكل الرمان في حينه، قال: وما عملك، قال: أنا تاجر، قال له: اطرح مالك كله في التجارة، ففعل فأصاب خيرا. فرأى بعد ذلك أنه يأكل الرمان في غير حينه، ففعل كما فعل أولا ولم يسال ابن سيرين، فذهب ماله كله، فسال ابن سيرين عن ذلك فقال شتان بين أن تأكله في غير حينه وبين أن تأكله في حينه.

A man came to Ibn Sirin and said: "I dreamt that I had a pomegranate in my hand and that I was eating from it." Ibn Sirin said: "You will beget a son, and you will receive goodness from him." Another man came to Ibn Sirin and said: "I dreamt that I was eating pomegranates in season." Ibn Sirin said "What do you do <for a living>?" He said, "I am a merchant." Ibn Sirin said to him "Put all your money in your commerce." The man did this and made profit. After that, he dreamt that he was eating pomegranates out of season, and did as he had done the first time and did not consult Ibn Sirin, and lost all his money. He asked Ibn Sirin about that, and he said: "What a difference between eating it out of season and eating it in season!"

Analogous examples from the Arabic sources could easily be multiplied.³¹ Chapters 19 and 20 of the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 15, 18-16, 10) tell us that the length and density of body hair in a dream was interpreted as indicating wealth;³² the same interpretation is illustrated with similar stories recounted

³¹ Two of many examples are Ibn al-Musayyab apud Ibn Sa'd (Fahd, *La divination arabe*, p. 311, no. 10); al-Dinawari, *fiṣṭ 19, bāb 26, Esad Efendi 1833, fol. 187b.*

³² Chap. 19 (Drexl 15, 17-24): Ἐλθὼν τις ἄνθρωπος ἠρώτησέ μοι τῷ Ἀχμέτ τῷ υἱῷ Σηρεῖμ, τῷ ὀνειροκρίτῃ τοῦ πρωτοσυμβούλου Μαμοῦν· εἶδον ἐν ὁράματι, ὅτι αἱ τρίχες τῶν σκελῶν μου ἐδασύνθησαν καὶ ἠϋξήθησαν, καὶ ταύτας τῇ ψαλίδι ἐκούρευον. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ· ὅτι τὸ λογάριόν σου καὶ ὁ πλοῦτός σου ἐπληθύνθησαν· καὶ ὅσον ἔκοψας τῶν τριχῶν σου, τοσοῦτον κακοδιοικεῖς αὐτά. καὶ εὐρέθη οὕτως τὸ πρᾶγμα (A certain man came and consulted me, Achmet, the son of Sēreim, the dream interpreter of the caliph Mamoun: "I saw in my dream that the hair on my legs grew longer and thicker and that I was cutting it with scissors." I replied to him: "Your wealth and riches have multiplied, but you mismanage it by however much of your hair you cut off." Indeed, things turned out to be so). Chap. 20 (Drexl 16, 1-10): Ἀνθρώπος τις τῶν μεγιστάνων τοῦ πρωτοσυμβούλου Μαμοῦν εἶδε κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι ἐχρίσατο καθ' ὅλον τοῦ σώματος· καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος ὅλον αἱ τρίχες ἀπέλυσαν, αἱ δὲ τῶν κρυπτῶν αὐτοῦ τρίχες μᾶλλον ἠϋξήθησαν. καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ οἰκειοποιησάμενον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀναγγεῖλαι τῷ ὀνειροκρίτῃ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· τοῦτο μέγας ἐθεάσατο, οὐχὶ δὲ σύ. ἀλλ' εἰς κίνδυνον ἐλεύσεται καὶ οὐ καταλειφθήσεται αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ πλούτου αὐτοῦ πλὴν αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτοῦ. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐγένετο, καθὼς εἶπεν (One of caliph Mamoun's noblemen saw in his dream that he anointed his entire body and his bodily hair fell off, except for his pubic

CHAPTER TEN

THE ONEIROCRITICON AND BYZANTINE INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES

The *Oneirocriticon* is a Christian adaptation of Islamic dream interpretation, probably based on more than one Arabic dreambook. Though at times Islamic concepts are changed into Christian ones with a certain creativity, the author generally seems to have followed his Arabic sources closely. We can even go so far as to characterize the *Oneirocriticon* as a nonliteral translation from the Arabic. Byzantine literature is generally considered as unreceptive to texts originally written in other languages, which is an understandable phenomenon for a culture endowed with a long and powerful literary tradition of its own. By the tenth century, Greek literature was already eighteen centuries old and possessed a body of texts in all fields of human experience to which it could turn in order to renew itself from within.

The *Oneirocriticon* was composed during a period of intense intellectual activity which modern scholars have called "the Macedonian Renaissance" and which has been viewed as a Byzantine return to classical and late-antique models. To what degree does the transfer of the *Oneirocriticon* from Arabic into Greek in the course of the tenth century constitute an exceptional literary event? This question would best be answered if we first try to understand to what field of knowledge the *Oneirocriticon* belonged. The kinds of texts with which it is copied, when it does not constitute a volume by itself,¹ is revealing: of the sixteen manuscripts in which the *Oneirocriticon* appears together with other texts, one (*Zagora* 89) combines it with the *Physiologos*, a kind of Christian zoology. Six (*Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690; *Vat. gr.* 573; *Ambros. gr.* 592 [O 94 sup]; *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 162; *Athos, Iviron* 4285.165) contain a wide variety of subjects and authors: *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690 includes excerpts from ninety-four different works: a group of gnomologia, questions on physics and physiology by Alexander of Aphrodisias, excerpts from the Alexander

¹ Only seven of the twenty-three manuscripts of the *Oneirocriticon* known to me contain this work alone: *Paris. gr.* 2538; *Paris. gr.* 2427; *Borbon. gr.* 356 (III.E.34); *Berol. gr.* 171 (*Phil. gr.* 1575); *Leidens. Voss.* 49; *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 297; *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 111.

Romance, poetry by pagans, such as Homer (*Batrachomyomachia*) and Phocylides, as well as Christians, like George of Pisidia, John Geometres, Symeon Metaphrastes, Christopher of Mytilene, Psellos, and a series of epigrams by late antique and Byzantine authors; excerpts from the Old Testament; patristic excerpts from the works of John of Damascus, Saint Athanasios, John Chrysostom, and Maximus the Confessor; a group of dreambooks; Lucian, *Aesop, Life of Aesop*, a legend on the building of Hagia Sophia and the fabulous lives of the prophets by St. Epiphanius.

Vat. gr. 573 was put together from pages that previously belonged to seven different manuscripts, which means that today the *Oneirocriticon* belongs to an even larger collection of texts than it originally did. Still, the original manuscript to which the *Oneirocriticon* belonged² is a collection of texts with both religious and secular subjects: liturgical and patristic texts by authors such as John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Saint Athanasios, and Gregory of Nazianzus co-exist with instructions on the correct format for letters written at the patriarchal chancery (no. 13), poems by Manuel Philes (nos. 16 and 23), chronology (no. 25), and excerpts from the agricultural compilation titled *Geoponica* (no. 26). As for the field of knowledge pertinent to prognostication, *Vat. gr.* 573 contains the *Oneirocriticon*, a lunar dreambook (no. 28) and a text on Chaldean oracles by Psellos (no. 24). *Ambros. gr.* 592 (O 94 sup) combines a collection of court poetry by the twelfth-century author Theodore Prodromos with excerpts from the alphabetical dream book of Pseudo-Nikephoros (here ascribed to Gregory of Nazianzus) and excerpts from the *Oneirocriticon*. This combination of texts is somewhat similar to what we have seen in *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690 and *Vat. gr.* 573, though *Ambros. gr.* 592 is not as extensive. In the remaining two codices the *Oneirocriticon* is combined with religious texts: *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 162 begins with the Akathist Hymn and continues with the *Oneirocriticon* and a collection of prophecies about Constantinople (a combination also found in *Vat. gr.* 573); in *Athos, Iviron* 4285.165 the *Oneirocriticon* and the Alexander Romance (together also in *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690) are sandwiched between biblical excerpts and commentaries, an arrangement possibly meant to disguise the works in the middle of the volume. This impression is strengthened by the layout of the pages in which the *Oneirocriticon* appears: part of the text is written around the margins, exactly in the way biblical commentaries are usually copied around

² Part V of the manuscript as it is bound now, fols. 46-214, text nos. 11-28 in the description of the manuscript by Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, vol. 2, pp. 469-77.

the text of the Bible on which they comment. BL *Additicius* 8240 includes, besides the *Oneirocriticon*, a rhetorical description (*ekphrasis*), two *gnomologia*, a lunar dreambook, the dreambook of Nikephoros, an exposition of the doctrinal differences between the Greek and the Latin churches in the form of a canon, and a treatise on ancient Greek meter.

The combination of texts found in these manuscripts seems at first glance arbitrary, but there might be an underlying logic, dictated by how the compiler or the scribe understood the definition of the sciences of Hermes Trismegistus.³ The manuscripts could therefore be understood as anthologies of a greater or smaller number of Hermaic sciences, in which the Christian excerpts should possibly be counted as philosophy.⁴ The majority, nine of the sixteen manuscripts, combine it with texts on the exact and occult sciences, such as alchemy, astronomy, astrology, various forms of divination, and medicine: *Marc. gr.* 299 with texts mostly on alchemy; *Bononiensis (Bibl. Univ.)* 3632 with texts on medicine, astrology, magic and divination; *Petropolitanus Bibl. Acad. scient. graec.* 161 with various texts on divination; *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 287 with a collection of astrological texts; *Cantabrig. (Trinity College) gr.* 1386 with Actuarius's *De Urinis*; *Paris. gr.* 2419 with a collection of texts on astrology and divination; *Hierosol. (of the Patriarchate) gr.* 220 with a collection of texts on divination; *Hierosol. (of St. Sabbas) gr.* 555 with three brief *brontologia*; *Paris. gr.* 2511 with a collection of astrological texts.⁵ Though to a

³ See *Mutinensis* (Bibliot. Estense di Modena) *gr.* 85 (III, C, 6), in *CCAG*, vol. 4, p. 117: αἱ Ἑρμαϊκὰ ἐπιστῆμαι καὶ τέχναι ἡγουν προφητεῖαι, μαντεῖαι, φιλοσοφία, ἀστρονομία, γραμματική, ῥητορική, ἀριθμητική, γεωμετρία καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις παραπλήσια (The Hermaic sciences and arts, that is oracles, divinations, philosophy, astronomy, grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry and similar things). For the source of this definition, see *ibid.*, pp. 113-14.

⁴ See F. Dölger, "Zur Bedeutung von φιλόσοφος and φιλοσοφία in byzantinischer Zeit," *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal, 1953), pp. 127-208; also I. Sev, cenko, "The Definition of Philosophy in the Life of Saint Constantine," in *For Roman Jakobson: Essays on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday, 11 October, 1956*, ed. M. Halle et al. (The Hague, 1956), pp. 449-57; rpt. in *idem, Byzantium and the Slavs* (Cambridge, Mass. and Naples, 1991), pp. 93-106. *Ambros. gr.* 592 contains only part of the Hermaic sciences, rhetoric (court poetry) and divination (dream interpretation).

⁵ The connection of medieval medicine with the occult sciences is well established, in spite of the difficulties a modern scholar might have in comprehending it. In the words of J. Scarborough, "Introduction [to the papers from the symposium on Byzantine Medicine]," *DOP* 38 (1984), pp. ix-x, "Although the modern physician will immediately reject any notion that magic and astrology might be useful in medical practice, many of our sources

modern mind dream interpretation belongs to the realm of superstition, to a medieval mind it belonged to the realm of science.⁶

The history of Byzantine science is one of the least researched topics by contemporary scholars. The manuscript tradition of the relevant texts is complicated and the technical knowledge required of any philologist attempting to prepare a critical edition of a scientific work is considerable. It is not surprising that the connection between Byzantine and Arabic science has received less scholarly attention than it deserves. Despite the limited number of publications that can be cited, however, a case can be made that the *Oneirocriticon* was only one of several Arabic scientific texts made available to Greek readers in the course of the ninth and the tenth centuries. A number of Greek texts on empirical science that were written before the year 1000 are either avowed translations from Arabic originals or indirectly indicate earlier Byzantine contact with Arabic science. The following are some aspects of Byzantine science that should be further investigated.

for Byzantine medicine show a strong influence of both, ranging from the religious medical cures of pilgrims' tokens ... to a continued employment of the medical astrology of the quasi-mythical Hermes Trismegistus and the firm belief in demonology. One should not, therefore, be surprised that one of the greatest Byzantine medical practitioners, Alexander of Tralles, sanctioned magic, particularly when the patient's belief aided a cure. Moreover, the student of Byzantine medicine must not attempt to impose a "modern view" that would excise the so-called non-rational elements of medical practice, since this would wrest medicine from its matrix, thereby warping the conclusions to suit modern preconceptions." Outside of Byzantium, the connection of medieval medicine with astrology and divination is evident, for example, in the contents of the medical and para-medical fragments in the Cambridge Geniza collection; see H. D. Isaacs, *Medical and Para-Medical Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collection* (Cambridge, 1995).

⁶ This is also evident if we examine the Western European milieu that was interested in dreams and dreambooks in early modern times. Pierre Vattier (d. 1667), the earliest translator of an Arabic dreambook directly into a Western European vernacular language ('Abd al-Rahmān b. Naṣr, *L'Onirocrite Mussulman, ou la doctrine et l'interprétation des songes selon les arabes, par Gabdorrhachaman fils de Nasar. De la traduction de P. Vattier ... sur le manuscrit arabe du "recueil de ce qui se peut dire de meilleur sur l'interprétation des songes"* [Paris, 1664]), was the physician of the duke of Orleans who had learnt Arabic in order to read the works of Avicenna in the original. For the interest of other European physicians in dream interpretation, including Caspar Peucer (1525-1602), professor of mathematics and medicine in Wittenberg, the Italian physician, mathematician, physicist and philosopher Girolamo Cardano (1501-76), the Swiss physician Johann Jacob Huggelin (fl. 1560), and the physician Janus Cornarius (1500-1558) who translated into Latin Artemidoros and several Greek medical authors, see Fahd, "Oniromancie orientale," pp. 347-74.

Astronomy-Astrology. The investigation of the relationship between Byzantine and Arabic astronomy is more advanced than other areas, thanks to the publication of the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* during the first half of this century, and to the more recent work of Otto Neugebauer and his students (the most notable among whom is David Pingree) in the United States and of Joseph Mogenet and Anne Tihon in Belgium. The majority of Greek manuscripts that preserve texts on the empirical sciences belong to the late- or post-Byzantine periods. The translations from Arabic are therefore difficult to date, and the only *termini* that can be established are sometimes the *floruit* of the Arab author and the date of the Greek manuscript, and these can be several centuries apart.

Compared with the other empirical sciences, Byzantine astronomy and astrology have the advantage that inferences about the time and place in which a text was written, copied, or used can be made, based on the computations or examples of observations incorporated in the text or in the scholia of the Greek astronomical and astrological manuscripts. Historians of Byzantine science date the available evidence very conservatively. They agree that by the eleventh century Byzantine astronomers and astrologers had access to a large pool of Arabic texts, at least some of which had been adapted into Greek.⁷ But a series of scholia by a thirteenth-century hand in a ninth-century copy of the Greek *Almagest* (*Vat. gr.* 1594), as well as other material from later Greek manuscripts, are based on calculations and observations by astronomers knowledgeable in Arabic astronomy that are datable to the ninth and tenth centuries.⁸

The historians of science who published these scholia are reluctant to draw any conclusions at this point,⁹ or are inclined to believe that their data are derived not from direct observations by Byzantine astronomers but from translations of Arabic originals.¹⁰ However, this evidence was interpreted

⁷ See A. Tihon, "Tables islamiques à Byzance," *Byzantion* 60 (1990), rpt. in eadem, *Études d'astronomie byzantine* (London, 1994), no. 4, p. 415;

⁸ For the relevant bibliography, see Magdalino, "Road to Baghdad," p. 209, nn. 50 and 51.

⁹ See A. Tihon, "Le calcul de la longitude de Vénus d'après un texte anonyme du *Vat. gr.* 184," *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome* 39 (1968), rpt. in eadem, *Études d'astronomie byzantine*, no. 2, p. 82; eadem, "Le calcul de la longitude des planètes d'après un texte anonyme du *Vat. gr.* 184," *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome* 52 (1982), rpt. in eadem, *Études d'astronomie byzantine*, no. 3, p. 26.

¹⁰ J. Mogenet, "Sur quelques scolies de l'*Almageste*," in *Le monde grec: Hommage à*

differently and correlated to the larger picture of the Arab-Byzantine intellectual contacts, not by a historian of science but by a historian. In a carefully built and entirely convincing discussion, Paul Magdalino notes that the datable material gleaned from these scholia comes from either 829-30 or 906-7, years that coincide with the embassies of John the Grammarian and Leo Choiosphaktes to the caliphate. At least one of the scholia pertains to an observation made in Damascus in the year 829 when al-Ma'mūn lived there, which could be the reason why Byzantine ambassadors visited him there and not in Baghdad. They are dated according to the Byzantine emperor's regnal year, which points to a Byzantine source.

It is possible that the Byzantines were brought into contact with Arabic astrology without the mediation of a translation, through the works of Theophilus of Edessa¹¹ (ca. 695-785), a Maronite Christian historian and astrologer to Caliph al-Mahdi.¹² There does not seem to be a consensus as to whether Theophilus wrote in Greek, in Syriac, or in Arabic,¹³ though it is certain that he knew Greek, since he translated Homer into Syriac. Many more Greek manuscripts contain the astrological works of Theophilus than Arabic or Syriac ones, because there is hardly a Greek astrological manuscript that does not excerpt a chapter or two from his works.¹⁴ Whatever the original language of the treatises surviving in the Greek manuscripts, Theophilus was a non-Chalcedonian Christian living in Muslim lands, whose works seem to have

Claire Préaux, ed. J. Bingen, et al. (Brussels, 1975), pp. 301-11.

¹¹ In Arabic, Taufil ibn Tūmā or Thā'ufil ibn Thūmā, sometimes erroneously written Naufil.

¹² On the life and works of Theophilus, see M. Breydy, *Geschichte der syro-arabischen Literatur der Maroniten vom VII. bis XVI. Jahrhundert* (Opladen, 1985), pp. 132-38; D. Pingree, "The Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages in Greek and Latin Astronomical and Astrological Texts," *Viator* 7 (1976), pp. 148-49, enumerated three works by Theophilus that survive almost entirely in Greek and announced that he is preparing an edition of both the Greek and the Arabic works. See also idem, Review of W. Gundel and H.G. Gundel, *Astrologumena. Die astrologische Literatur in der Antike und ihre Geschichte*, *Gnomon* 40 (1968), p. 279. On the importance of Theophilus for Byzantine astronomy, see idem, "Classical and Byzantine Astrology", pp. 236-37.

¹³ Breydy, *Geschichte der syro-arabischen Literatur der Maroniten*, p. 135, implies that Theophilus's astrological works were written in Arabic and Syriac and then translated into Greek, but he does not give any reasons for such a statement.

¹⁴ Cumont in *CCAG*, vol. 5, p. 231; repeated by Breydy, *Geschichte der syro-arabischen Literatur der Maroniten*, p. 135 and n. 20.

circulated in the Greek-speaking world as early as the year 792.¹⁵ Pingree attributes Byzantium's acquaintance with Arabic astronomy to the mediation of Stephen the Philosopher, a student of Theophilus who arrived in Constantinople from the caliphate at around that time. He believes that Stephen was the one who introduced the works of Theophilus of Edessa to the Greek-speaking world.¹⁶

Besides the practical application of Arabic astronomical and astrological principles by the Byzantines, the Arabic texts translated into Greek earlier than the year 1000 indicate that knowledge of Arabic astronomy and astrology did not reach the Byzantines solely through oral instruction possibly occasioned by diplomatic encounters, but also through texts. Based on the combined evidence of two manuscripts, *Laurent. Plut.* 28, 34 (copied around 1000) and *Vindob. phil. gr.* 115 (early 13th century), Pingree asserted that their direct common ancestor was copied around the middle of the tenth century. Material from the *Vindobonensis* which does not appear in the *Laurentianus*, but which is in the part of the *Vindobonensis* that is closely associated with the *Laurentianus* (and is therefore likely to have existed in their common direct ancestor, the aforementioned mid-tenth-century manuscript), includes excerpts translated from the works of Abū Ma'shar (787-886), whom his contemporaries and

¹⁵ To prove knowledge of Theophilus in Byzantium by this date Pingree adduced the following example ("Classical and Byzantine Astrology," p. 239): "That Theophilus's work was known in Byzantium in the 790s ... is indicated by an incident recorded in Theophanes's *Chronographia* under the year 6284 (A.D. 792). In July of that year the emperor, Constantine VI, marched against the Bulgars. He built a fortress, Marcellae, on the border. On the twentieth of the month Kardam, the Bulgarian ruler, led his army across the frontier up to the fortifications. The emperor, being advised by his "pseudoprophet and astrologer," Pancratius, that victory would be his, sallied forth to ignominious defeat. Theophanes does not describe the astrological technique used by Pancratius, but it can be guessed from chapter 20 of Theophilus's *Πρόνοι*, where we read: "The Moon in Gemini with the aspect of the benefits indicates the unsuccessful withdrawal of the besieging troops" (Constantine was within the fortress, which was surrounded by the Bulgars). At about noon on 20 July 792 the Moon was in the twentieth degree of Gemini aspected in sextile by the benefic planet, Venus, which was in the twentieth degree of Leo."

¹⁶ Pingree, "Classical and Byzantine Astrology," pp. 238-39; see also idem, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 64. A different interpretation of the data regarding Stephen the Philosopher is given in Dagron, "Les Diseurs d'événements. Réflexions sur un 'thème astrologique' byzantin," *Mélanges Georges Duby*, vol. 4, pp. 57-65; idem, "Formes et fonctions du luralisme linguistique à Byzance," p. 235; for a discussion of both views, see Magdalino, "Road to Baghdad," pp. 210-12.

later generations considered the father of Arabic astrology.¹⁷

According to Pingree, there was a massive transmission of Arabic texts on genethliological, catarchic and interrogational astrology in Greek translations that were made around the year 1000. The most recent Arabic author translated in this group of texts is 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-ʿImrānī (d. 955).¹⁸ In addition, there is ample securely dated evidence that throughout the eleventh century Byzantine astronomers knew the existence of and used several Arabic astronomical works originally written in the ninth and tenth centuries. The translation of these texts from Arabic into Greek could have been made at any time between their writing and the date of their attested use in Byzantium. By 1032 someone in Constantinople was informed of the *neōteroi* (the more recent ones), that is the astronomers of Caliph al-Ma'mūn, and was able to use the tables of Ibn al-A'lam (d. 985).¹⁹ The works of at least two more Arab astronomers of the ninth and tenth centuries were utilized in the composition of a Byzantine manual written in Constantinople in the years 1060-72:²⁰ the commentary of

¹⁷ Pingree, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, pp. 64-65. Abū Ma'shar's *Kitāb fī alḥikām taḥāwīl sinī al-mawālīd*, the Greek title of which is postulated as *περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐτῶν ἐναλλαγῆς* (On the Revolution of Nativities) survives in two manuscripts that were copied in the 14th and 15th centuries. Pingree, in his edition of the text, dates the translation to around the year 1000; see Abū Ma'shar, *Albumasaris: De revolutionibus nativitatū*, ed. Pingree (Leipzig, 1968), p. viii. This work of Abū Ma'shar was later translated from Greek into Latin, as was the case with the *Oneirocriticon* (ibid., p. vi.). See also Pingree's article in *DSB*, s.v. "Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī, Ja'far ibn Muḥammad." *De revolutionibus* is number 19 in Pingree's enumeration of Abū Ma'shar's works. According to Pingree, three other works of Abū Ma'shar (or at least excerpts thereof) were also translated into Greek along with *De revolutionibus*. They survive in a compilation entitled *Τὰ Μυστήρια τοῦ Απομάσαρ* (*The Mysteries of Apomasar*); see Pingree, "Classical and Byzantine Astrology," p. 227, n. 2.

¹⁸ See Pingree, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 71.

¹⁹ See J. Mogenet, "Une scolie inédite du *Vat. gr.* 1594 sur les rapports entre l'astronomie arabe et Byzance," *Osiris* 14 (1962), 198-221; also idem, "L'influence de l'astronomie arabe à Byzance du IXe au XVe siècle," *Colloques d'Histoire des Sciences I (1972) et II (1973)* (Louvain, 1976), pp. 45-55 and Tihon, "Tables islamiques à Byzance," p. 402. On Ibn al-A'lam as mathematician and astronomer, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 5, p. 309 and *GAS*, vol. 6, p. 215.

²⁰ *Methodoi psēphophorias diaphorōn hypotheseōn astronomikōn: An Eleventh-Century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy*, ed. and trans. A. Jones (Amsterdam, 1987). According to Jones, the anonymous *Methods of Computing Various Astronomical Hypotheses* "is one of several documents that attest to a knowledge of Arabic astronomical writings among the Byzantine astronomers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and

Ibn al-Muthannā (10th century) to al-Khwārizmī (ca. 840)²¹ and the tables of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib (9th century).²² The Byzantine astrological compendium surviving in *Vat. gr.* 1056 (14th century) names about twenty Arab and Jewish astrologers.²³ The compilation itself was produced in the twelfth century,²⁴ but the evidence gleaned from the dated horoscopes contained in it point to the eleventh century, and possibly the years around 1000, for the production of the Greek translations from the Arabic.²⁵ This is as far back as the manuscript evidence allows one to go, but it is possible that these translations were made, not around 1000, but a few decades earlier, since at least one of the astrologers excerpted in *Vat. gr.* 1056, Sahl b. Bishr (9th century)²⁶ is said by a tenth-century Arabic source to have been highly esteemed in Byzantium,²⁷ which suggests that one or more of his works are likely to have been translated into Greek by that time.

Alchemy: Research on Greek alchemy is just beginning, and not all the Greek alchemical manuscripts have even been published.²⁸ The alchemical writings

stands out among them for its size and for the advanced level of some of its chapters. Other texts indicate the transmission from Arabic sources of a few numerical parameters and simple trigonometric and spherical functions: here alone we find proof that a Constantinopolitan of the eleventh century had access to, and knew how to use, tables for solar, lunar and planetary motion derived from more than one Arabic astronomical treatise" (ibid., p. 7).

²¹ Ibid., p. 12, n. 4.

²² Ibid., p. 13. Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib was an astronomer in Baghdad in the time of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'tāsim. When he died, around 912, he was approximately one hundred years old; see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 6, p. 173.

²³ The compilation is described in *CCAG*, vol. 5:3, pp. 7-64. Further comments in Pingree, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, pp. 68-71.

²⁴ For the date of the compilation, see Tihon, "Tables islamiques à Byzance," pp. 405-13.

²⁵ Pingree, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 71.

²⁶ See Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 7, pp. 125-28; for an edition of his Greek excerpts, see *CCAG*, vol. 5:3, pp. 98-107.

²⁷ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, vol. 2, pp. 651-52. See also Dagron, "Formes et fonctions du pluralisme linguistique à Byzance," p. 235.

²⁸ An inventory of the Greek alchemical manuscripts can be found in the eight volumes of the *CMAG* (Brussels, 1924-39). These are the product of a collaborative effort directed by J. Bidez. The next phase would have been to publish all the extant Greek texts on alchemy. The project was interrupted by World War II and was never carried out. The

available to the larger scholarly community are those published by M. Berthelot,²⁹ complemented to some degree by the texts that appeared in the series of the *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*. In the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, the entry on alchemy concludes:

Unlike astronomy, astrology, mathematics and medicine, Byzantine alchemy seems barely to have been enriched by translations from the Arabic, though there are some traces of eastern influence in the treatise from the fourteenth-century codex *Holkham gr.* 290, now in the Bodleian,³⁰ and in the work of Kosmas.³¹ The few treatises translated from the Latin texts influenced by the Arabic science were available only in Italy.

This statement has to be modified, since *Marc. gr.* 299, the oldest Greek alchemical codex that survives, copied in the tenth century,³² contains two alchemical recipes on the tempering of copper and "Indian iron" that refer to some of the ingredients by their Arabic names,³³ indicating that at least elements

effort has recently been resumed under the direction of H. D. Saffrey and the patronage of the Union Académique Internationale. It is anticipated that the entire Greek alchemical literature will be published in twelve volumes in the Collection des Universités de France. To the best of my knowledge, only three volumes have so far appeared: R. Halleux, *Les alchimistes grecs 1: Papyrus de Leyde, Papyrus de Stockholm. Fragments de recettes*. (Paris, 1981); M. Mertens, *Les alchimistes grecs 4:1: Mémoires authentiques. Zosime de Panopolis* (Paris, 1995); and A. Colinet, *Les alchimistes grecs 10: L'anonyme de Zuretti* (Paris, 2000).

²⁹ M. Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, 3 vols. (Paris 1887-88).

³⁰ Ed. O. Lagercrantz, *CMAG*, vol. 3.

³¹ Kosmas the monk must have lived later than the 11th century, since he postdates Psellos; see Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, vol. 3, pp. 442 ff. (VI.xvi).

³² On dating *Marc. gr.* 299 to the 10th century, see chapter 3, n. 50.

³³ Published in Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, vol. 3, pp. 346-48. In the Greek text and French translation by Berthelot these terms are the following: p. 346, 10: καὶ λαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ φοινικοπαστίλλου τοῦ ἐρυθροῦ τοῦ λεγομένου νατῆφ ἐν Ἀράβοις (Puis prenant de la couleur de palmier, je dis du rouge appelé *natef* chez les Arabes). Oriental (Arabic?) alchemy is mentioned on p. 346, 18-19: καὶ ὅτε θελήσεις βάψαι χαλκὸν ἀνώτερον οὗ κρείττων οὐ βάπτεται ἐν Περσίδι (lorsque tu voudras teindre le cuivre précité, ainsi qu' on ne teint pas mieux en Perse...); p. 347, 11-15: καὶ λαβὼν φλοιὸν φοινικοβαλάνου τοῦ λεγομένου ἐλιλέγ ἐν Ἀράβοις, σταθμὸν μι' ιε', καὶ σταθμὸν μι' δ' βελιλέγ ὁμοίως κεκαθαρμένου ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντός, ἤτοι τὸν φλοιὸν μόνον, καὶ ἀμβλὰγ ὁμοίως κεκαθαρμένου μι' δ'. (Puis prenant de l'écorce des fruits de palmier, nommée *elileg* chez les Arabes, 15 parties en poids, et 4 parties en poids de *belileg*, pareillement nettoyé à l'intérieur, c' est-à-dire l'écorce seule; ainsi que 4 parties d'*ambileg*, semblablement nettoyé). For an analysis of the Greek and the Arabic terms, see ibid., p.

of Arabic alchemy were known in Byzantium as early as the tenth century.³⁴

Though the evidence of *Marc. gr.* 299 is so far the earliest indication of Byzantine knowledge of Arabic alchemy, two alchemical recipes that survive in Greek manuscripts of the thirteenth century and later indicate Byzantine contact with Arabic alchemy earlier than the fourteenth century. The first one is the short treatise, μέθοδος δι' ἧς ἀποτελεῖται ἡ σφαιροειδὴς χάλαζα, κατασκευασθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ ἐν τεχνουργίᾳ περιβοήτου Ἀραβος τοῦ Σαλμανᾶ (Method through which the sphere-shaped hail is brought to perfection, fabricated by the Arab Salmanas, famous in <the field of alchemy>),³⁵ which explains how to make artificial pearls. P. Kraus identified the "famous Arab Salmanas" as Salm or Sālim al-Ḥarrānī, the director of the House of Wisdom³⁶ in Baghdad during the reign of al-Ma'mūn (813-33).³⁷

331, n.1; *ibid.* p. 332, nn. 2-4.

³⁴ In addition, the term θουθία (translated by Berthelot as "lutie" and explained as "la partie qui s'est sublimée à la partie supérieure du fourneau: c'est surtout de l'oxyde du zinc"), which is used at the beginning of the first recipe, does not occur in any of the ancient alchemical texts (see *ibid.*, pp. 330-31). The two formulas quoted in *Marc. gr.* 299, at least in their present form, must have been written later than the 7th century, though they purport to have been written "in the reign of Philip" (γραφεῖσα ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς Φιλίππου), to which some of the later manuscripts add "of the Macedonians" (τοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων). This could possibly be Philip III Arrhidaïos, who, upon the death of Alexander the Great in Babylon (323 B.C.) was elected regent of Alexander's empire. Either the core of the recipes dates to that time, or the claim is false. At least the second recipe admits to an oriental origin, as it ends with the following statement: αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη καὶ βασιλικὴ ἐργασία, ἣν ἐπιτεθεύονται σήμερον, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια ξίφη τεκταίνονται. Ἡυρέθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ ἐξεδόθη Πέρσαις, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς (Such is the first and royal operation, which they practice nowadays, by means of which the marvelous swords are also made. It was discovered by the Indians and was passed on to the Persians, and through them it came to us).

³⁵ Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, vol. 3, pp. 364-67. The Greek text survives in at least five manuscripts, the earliest of which, *Paris. gr.* 2325, dates from the 13th century.

³⁶ This is a famous library used by intellectuals frequenting the Abbasid court; for a discussion of its exact function, see D. Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture. The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early Abbasid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries)* (London and New York, 1998), pp. 53-60.

³⁷ P. Kraus, "Zu Ibn al-Muqaffa'," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 14:1 (1934), p. 11; rpt. in *idem*, *Alchimie, Ketzeri, Apokryphen im frühen Islam. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York, 1994), pp. 89-108. At least one Arabic alchemical *risāla* by al-Sālim al-Ḥarrānī survives; see Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, pp. 216-17. The Arabic text has never been compared with the Greek.

The *terminus post quem* for the Greek text attributed to him—evidently a translation from Arabic into Greek—is the early ninth century, which is the *floruit* of Sālim al-Ḥarrānī. It is possible that this recipe was translated from the Arabic together with a recipe for making artificial emeralds attributed to "the wise Ishmaelites" (οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν).³⁸ Even if the thirteenth-century *terminus ante quem* for these two recipes is a late one, at least the evidence of the tenth-century *Marc. gr.* 299 indicates the possibility of Byzantium's acquaintance with Arabic alchemy by that time.³⁹ The problem becomes all the more interesting, if we consider that, during the ninth and tenth centuries, the embassies of each state tried to impress the others by various means, including the demonstration of alchemical procedures.⁴⁰

All four recipes that indicate Byzantine contacts with Arabic alchemy are clearcut and follow a practical approach to their topic.⁴¹ Given that a number of alchemical formulas had mainly allegorical significance and virtually no practical application,⁴² we should keep in mind that the instructions given in the Greek formulas that indicate knowledge of Arabic alchemy stand out by their clarity.

³⁸ Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, vol. 3, p. 358, 25; the formula appears in the same manuscripts as the formula of Salmanas.

³⁹ On the connections between Arabic and Byzantine alchemy, suggesting the translation of texts from Arabic into Greek, see P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān. Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam. Jābir et la science grecque*. Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte 45 (Cairo, 1942) rpt. Paris, 1986, pp. 38-39. For a Byzantine alchemical text of unknown date (before 1478) and its connection with Arabic alchemy, see A. Colinet, "Le Travail des quatre éléments ou lorsqu'un alchimiste byzantin s'inspire de Jabir," in *Occident et Proche-Orient: Contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades. Actes du colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 24 et 25 mars 1997*, ed. I. Draelants, A. Tihon, B. van den Abeele (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 165-190.

⁴⁰ 'Umāra b. Hamza, secretary to Caliph al-Manṣūr, was sent as ambassador to Constantinople during the reign of Constantine V (r. 741-75), where he saw the emperor change copper into silver and gold by means of a dry powder. The story is recorded by Ibn al-Faḡīh al-Hamadhānī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. de Goeje (Leiden, 1967), trans. by H. Massé, *Abregé du livre des pays* (Damascus, 1973), pp. 138-39; see also El Cheikh Saliba, "Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs," p. 59; further comments and bibliography in Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, pp. 115-16.

⁴¹ About the formula of Salmanas, Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, vol. 3, p. 349, n. 1, observes that it is purely technical and contains neither references to ancient authors, nor charlatan phrases, nor mystic pretensions.

⁴² See J. Ruska, *Turba philosophorum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alchemie* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 279-87.

Meteorology. According to V. Christides, the naval rivalry between Byzantium and the Arabs reached its height between the ninth and the eleventh century and led to the extensive reorganization of the Byzantine and the Arab fleets.⁴³ Christides believes that an increased interest in meteorology developed at this time because of its relevance to navigation, and three anonymous texts from *Marc. gr.* 335 (fols. 420r-423v)⁴⁴ can in fact be dated to the tenth century.⁴⁵ Direct textual influence from a comparable work in Arabic cannot be proved, but at least two of the three texts were clearly written from the geographical perspective, if not of the Arab lands, at least of the Byzantine Empire's eastern frontiers: they mention the preferred naval itineraries of the Mardaïtes, a group of Arabic-speaking Christians from the mountains of Lebanon,⁴⁶ and of the Saracens when they sail from Egypt to Syria and along the Syrian coast, from Antioch to Tarsus.⁴⁷ The last of the three texts refers to Antioch as *Antiocheia* but states that it is called *Entakeion* by the Arabs.⁴⁸

A text on the prediction of the weather that was written prior to the eleventh century seems to have been influenced by Oriental wisdom. It is called *Περὶ*

⁴³ V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824). A Turning Point in the Struggle Between Byzantium and Islam* (Athens, 1984), p. 37; for an overview of the Byzantine and Arab naval rivalry in the course of the 11th century, see also W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert. Geschichte der politischen Beziehungen von 1001 bis 1055* (Vienna, 1981).

⁴⁴ Published by S. Lampros, "Tria keimena symballonta eis tēn historian tou nautikou para tois Byzantinois," *Neos Hellēnomnēmōn* 9 (1912), pp. 162-77; Lampros (p. 162) says the manuscript is *Marc. gr.* 135. The last two texts published by Lampros also appeared in *CCAG*, vol. 2, pp. 70 and 214. Comments on these texts can be found in V. Christides, *Conquest of Crete*, pp. 10-11. English translation and introduction in R. H. Dolley, "Meteorology in the Byzantine Navy," *The Mariner's Mirror* 37 (1951), pp. 5-16.

⁴⁵ See also Dolley, "Meteorology in the Byzantine Navy," pp. 5-10.

⁴⁶ Christides, *Conquest of Crete*, p. 11; on the Mardaïtes, see also H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance; à propos du "thème des Caravisiens"* (Paris, 1966), pp. 29-33.

⁴⁷ Text Γ, Lampros, "Tria keimena," pp. 175, 19-176, 3.

⁴⁸ Lampros, "Tria keimena," p. 176, 32-35: ἀρμενίζουσιν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μέχρι τοῦ κάστρου τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, ὅπερ οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ Ἐντάκειον καλοῦσι, τοῦ νότου. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κάστρου τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, μέχρι τῆς Ταρσοῦ ἀρμενίζουσι τοῦ κόλπου καὶ τοῦ βορρᾶ ("They sail from Egypt with a southerly wind as far as the Castle of Antioch, which the Saracens call Entakeion. But from the Castle of Antioch, they sail with a northerly wind to the Gulf of Tarsos," trans. Dolley, "Meteorology in the Byzantine Navy," p. 15).

ὑετῶν δόκιμον ἀπὸ φωνῆς Σύρου τινος, which could roughly be translated as *A Trustworthy [Treatise] on Rain, Based on the Lecture Notes of the Teaching by a Syrian (?)*.⁴⁹ The text survives in at least three manuscripts, the earliest of which dates from the eleventh century.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ The editor of the text, A. Olivieri, believed its author was the same as the author of the text titled *Καθολικὴ παραγγελία περὶ καταστημάτων Σύρου* (*CCAG*, vol. 1, p. 171), which appears later in *Laurent. Plut.* 28, 34 (fol. 144r). Olivieri deduced that "Syros" is not an ethnic designation (Syrian), but a personal name, though he added that the identification of the author with Syrus to whom Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* is dedicated is pure conjecture (*CCAG*, vol. 1, pp. 131-32, n. 1). Between the 6th and 8th centuries the expression *apo phōnēs x* (lit., "from the voice of x") in the title of a work meant that it was the product of notes taken down by someone as x was orally explaining his methods; from the 9th century on, it meant "by x"; see M. Richard, "Ἀπὸ φωνῆς," *Byzantion* 20 (1950), pp. 191-222. Deciding whether *apo phōnēs Syrou tinos* means "by a Syrian" or "according to the oral instruction of a Syrian" depends on the date one assigns to the composition of the text. Though the noun δόκιμον in the title *Περὶ ὑετῶν δόκιμον ἀπὸ φωνῆς Σύρου τινός* (according to other manuscripts "δόκιμον"; see *CCAG*, vol. 1, p. 132) does not occur in Greek dictionaries, in our case it should be understood as a method tested by the person who dictated it, as the text itself says: ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν πείρᾳ ἔσχον ("I have experienced"; p. 132, 20-21), ὅπερ οὖν ἐγὼ ἐδοκίμασα ("which I have tested"; p. 134, 7). Indeed, the adjective δόκιμος has, among other meanings, that of "approved by test, tried and true" (see W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, s.v. "δόκιμος"; also Dēmētrakos, s.v. "δόκιμος").

⁵⁰ *Laurent. Plut.* 28, 34 of the 11th century, *CCAG*, vol. 1, p. 63; *Laurent. Plut.* 28, 13 of the 14th century, *CCAG* 1, p. 10; *Taurinensis* C.VII.10 (B.VI.12) of the 14th century, *CCAG* 4, p. 7. The text is edited in *CCAG* 1, p. 131. The question of what the provenance of this text might be is interesting, because the oldest manuscript that contains it, *Laurent. Plut.* 28, 34, is one of the most important pieces of evidence for the early influx of Arabic astrology into Byzantium. A direct ancestor of *Laurent. Plut.* 28, 34 was copied in the middle of the 10th century; see the remarks by Pingree, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 65. One could possibly add to this list another text that seems to have been translated from Arabic into Greek, though its date is uncertain and the only *terminus ante quem* that can be established is the date of the manuscripts in which it survives, the earliest of which were copied in the 15th century; for the manuscripts, see *CCAG*, vol. 4, pp. 145-46; *CCAG*, vol. 12, p. 113; *CCAG*, vol. 4, p. 33; *CCAG*, vol. 7, p. 75. The text is a calendar that outlines the days in a year when the configuration of the stars will produce bad weather. It is attributed to "the Persian philosopher by the name Zanati," the foremost master of geomancy, another form of divination. He might have hailed from northwestern Africa, because in the geomantic treatises attributed to him the names of the figures are sometimes given in both Berber and Arabic, and the epithet Zanātī seems to refer to the name of one of the Berber tribes that still reside in North Africa. The dates of his life are unknown, and the only *terminus ante quem* that we have is the year 1266, when a geomantic treatise attributed to him was translated into Greek. Al-Zanātī's geomantic

Medicine. The earliest influences of Arabic medicine on contemporary Byzantine medicine can be detected in the eleventh century. In the current state of research, the works of Symeon Seth, who lived during the reign of Alexios Komnenos, are considered to be the earliest Greek medical texts that mention Arabic and Hindu spices and drugs.⁵¹ The Greek translation of a work by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī (d. 925), namely *Peri loimikēs* (On Measles),⁵² is considered to be a product of the eleventh century. The translation of a second work by al-Rāzī, the *Zād al-musāfir*, in Greek *Ta ephodia tou apodēmoutos* (Supplies of a Traveler) was made (presumably by Constantine of Rhegion in Italy, also known as Constantine the African), toward the end of the eleventh century.⁵³

There are indications, however, that Byzantine doctors may have known something about contemporary Arabic medicine even earlier.⁵⁴ At least one medical treatise, Mercurius's *De pulsibus doctrina*, is said to have been translated

treatise survives in a number of Greek manuscripts, including *Neapol.* II.C.33, olim 34 (see *CCAG*, vol. 4, p. 51), which also contains al-Zanāti's meteorological text. According to P. Kunitzsch, "Die 'Unwettersterne' und die 'Geomantie' des Zanāti," *BZ* 60 (1967), pp. 309-17, the names of the stars in the Greek treatise attributed to al-Zanāti are neither Arabic nor Berber. Kunitzsch deduced that this astronomical calendar of the weather had been translated from Syriac into Arabic and then into Greek and that the names of the stars must originally have been Syriac, while their rendering into Arabic and then into Greek as loan words made them unrecognizable.

⁵¹ Scarborough, "Introduction [to the papers from the Symposium on Byzantine Medicine]," pp. xiii-xiv.

⁵² Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 3, p. 276. Published in *Alexandri Tralliani Medici Lib. XII, Rhazae de pestilentia libellus ex Syrorum lingua in Graecam translatus, Iacobi Goupyli in eosdem castigationes* (Paris, 1548).

⁵³ See A. Kousis, "Quelques considérations sur les traductions en grec des oeuvres médicales orientales et principalement sur les deux manuscrits de la traduction d'un traité persan par Constantin Melitiniotis," *Akadēmia Athēnōn, Praktika* 14 (1939), pp. 205-20.

⁵⁴ An indication that elements of Arabic medicine had been introduced into the Byzantine world earlier than the works of Symeon Seth is furnished by the *Oneirocriticon* itself. The concoction called *zoulapi* is generally thought to have been introduced into Byzantine medicine through Symeon Seth towards the end of the 11th century; see G. Harig, "Von den arabischen Quellen des Simeon Seths," *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 2:3-4 (1967), p. 260. The presence of this word in the *Oneirocriticon* which, on the basis of its manuscript tradition, was undoubtedly put together before the middle of the 11th century, indicates that *zoulapi* was introduced to Byzantine medicine even earlier, especially because its Hellenized form is already stable and because in the *Oneirocriticon* it is talked about as if it is a well-known item that requires no further explanation.

from Arabic into Greek in the tenth century.⁵⁵ J. Sonderkamp, who studied the medical compilation written by the so-called Theophanes Nonnos⁵⁶ and dedicated to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, concedes that Arabic medical works were being translated into Greek by the end of the tenth century.⁵⁷ However, as H. Hunger put it, our extremely fragmentary knowledge of medical texts that were translated from Syriac, Arabic, and Latin stands in the way of understanding the history of medicine in Byzantium.⁵⁸

Agriculture. Pingree suggested that the fragments of the agricultural tradition attributed to Zoroaster in the tenth-century compilation known as the *Geoponika* could have originated in Byzantine and not late-antique translations of Oriental sources.⁵⁹ Pingree does not argue this point at length.

Two more categories of texts influenced by their Arabic counterparts also deserve to be mentioned here, though the evidence for dating them, or their parts, as early as the tenth century is at present lacking:

Geomancy. This form of divination was known in Byzantium by the name *ῥάμπλιον* (*ramblion*) or *ῥαβόλιον* (*rabolion*), a loan word reflecting the

⁵⁵ See Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 2, p. 303, n. 64; Greek translation with updated bibliography in Hunger, *Byzantinē logotechnia*, vol. 3, p. 130. Mercurius's text was published by S. Cyrillus, *De pulsibus doctrina* (Naples, 1812); I have been unable to locate a copy of this book in the United States.

⁵⁶ This Theophanes is the author of the *Introduction to Medicine* that C. Mango ("Greek Culture in Palestine after the Arab Conquest," in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*, ed. G. Cavallo et al., vol. 1 [Spoleto, 1991], p. 160), seemed inclined to accept as a work of Theophanes Graptos, the iconodule saint who was born in the Moabite mountains ca. 778 and came to Constantinople from Palestine in 813. J. Sonderkamp discussed the various authors to whom the work is attributed in its manuscript tradition and chose to accept Theophanes Chrysobalantes (about whom nothing else is known) as the genuine one. See J. Sonderkamp, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung der Schriften des Theophanes Chrysobalantes* (sog. *Theophanes Nonnos*) (Bonn, 1987), pp. 1-68; for the attribution of the work to "Theophanes Graptos" or "Theophanes the Monk," see *ibid.*, pp. 27, 30, 43, 265; on Theophilos's work, see also T. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore and London, 1997), pp. 177-78.

⁵⁷ J. Sonderkamp, "Theophanes Nonnus: Medicine in the Circle of Constantine Porphyrogennitus," *DOP* 38 (1984), p. 40.

⁵⁸ Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 2, p. 303; Greek trans. Hunger, *Byzantinē logotechnia*, vol. 3, p. 130.

⁵⁹ Pingree, "Classical and Byzantine Astrology," pp. 236-37.

Arabic *raml* (sand),⁶⁰ though it is also called τὸ λαξευτήριον τοῦ Πυθαγόρα (The stone cutter's tool of Pythagoras). Of the plethora of Byzantine geomantic texts, only one has been published.⁶¹ Some among them appear to have been translated from the Arabic, because they refer to the various geomantic figures by their Arabic names. At present no inventory of the Byzantine geomantic texts is available; C.O. Zuretti had started one before his death in 1931, but it has not been resumed since.⁶² P. Tannery's study of Byzantine geomancy and its connection with its Arabic and Latin counterparts was also interrupted by death.⁶³

It is unknown when Arabic treatises of geomancy were first translated into Greek. The only established date is 1266, the date for the translation from Arabic into Greek given in the title of a treatise that survives in at least two copies.⁶⁴ The beginnings of Arabic geomancy are themselves obscure. Geo-

⁶⁰ The Arabic name for geomancy is *'ilm al-raml* (lit., "science of the sand").

⁶¹ A. Delatte and L. Delatte, "Un traité byzantin de géomancie (codex Parisinus 2419)," *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 4 (1936), pp. 575-658. This treatise appears to have been based, at least in part, on a Latin source (ibid., p. 589). The beginning pages from a second treatise, which survives in *Paris. gr.* 2424 and *Paris. gr.* 2419 and is based on an Arabic model, is published in P. Tannery, "Le rabolion. Traités de géomancie arabes, grecs et latins," *Mémoires Scientifiques* 4 (Toulouse and Paris, 1920), pp. 359-72.

⁶² A. and L. Delatte were supposed to see Zuretti's project to completion, but confessed that the task was too difficult, due to the obscurity of the subject and the need to collate several manuscripts. The enumeration of the texts collected by Zuretti is to date the only available catalogue of Byzantine texts on geomancy (see A. Delatte and L. Delatte, "Un traité byzantin de géomancie," p. 587, n. 3); see also A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, vol. I, pp. 388-96 and 557-61.

⁶³ It was published posthumously accompanied by an essay on Arabic geomancy by Carra de Vaux in Tannery, *Mémoires Scientifiques*, vol. 4, pp. 297-411.

⁶⁴ I currently know of *Bononiensis* (*Bibl. Univ.*) 3632 (*CCAG* 4, p. 43), where the title of the work reads as follows: πύημα Πέρσου φιλοσόφου τοῦνομα Ζανατῆ μετέβλυθι δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὸ ψοδ ἔτος παρὰ Ἀρσενίου μοναχοῦ κελεύση τῆς κυρίας (The work of the Persian philosopher by the name of Zanati was translated into our own language in the year 1266 by the monk Arsenios at the instigation of the lady...); and *Neapol.* II.C.33, olim 34 (*CCAG*, vol. 4, p. 51), where the title is somewhat more informative: Ποίημα Πέρσου φιλοσόφου τοῦ Μαζουνατῆ· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐτεχνεύσατο καὶ κατασοφίσαστο τὴνδε τὴν τέχνην διὰ ψάμμου πρὸς μετὰ βολὰς [*sic*] τε καὶ ποιότητος τῶν ἀστέρων τοῖς βουλομένοις λέγειν τὰ συμβησόμενα ἀγαθὰ τε καὶ φαῦλα καθὼς μετὰ μικρὸν καθόλως δηλωθήσεται. Υπομνήσω δὲ ἀρτίως ὅπως καὶ πότε μετεστοιχειώθη ἀπὸ στοιχείων καὶ γλώσσης Περσίδος εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γραφὴν καὶ διάλεκτον παρὰ Ἀρσενίου μοναχοῦ. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ψοδ (ζ should be corrected to ζ) ἔτει ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἐξ ἐπιτροπῆς τῆς

mantic procedures are described by Ibn al-'Arābī (763-844) and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 830),⁶⁵ and by the twelfth century the practice was well established in North Africa, Egypt and Syria. The Arabic tradition of geomancy is at least as vast as that of Arabic dream interpretation.⁶⁶ It is possible that translations of geomantic treatises from Arabic into Greek began earlier than the thirteenth century. No firm conclusions, however, can be drawn before the Greek texts are collated and published.⁶⁷

Other Forms of Divination, Magic and Secret Alphabets. Forms of divination both in Greek and in Arabic are virtually uncharted territory. There are striking similarities between texts on apocryphal wisdom in Greek, Arabic, and Latin, and many of them can be attributed to the fact that this domain of human knowledge in all three languages was based on foundations laid down in the Graeco-Roman world of late antiquity that survived throughout the Middle

εὐσεβεστάτης κυρίας Θεοδώρας ἡ βίβλος αὕτη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο (The work of the Persian philosopher Mazounati. He devised and invented this art through <the use of> the sand and [?] the changes and the qualities of the stars [?] for <the use of> those who would wish to <pre>dict the good and bad things that will happen, as will soon be thoroughly demonstrated. Let me briefly mention how and when it was changed from the Persian letters and language into the Roman writing and tongue by Arsenios the monk. This book reached the Romans in the year 1266 thanks to the patronage of the most pious lady Theodora). The patroness of the translation was Theodora Doukaina, the wife of the future emperor Michael VIII Paleologos; see Pingree, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 77; also A.-M. Talbot, "The empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII," *DOP* 46 (1992), p. 301.

⁶⁵ See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 196-97.

⁶⁶ Geomancy as a form of divination is still very popular in the Middle East, and new treatises on the subject were written as late as the beginning of the 20th century. For bibliography on the subject of Arabic geomancy, see *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, s.v. "Geomancy."

⁶⁷ The study of Byzantine geomancy could profit from further investigation of the Slavonic geomantic treatises called *raflī* which must have been translated from the Greek. For reference to editions of the Slavonic texts and a brief overview of the current state of research regarding Slavonic geomancy, see I. Ševčenko, "Remarks on the Diffusion of Byzantine Scientific and Pseudo-Scientific Literature among the Orthodox Slavs," *Slavonic and East European Review* 59:3 (1981), p. 342; rpt. in idem, *Byzantium and the Slavs*, p. 611. For a view tracing the immediate ancestry of Slavic geomancy, not to Byzantium but to western Europe, see R. Mathiesen, "Magic in Slavia Orthodoxa: the Written Tradition," in *Byzantine Magic*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1995), p. 166.

Ages and into the Renaissance.⁶⁸ But much of this material was translated and recycled between the three languages, and it is very difficult to trace the exact path trod by each and every element found in the sources on magic and divination, at least in the form in which they survive today.⁶⁹ The Greek texts on apocryphal wisdom suggest influences from both East and West.⁷⁰ The indications of the Greek contact with Near Eastern lore include the (genuine or pretended) Hebrew names of the angels evoked during a divinatory or magical procedure, the use of Hebrew letters for secret alphabets⁷¹ and a "Persian" treatise on prognostication by observing pulsation.⁷² Some Greek

⁶⁸ Some remarks on the topic in D. A. M. Pielow, *Die Quellen der Weisheit* (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York, 1995), p. 4 ff.

⁶⁹ A case illustrating the complicated travels of such works is the literature ascribed to Daniel in Greek, Latin, Arabic and other Near Eastern languages. In the 10th century Liutprand of Cremona remarked that both the Arabs and the Byzantines possessed prophetic texts attributed to Daniel. For references, as well as an analysis on how the specific vision of Daniel summarized by Liutprand was related to political considerations of the moment, see P. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), pp. 96-122. Another type of text, also attributed to Daniel, this time not a revelation of events that will come to pass but rather an interpretation of celestial omens, was also among the literature recycled by the Byzantines and the Arabs. In the year 1245 a certain Alexios, while held captive by the Arabs as prisoner of war, translated a work on celestial omens from Arabic into Greek. In his preface he traced the history of the translated text as follows: it was originally written in Hebrew (presumably by Daniel), translated into Greek at the time of Ptolemy Philadelphos, and discovered during the reign of Constans II (641-68) by Caliph Mu'awiya (661-80) when he sacked the environs of Constantinople. He had it translated into Arabic, and Alexios translated it from Arabic back into Greek. The historical details given in this preface are accurate, but this does not necessarily prove the authenticity of the text's claimed itinerary. What is important to retain, however, is Alexios's awareness that the text had been recycled. It is published in *CCAG* 8:3, pp. 171-79; see also the remarks in Pingree, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 76.

⁷⁰ See, for example, the incantations from *Paris. gr.* 2494 (15th century) that are clearly Greek transliterations of Latin texts, published in A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, vol. 1, pp. 588-89.

⁷¹ Cf. the secret alphabet used in *Paris. gr.* 2419 (15th century, a manuscript copied by Georgios Mdiates that also contains the *Oneirocriticon*); it was deciphered in A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, vol. 1, p. 446.

⁷² The work is called βιβλος σοφίας Περσῶν παλμική; only its beginning survives in *Athen. Bibl. Nat.* 1493 (13th century), fol. 159; published in A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, vol. 1, pp. 209-10. In Arabic this method of prognostication is called *'ilm al-ikhtilāj* and seems to have been based, at least in its present literary form, on ancient Greek literature on the subject; see Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 397-402.

and Arabic secret alphabets disguise the original letters (or numbers that stand for letters) by adding curled edges to their design, which results in a similarity of form between some Greek and Arabic secret characters, though in this case it is impossible to say whether this method traveled from east to west or from west to east.⁷³ Nor does the problem of dating the influx of Oriental elements into the Greek lore have an obvious solution, other than adopting the *terminus ante quem* established by the age of the relevant manuscripts. Unfortunately for our purposes, all of them are late.

In sum, we have evidence (often circumstantial, it is true) that a few of what we would today call pseudo-scientific texts were translated from Arabic into Greek in the course of the tenth century, though the existence of these translations is better documented for the eleventh century. This raises a number of questions, including the milieu and patronage that produced them. Dagron has discussed the categories of bilingual or multilingual individuals who lived in the Byzantine Empire between the ninth and the twelfth century, including speakers of Arabic, Latin, Slavic and Armenian.⁷⁴ They were missionaries, soldiers,⁷⁵ frontiersmen, prisoners of war, intellectuals and ordinary people. Indeed, as far as tenth-century Constantinople is concerned, the legislative text known as the *Book of the Eparch* (published by the emperor Leo VI in 911-12) mentions a permanent colony in Constantinople of Syrian merchants specializing in textiles.⁷⁶ The sixth book of the chronicle of Theophanes Continuatus, dealing in part with

⁷³ Compare the secret alphabets from *Vindob. phil. gr.* 108, fols. 369v-370r (published in Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, vol. 1, p. 637), and especially the alphabet on lines 9-10 from the top, with the Arabic secret alphabet published by Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, p. 3. On this type of secret alphabet, see also Pielow, *Die Quellen der Weisheit*, pp. 156-58.

⁷⁴ G. Dagron, "Formes et fonctions du pluralisme linguistique," pp. 219-40.

⁷⁵ For the terms and conditions under which Arab captives were settled in Byzantine territories, see [Constantine VII], *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, pp. 694, 22-695, 14. English translation and commentary on this excerpt in McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, pp. 365-67.

⁷⁶ *Book of the Eparch* §5.2: Ἡ εἰσερχομένη πραγματεία τῶν πρᾶνδιοπρατῶν ὀφείλει πᾶσα ἀποτίθεσθαι ἐν ἐνὶ οἴκῳ τῶν μιτάτων, ὥστε πάντας ἐπισυναγομένους ἐπιμερίζεσθαι ταύτην. ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐρχομένη Σαρακηνικὴ ... καὶ ἐπίσης πάντας γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐπιμερίζεσθαι μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας οἰκησάντων καὶ δεκαετὴ χρόνον ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ διανυσάντων (The imported merchandise of the *prandiopratai* [textile merchants] ought to be deposited in one of the lodgings <where foreign merchants stay>, so that all can congregate and have a share in it. Likewise the Saracen merchandise coming from Syria ... should be equally divided <among the *prandiopratai, including those who came from Syria and have resided for ten years in Constantinople).*

the reign of Leo VI, mentions in passing the presence of Saracens at the Praetorium (Bonn 372, 23–373, 2). Samonas, one of the most powerful ministers of Leo VI, was an Arab from Tarsus who had been brought to Constantinople as a captive.⁷⁷ As for intellectuals, most of Dagron's examples from the ninth to the twelfth century are proficient in Greek and Arabic.⁷⁸

The prosopography of the Arabic-speaking intellectuals active in the Middle Byzantine period is very difficult to establish. The narrative sources are mostly silent on the subject, but unexpected data can be retrieved from other types of sources, including archaeological evidence. Given the kinds of texts translated, one would imagine the translators could have been astrologers or physicians, so turning our attention to the tools of their trade could provide some clues. The only surviving Byzantine astrolabe was made in 1062 for the *protospatharios* and *hypatos* (both terms being Byzantine court titles) Sergios, "from the race of the Persians."⁷⁹ An intriguing Middle Byzantine silver stamp has a Greek inscription declaring its owner to be an *iatros* (physician) named Ishmael.⁸⁰

For the ninth century, we have the name of only one translator: St. Michael

⁷⁷ For a summary of the diplomatic relations and a chronicle of the recorded exchanges of prisoners, see H. Kennedy, "Byzantine-Arab Diplomacy in the Near East from the Islamic Conquests to the Mid Eleventh Century," in *Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium on Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (London, 1992), pp. 133–44.

⁷⁸ To the intellectuals proficient in Greek and Arabic, one could add Cyril and Methodios, the Apostles of the Slavs, who were proficient in Greek and Slavic; Dagron discusses them under the separate heading "le missionnaire" (Dagron, "Formes et fonctions du pluralisme linguistique à Byzance," pp. 223–28). One could further add the Italian intellectuals active in the Komnenian court, especially under Manuel I. For their names and an outline of their careers, see Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, pp. 194–222.

⁷⁹ For a description of this astrolabe, a full quotation of the two inscriptions identifying its owner and for further bibliography, see the catalogue of the exhibition *Byzantine Art: European Art* (Athens, 1964), no. 549. Interestingly, the star list used by the maker of this astrolabe is the same as the one in the last datable item in the astrological writings contained in *Laurent. Plut.* 28, 34 of the early 11th century, a list of astrolabe stars whose coordinates are given for the year 908; see Pingree, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 65, n. 7. As was noted earlier, the *Laurentianus* is one of the most important surviving Greek manuscripts attesting to the early influx of elements of Arabic astrology into Byzantium.

⁸⁰ G. Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic in Early Byzantium," *DOP* 38 (1984), p. 65: "The silver doctor's stamp is unpublished, and in the Limbourg collection, Cologne. It is mid-Byzantine in date and bears the following inscription: 'Lord, help Ishmael [the] doctor.'"

the Synkellos (ca. 760–846), who translated at least one work of Abū Qurra from Arabic into Greek.⁸¹ He subsequently sought refuge in Constantinople to avoid the Muslim hostilities and the sack of Christian monasteries in the anarchy that followed the death of Harūn al-Rashīd (r. 809–13).⁸² A second individual is the anonymous translator of the Qurʾān, whose Greek version of the Muslim holy book is quoted in the polemical treatise by Niketas of Byzantium, written during the reign of either Michael III (r. 842–67) or Basil I (r. 867–86).⁸³ The known translations of both are limited to religious texts.

Crediting Christians under Muslim rule with contributing to the corpus of the early translations of Arabic scientific texts into Greek implies that Greek language and culture survived, at least among Melkite Christians, well after the Islamic conquest; in fact modern scholarship has not reached a consensus on the point. Greek was used as the language of administration until the end of the seventh century, which suggests that an elite of bureaucrats fluent in Greek existed up to two generations after the Islamic conquest.⁸⁴ John of Damascus (ca. 675–ca. 754), a member of this elite and the greatest Eastern systematizer of Christian dogma, wrote all of his works in Greek.⁸⁵ A number of scholars point out that when Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 684–705) made Arabic the language

⁸¹ S. Griffith, "Stephen of Ramlah and the Christian Kerygma in Arabic in Ninth Century Palestine," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985), pp. 34 ff; rpt. in idem, *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine* (London, 1992), no. 7.

⁸² S. Vaillhé, "Saint Michel le syncelle et les deux frères graptol, saint Théodore et saint Théophane," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 9 (1901), pp. 313–32, 610–42; I. Sev, cenko, "Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period," in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977).

⁸³ See K. Versteegh, "Greek Translations of the Qurʾān in Christian Polemics (9th century A.D.)," *ZDMG* 141 (1991), pp. 52–68 (with bibliography). It is unknown whether a Greek translation of the full text of the Qurʾān was available by the 9th century. Niketas discusses in detail only the first 18 of the 114 Quranic chapters. However, Versteegh (pp. 59–60) argues that Niketas seems to have had a Greek translation of the full text of the Qurʾān at his disposal.

⁸⁴ The exact date when the change from Greek to Arabic was introduced into chancery use is uncertain. A 10th-century Arabic source, the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, dates the demise of Greek as the administrative language in Syria to the reign of either ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 684–705), or his son, Hishām (r. 724–43); trans. in Rosenthal, *Classical Heritage in Islam*, pp. 45–50; see also the Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, vol. 2, pp. 581 ff.

⁸⁵ See D. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam, the "Heresy of the Ishmaelites"* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 17–48.

of bureaucracy, the knowledge of Greek seriously declined, even among Melkite Christians. The emergence of Christian literature in Arabic towards the end of the eighth century indicates that by that time the Christian flock of Syria and Palestine had begun to be more comfortable writing and reading Arabic than Greek.

The literary career of Theodore Abū Qurra, the earliest Christian author writing in Arabic whose name is known to us, began around 772, and at least one recent scholar believes that he relied on the services of a translator for his Greek works.⁸⁶ Evidence gleaned from hagiographical texts suggests that, toward the end of the eighth century, the Greek language, in spite of its cultural prestige in the Melkite circles, was no longer understood.⁸⁷ On the other hand, Mango has discussed a number of examples that indicate the continuing vitality of Greek culture in Palestine during the eighth and early ninth centuries and argues that the Byzantine humanism of the ninth and tenth centuries was spurred by, among other things, the presence of Palestinian immigrants in Constantinople.⁸⁸ In his concluding remarks Mango suggests that "the Byzantine revival was not a purely internal flowering; it was stimulated by a drawing in of resources from the periphery as also happened in the contemporary Carolingian Renaissance."⁸⁹ Although translations of Arabic scientific texts into Greek in that period can be seen in the context of that revival, Palestine

⁸⁶ For the date of Abū Qurra's literary career, see S. Griffith, "Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century: the Example of the *Summa Theologiae Arabica*," *Byzantion* 56 (1986), p. 124; rpt. in idem, *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine*, no. 8. For the opinion that he did not write anything in Greek, see idem, "Stephen of Ramla," p. 34 ff.

⁸⁷ See I. Ševčenko, "Constantinople Viewed from the Eastern Provinces in the Middle Byzantine Period," *Eucharisterion: Essays Presented to Omeljan Pritsak* = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3/4, pt. 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1979-80), pp. 735 ff.; rpt. in idem, *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London, 1982), no. 6.

⁸⁸ Mango, "Greek Culture in Palestine after the Arab Conquest," pp. 149-60. For the presence of Palestinian immigrants in Constantinople before the 10th century, see Ševčenko, "Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period"; Vailhé, "Saint Michel le syncelle et les deux frères graptos"; J. Featherstone, "Theophanes of Caesarea, Encomium of Theodore Graptos," *Analecta Bollandiana* 98 (1980), pp. 93-150; F. Halkin, "Saint Antoine le jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur des arabes en 863," *Analecta Bollandiana* 62 (1944), pp. 187-225; J. Gouillard, "Un 'quartier' d'émigrés palestiniens à Constantinople au IX^e siècle?" *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 7 (1969), pp. 73-76; M. F. Auzépy, "De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIII^e-IX^e siècles): Étienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène," *TM* 12 (1994), pp. 183-218.

⁸⁹ Mango, "Greek Culture in Palestine after the Arab Conquest," p. 160.

was not the only peripheral region of the Byzantine Empire to be in contact with Muslim culture. The Arabs first penetrated southern Italy and Sicily in 827, when the forces of the Tunisian Aghlabids set foot on the island. The conquest of Sicily from the Byzantines was completed in 878, and it remained under the rule first of Aghlabid and later of Fatimid governors (the Aghlabids were subdued by the Fatimids in 909), until its conquest by the Normans in the latter part of the eleventh century, an event that also marked the end of Byzantine rule in the area.⁹⁰

Byzantine culture survived in southern Italy and Sicily well into the thirteenth century.⁹¹ The coexistence of Arabs and Byzantines in the south of Italy resulted not only in Byzantine speakers of Arabic (and Latin) but also Arab speakers of Greek,⁹² as well as a fusion of the Greek and Arabic medical tradition in the activity and the writings produced by the school of Salerno, the existence of which is attested at least as early as the tenth century.⁹³

Contact between Byzantine and Arabic medical science necessitating the mediation of bilingual individuals is also attested for tenth-century Umayyad Spain. Evidence can be found in the famous story about the Dioscorides manuscript recounted by Ibn Juljul, a tenth-eleventh-century Spanish pharma-

⁹⁰ For a brief overview on the survival of the Greek language and culture in Italy from the 9th until the 11th century, see P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971); Greek trans. with updated bibliography in idem, *Ho prōtos byzantinos houmanismos*, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1985), pp. 25-28.

⁹¹ See G. Cavallo, "La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria," *I Bizantini in Italia* (Milan, 1982), pp. 495-612; M. Gigante, "La civiltà letteraria," *ibid.*, pp. 613-51.

⁹² For information on the bilinguals and trilinguals before and after the Norman conquest and their demographical distribution in the area, see V. von Falkenhausen, "I gruppi etnici nel regno di Ruggero II e la loro partecipazione al potere," *Società, potere e popolo nell'età di Ruggero II*, Atti delle terze giornate normanno-sveve (Bari, 1977), pp. 133-56; and eadem, "Friedrich II. und die Griechen im Königreich Sizilien," in *Friedrich II. Tagung des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom im Gedenkjahr 1994*, ed. A. Esch and N. Kamp (Tübingen, 1996), pp. 235-62.

⁹³ Legend attributes the founding of the school of Salerno to four physicians, a Greek, an Arab, a Jew and a Latin. For an overview regarding the activity of the school of Salerno and further bibliography, see M. Pasca, "The Salerno School of Medicine," *American Journal of Nephrology* 4 (1994), pp. 478-82. For a summary of the most recent research contradicting the traditional view about the school of Salerno espoused by Pasca, see P. Skinner, *Health and Medicine in Early Medieval Southern Italy* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 127-36. According to this view, several medical texts were copied in the south of Italy very early, but the study and teaching of medicine was not institutionalized before the end of the 11th or the 12th century.

cologist.⁹⁴ In the mid tenth century, the Byzantine emperor⁹⁵ corresponded with 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, the Umayyad ruler of Cordoba, and in 948-49 he sent gifts to Cordoba, which included a Greek illustrated Dioscorides and a Latin history by Orosius.⁹⁶ Until this time the only available text of Dioscorides in Spain had been a ninth-century translation, where the Arabic rendering of terms such as plant names was problematic. Therefore, a new Dioscorides manuscript provided an opportunity to correct the older translation. The letter of the Byzantine emperor that accompanied the gifts stated that

... one could profit from Dioscorides's book only if there was someone who understood Greek well and knew the individual remedies. "If you have such a man in your country, O King, you can properly profit from the book. As far as the work of Orosius is concerned, you have surely in your country Latinists who are able to read Latin, and if you urge them to make the book available, they can translate it for you from Latin into Arabic...." At that time there was no Spanish Christian in Cordoba who could read *ighrīqī*, that is to say, old Greek. Thus the book of Dioscorides remained in Greek as it was, in the treasury of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāṣir and was not translated into Arabic. The book remained in Spain, but the translation of Iṣṭifān, which had come from Baghdād, remained in use. Then, when al-Nāṣir addressed a written reply to King Mārīnūs [!], he begged him to send him someone who spoke Greek [*ighrīqī*] and Latin in order to teach slaves to translate for him. Thereupon King Armāniyūs sent a monk named Niqūlā [Nicholas] to al-Nāṣir. He arrived in Cordoba in the year 340 H. / 951-52 A.D.⁹⁷

According to Ibn Juljul, the Byzantine monk had an enormous impact on the advancement of pharmacology in Cordoba, because he explained the unknown names of drugs in the work of Dioscorides and was able to show others, among them the pharmacologist Abū 'Abd Allāh the Sicilian, "who spoke

⁹⁴ The report was translated in Rosenthal, *Classical Heritage in Islam*, pp. 194-97 (with bibliography). See also M. M. Sadek, *The Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides* (St-Jean-Chrysostome, Québec, 1983), p. 9.

⁹⁵ The Arabic versions of the Byzantine emperor's name that appear in Ibn Juljul's text correspond to the Greek "Romanos." However, in the years Ibn Juljul places the events (948-52) the emperor in Constantinople was Constantine VII (r. 944-59). Both his predecessor and his successor were named Romanos: Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920-44) and Romanos II (r. 959-63).

⁹⁶ On the Byzantine embassy to the court of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, see also F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 595-1453*, vol. 1 (Munich and Berlin, 1924), p. 82, no. 657.

⁹⁷ Rosenthal, *Classical Heritage in Islam*, p. 196.

Greek and knew the individual remedies," how to prepare medicines with improved ingredients. Nicholas remained in Cordoba until his death at the beginning of al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir's reign (r. 961-76).

Ibn Juljul's account makes clear the role science played as a diplomatic tool in the contacts between the two dominant cultures in the Mediterranean at that time. Taken at face value, he also seems to say that there was no one in Constantinople proficient in Arabic in the middle of the tenth century, because the translator of Dioscorides provided by the Byzantine Empire was proficient in Greek and not Arabic but Latin. The narrative indicates that there were people proficient in Latin in Constantinople at that time, but it does not say anything about people proficient in Arabic. In addition, translating the text of Dioscorides requires more than proficiency in the languages involved. Though Ibn Juljul seems to suggest that the Cordobans could not understand Dioscorides because of their ignorance of classical Greek,⁹⁸ the structure of Dioscorides's sentences is simple and easy for a speaker of medieval Greek to follow. The difficulty in translating Dioscorides lies in knowing the Greek names of the plants current in the first century A.D. and being able to convey them accurately in a second language. It therefore takes not just any bilingual but a bilingual pharmacologist to translate the text. In addition, the Umayyad caliph al-Nāṣir specifically requested an individual proficient in Greek and Latin to teach, not high-brow intellectuals, but (presumably Christian) slaves to translate for him. The request of the caliph is important for the history of the transmission of science in Umayyad Spain, but no indication about knowledge of Arabic in tenth-century Constantinople can be extracted from Ibn Juljul's report.

An idea about the kind of education that the translators from Arabic into Greek received can be gleaned from the Greek texts they produced. The *Oneirocriticon* avoids Arabic loan words and neologisms in its vocabulary. The astronomical and astrological texts translated before the twelfth century also use a technical vocabulary that is Hellenized and avoids Arabisms, in contrast to translations of later periods.⁹⁹ Compared with the Arabic translations of Greek texts, which can be obscure and even incomprehensible without the help of a commentary, the language of the Greek texts translated from the

⁹⁸ The Arabic text designates the language of Dioscorides as "*ighrīqī*, that is *yūnānī*." The term *yūnānīyūn* in Arabic sources refers to the ancient Greeks as opposed to the Byzantines, who are referred to as *Rūm*.

⁹⁹ *Methodoi psēphophorias*, ed. and trans. Jones, pp. 16-17; Tihon, "Tables islamiques à Byzance," pp. 404 and 417; Pingree, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, pp. 71-74.

Arabic is relatively smooth and, on the whole, clear.¹⁰⁰ The overall approach to translation was not literal but paraphrastic; or, in other words, the Greek translations from the Arabic were not text-oriented but reader-oriented, a remarkable fact, given that no tradition of translating from Arabic into Greek existed before the ninth century and that rendering a technical text from a Semitic into an Indoeuropean language must have presented the translator with numerous challenges.

Some idea of the difficulties involved can be obtained by looking at the process of translating in the opposite direction, from Greek into Arabic, about which we are much better informed.¹⁰¹ In this case, problems were often circumvented through the use of a Syriac intermediary. A Syriac translation from the Greek often existed, but even when it did not one could be made with the express purpose of serving as a link between the Greek and the Arabic rendering of a work. Syriac scholars had been translating Greek texts since the fourth century; using a Syriac intermediary allowed the translator to take advantage of the accumulated experience in translating over centuries. Rendering the text from Syriac into Arabic was a much simpler process, given that both are Semitic languages.¹⁰²

A reader of the Greek texts known to have been translated from the Arabic before the eleventh century, namely the *Oneirocriticon* and the astrological texts pointed out by Pingree,¹⁰³ immediately realizes that scientific translations from Arabic into Greek are rendered in an idiom closer to the spoken Greek of the time, much like the translations of scientific texts from Greek into

¹⁰⁰ For comments on the approach to translation by translators from Greek into Arabic, see Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, pp. 142 ff.

¹⁰¹ Some of the translators from Greek into Arabic were notorious for their poor Arabic style; see Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, pp. 136-41.

¹⁰² See S. Brock, "The Syriac Background to Hunayn's Translation Techniques," *Aram* 3:1-2 (1991), pp. 139-62 (with further bibliography); idem, "Greek into Syriac and Syriac into Greek," *Journal of the Syriac Academy* 3 (1977), esp. pp. 3-6 (٦١٤-٢٤); rpt. in idem, *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (London, 1984). See also G. Strohmaier, "Hunain ibn Ishāq: An Arab Scholar Translating Into Syriac," *Aram* 3:1-2 (1991), pp. 163-70; rpt. in idem, *Von Demokrit bis Dante* (Hildesheim, urich, New York, 1996), pp. 199-206. For references to medieval sources on Arabic translators and translations, see Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 309-16.

¹⁰³ Only one of these translations has received critical edition in its entirety: Abū Ma'shar, *Albumasaris: De revolutionibus nativitatū*, ed. D. Pingree. Excerpts from the rest have been published in various volumes of the CCAG; for references, see Pingree, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, pp. 63-77.

Arabic, which also employ a language closer to the vernacular than to classical Arabic.¹⁰⁴ Given the strong literary tradition of both languages and the "classical" style to which authors in each of them aspired, this use of the vernacular by translators provides food for thought. Although the style of any author reflects his level of education and therefore also his social background,¹⁰⁵ it is possible that in this case both the Greek and the Arabic translations were rendered into a more demotic idiom because they were meant to be utilitarian; practical requirements outweighed literary ambition.

It is too soon to assess the volume and influence of Greek translations from the Arabic. But even allowing for some future finds, it is likely that the total number of Arabic works translated into Greek was far smaller than that of Greek works translated into Arabic. This disparity can be explained in part by the fact that, for a number of political, ideological, and social reasons, the numerous translations from Greek into Arabic were commissioned by the

¹⁰⁴ See G. Bergstrasser, *Hunain Ibn Ishāq und seine Schule* (Leiden, 1913), pp. 28 ff.; also Fahd, *Artémidore d'Éphèse*, p. xviii.

¹⁰⁵ The problem is very complex, even regarding the translators from Greek into Arabic, about whom we are better informed. A number of them were Jewish or Christian, and several contemporary scholars agree that these religious communities wrote in a literary idiom that was closer to the vernacular than to classical Arabic, the literary standard to which Muslim authors aspired. The educational curriculum of a Christian intellectual living in the Arab lands around the 9th-10th century is, for the time being, beyond the grasp of scholars. The major proponent of the view that the various religious communities under Muslim rule used their own literary idiom is J. Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic, Base Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium* (Louvain, 1966); and idem, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem, 1981). For an analysis rejecting Blau's conclusion that Christian Arabs had their own literary language, different from that of their contemporary Muslims, see K. Samir, "Existe-t-il une grammaire Arabe chrétienne?" in *Actes du premier congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes. Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 218 (Rome, 1982), pp. 52-59. For the non-Muslim translators and their social and intellectual standing in the caliphate, see H. Kennedy, "The Melkite Church from the Islamic Conquest to the Crusades: Continuity and Adaptation in the Byzantine Legacy," *The Seventeenth International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers* (New Rochelle, NY, 1986), pp. 325-43; A. Fattal, *Le statut legal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam* (Beirut, 1958); for the Dār al-Rūm in the Christian quarter of Baghdad, see G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1900), pp. 207-10; especially for the earlier period, see R. Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: A Historical and Archeological Study* (Princeton, N. J., 1995); for a synthesis of secondary literature on the topic, see W. Kallfelz, *Nichtmuslimische Untertanen im Islam* (Wiesbaden, 1995).

Abbasid royalty and the aristocracy, as well as literate classes in Baghdadi society, and were paid for with enormous funds, both public and private, set aside for the purpose.¹⁰⁶ Byzantine translations of Arabic works into Greek, in contrast, were incidental, rather than the result of an institutionalized, sustained, and uninterrupted effort as in the Arab world. True, some translations of Arabic works into Greek that were made between the ninth and the fourteenth century were prepared at the request of important individuals, including an emperor; Michael Synkellos translated Abū Qurra at the request of Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem (r. 807-21); Symeon Seth translated *Stephanites kai Ichneutes* (the Arabic *Kalīla wa-Dimna*) at the request of Emperor Alexios I (r. 1081-1118); Michael Andreopoulos translated the *Book of Syntipas*, this time not from Arabic but from Syriac into Greek, for the Byzantine governor (*dux*) of Melitene, Gabriel (ca. 1100); in 1266 the monk Arsenios translated the geomantic treatise of al-Zanāṭī at the request of the lady Theodora, who has been identified as Theodora Doukaina, the future empress of Michael VIII Paleologos. The work of al-Rāzī on measles was translated (presumably in the eleventh century) at the command of an emperor, who remains unknown since he is not named in the introduction to the Greek translation. Only Alexios, the translator of Daniel's celestial omens in the year 1245, states that he decided to translate this work on his own initiative. But there never seems to have been extensive and systematic patronage for translations, possibly because the scientific texts already possessed by the Greek-speaking world covered most of what Byzantine intellectuals perceived to be their scientific requirements. In addition, the translations of a fair number of Greek texts had been assimilated into Arabic learning, forming a body of Arabic scientific treatises based on Greek knowledge that was of no interest to a Byzantine readership already conversant with the Greek originals. As Pingree has observed, though Arabic scientific texts were translated into Greek from the ninth to the fourteenth century and into Latin in the West only from the twelfth to the thirteenth century, more Latin translations were made in these two centuries than the Greeks made in six. According to Pingree, this disparity can be explained in part by the fact that the Byzantines had access to Greek scientific texts that were either superior or equal to those of the Arabs, but the Latins did not.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ The political, ideological and social reasons for the wave of translations from Greek into Arabic are briefly outlined in *El²*, s.v. "tardjama," and more extensively discussed in the study by Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*.

¹⁰⁷ Pingree, "Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages," p. 143.

If Byzantium had no pressing need for Arab learning, why translate at all? The reasons will become clearer as our understanding of developments in Byzantine science improves. But at least in the case of astrology, the difficulty, in spite of a very conscientious effort, to render every single Arabic astronomical term into Greek, evident already in the early stage of the translations that were in place by the eleventh century, shows how much Arabic astrology had departed from its Hellenistic antecedents.¹⁰⁸ As for the *Oneirocriticon*, one reason for translating it, in spite of the availability of a Greek manual on dream interpretation as comprehensive as Artemidoros's was, must have been that by the tenth century Byzantine readers could no longer connect their own reality with the pagan deities and the civic and social institutions of late antiquity that so frequently figure in Artemidoros.¹⁰⁹ Muslim sources were much closer to home for the Byzantines, since they are addressed to the adherents of a monotheistic religion born out of a Judaeo-Christian background who lived at the same time in a society with institutions and an ideology that had its parallels in the Byzantine Empire. As for medicine, the preface to the translation of al-Rāzī's work on measles (Περὶ λοιμικῆς) briefly discusses the reason for preparing a Greek version of the text, stating what both the translator and his imperial patron expected to find in the translated work. The preface explains that, though Galen had discussed in detail everything about medicine in his works, as is well known to those who had studied them carefully, he had not dealt with measles sufficiently. In the words of the translator, this was because almost no one in Galen's time had caught the disease in question.¹¹⁰ Measles is a relatively new disease that first came to Europe from Asia in the sixth century A.D.

In sum, the astrological and oneiromantic translations imply and the medical translation expressly states that the Byzantines turned to Arab works to improve their knowledge about subjects that were not treated adequately in their own literature. That they were aware of these gaps in their knowledge and that they made a concerted effort to fill them indicates that Byzantine science was not an imitation, regurgitation, or reorganization of works inherited from late

¹⁰⁸ See Pingree, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, pp. 72-73.

¹⁰⁹ It was exactly this difficulty that Hunayn b. Ishāq tried to bypass by not simply translating the ancient Greek text of Artemidoros into Arabic, but by adapting something written for a pagan late-antique society to the needs of a monotheistic medieval one.

¹¹⁰ See al-Rāzī, *De pestilentia* in *Alexandri Tralliani Medici Lib. XII, Rhazae de pestilentia libellus ex Syrorum lingua in Graecam translatus*, p. 243.

antiquity, but rather was constantly taking into account contemporary reality and trying to address new needs and concerns as they arose.

The translations from Arabic into Greek begun in the ninth and tenth centuries should therefore be viewed as part of the intense intellectual activity flourishing in Byzantium at that time, so that we can better understand whether the intellectual accomplishments of the caliphate had any bearing on the Byzantine revival of the ninth and tenth centuries and what role the classical tradition played in this revival.

The magisterial study by Paul Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (1971) considers the possibility that the Byzantine relationships with the caliphate might have played a role in accelerating Byzantine humanism, particularly through the rediscovery of classical and Hellenistic texts that could no longer be found in the Byzantine Empire, but concludes that they were of no consequence. The question has recently been reexamined by Gutas, who suggested that Greek manuscripts in the minuscule containing ancient Greek scientific texts might have been copied in response to the translation and study of the same texts in Baghdad, or because of specific Arab demand for manuscripts of these works.¹¹¹ Though more research is required before this issue can be resolved, the translations from Arabic into Greek made at that time indicate that at least some elements of Arabic learning, which were compatible with and complementary to the existing Byzantine tradition (since both the Arabs and the Byzantines were indebted to the classical and late-antique Greek heritage for their intellectual and scientific accomplishments) found their way to Byzantium.

The Byzantine intellectual activity of the ninth and tenth centuries, known as the Macedonian Renaissance is usually viewed as exclusively or primarily classicizing, but the translations from Arabic into Greek suggest that it was more complex than the appellation "Renaissance" implies. The *Oneirocriticon* and the astrological texts translated from the Arabic in the course of the tenth century are not high-style literature, though this does not mean that they were unknown to Byzantine high society or the imperial court, the circles who were supposed to have produced and consumed the intellectual products of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance. There is evidence to suggest that the *Oneirocriticon* was compiled for an imperial patron or at least used by an interpreter of imperial dreams. As for the utilization of classical and late-antique Greek sources, the example of the *Oneirocriticon* and its relationship with the work

¹¹¹ Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, pp. 175-86.

of Artemidoros and other ancient Greek dreambooks that circulated in Byzantium during the tenth century is telling. Though these older Greek sources on dream interpretation were available, the compiler of the *Oneirocriticon* did not use them, but instead drew upon Arabic dreambooks.¹¹²

In several passages of the *Oneirocriticon* Artemidoros's wisdom returns to Byzantium by way of the Arabic sources used by the Byzantine compilation, a recycling of ancient tradition between Byzantium and Islam that is not unique. Pingree has argued that elements of ancient Greek astrology returned to Byzantium via translated Arabic texts at around the same time.¹¹³ The example of dream interpretation shows that we should proceed with caution in drawing our conclusions, however. While it is certain that the author of the *Oneirocriticon* did not use Artemidoros's work, there is no reason to believe that he was not aware of its existence. Whatever the case, at least some Byzantine readers read both the *Oneirocriticon* and Artemidoros, as can be deduced from the excerpts from the *Oneirocriticon* copied by an eleventh-century hand on the margins of the earliest surviving Artemidoros manuscript. These readers may have regarded the agreement between Arab and ancient Greek lore as confirmation of the tradition's validity. It seems that the translation of Artemidoros into Arabic functioned in a similar way, that is, not to reject the indigenous Semitic lore on dream interpretation but to complement it and to confirm its validity. As Strohmaier has noted, the Arabic translation appears to have been couched in terms conforming to the tradition of dream interpretation.¹¹⁴ All this may explain the popularity of the *Oneirocriticon* in the Byzantine world, as evidenced

¹¹² The earliest Greek manuscript containing Artemidoros's work belongs to the 11th century. However, there are two pieces of evidence that his work was read by Byzantine intellectuals in the course of the 10th century: (1) numerous and extensive passages from at least four out of his five books were copied into a Byzantine encyclopedia of the 10th century, the *Suda Lexicon*; see *Suda Lexicon*, ed. Adler, vol. 5, index auctorum (pp. 67-68), s.v. "Ἀρτεμίδωρος." (2) Artemidoros is mentioned in the *Philopatris*, a ps.-Lucianic dialogue that appears to have been written in the 10th century, possibly during the reign of Nikephoros Phokas; see Ch. Aggelidē, "Hē chronologia kai ho suggrapheas tou dialogou *Philopatris*," *Hellēnika* 30 (1977-78), pp. 34-50; for other views on the date of the text, see *ODB*, s.v. "Philopatris." For the passage of the *Philopatris* referring to Artemidoros, see del Corno, *Graecorum de re onirocritica*, p. 22. Besides Artemidoros, four more ancient Greek dream interpreters whose works do not survive today are mentioned in the *Suda*, which tells us that a number of ancient texts on dream interpretation were known and available to the Byzantines during the 10th century.

¹¹³ Pingree, "Classical and Byzantine Astrology," pp. 227-39.

¹¹⁴ Strohmaier, "Die griechische Götter," pp. 149-50.

by its extensive manuscript tradition, as well as the popularity of Artemidoros in the Arab world, as evidenced by the abundant quotations from his treatise found in later Arabic dreambooks. Both works were very popular because the new is always more readily accepted if some of its elements are already familiar.

The best evidence for Byzantine and Arabic intellectual contacts are the translations of scientific texts from Arabic into Greek. Byzantine narrative sources are silent on the subject. But, in Magdalino's words, "One has to recognize that rejection, whether expressed through adverse comment or through silence, may be a rhetorical attitude, which does not preclude reception and may actually be used to disguise it."¹¹⁵ It is not hard to understand why Byzantine intellectuals, including those belonging to imperial circles, would have welcomed the translation of Arabic scientific texts in the ninth and tenth centuries. Diplomatic contacts provided the Byzantines and the Arabs with a chance to test and display each other's learning. Contemporary scholarship has time and again examined the Byzantine narrative sources pertaining to the diplomatic missions to the Arabs of four eminent Byzantine scholars, John the Grammarian, St. Constantine/Cyril, Patriarch Photios and Leo Choirosphaktes, as well as the alleged invitation to Baghdad extended by Caliph al-Ma'mūn to Leo the Mathematician. In his recent reexamination of these sources, Magdalino rightly emphasized the significance of the fact that the four Byzantine ambassadors to the caliphal court were individuals "highly distinguished in secular learning," which indicates that they were chosen because learned discussions would be part of the diplomatic agenda and because the Byzantine government was anxious to prove to its Muslim neighbors "that the wisdom of the Greeks was still, contrary to rumor, alive and well in Christian hands."¹¹⁶

Diplomatic dazzle aside, the Arab-Byzantine military hostilities that reached their height in the ninth and tenth centuries provided a practical reason for wanting to know about the scientific progress of the enemy. Advances in science and technology guarantee superiority in the battlefield: astronomy, meteorology and dream interpretation are all mentioned in the *Constitutiones Tacticae* of Emperor Leo VI (r. 886-912) as arts that minister to the waging of war. Practical alchemy of the kind encountered in Middle Byzantine formulas shows knowledge of Arabic alchemy, and it too is useful for developing war technology. Two of those formulas pertained to the tempering of metals, and one was applied to the manufacture of swords. Alchemy also contributed to

¹¹⁵ Magdalino, "Road to Baghdad," p. 196.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 206.

the development of incendiary concoctions such as Greek fire.¹¹⁷

The nature of the few known translations of Byzantine (as opposed to ancient Greek) texts into Arabic confirms the impression that translations from and into Greek and Arabic were made for reasons other than intellectual curiosity. Excerpts from an Arabic translation of Byzantine works on military strategy, including the *Strategikon* attributed to Emperor Maurice (r. 582-602), were incorporated in *al-siyāsatu-l-'ammiyyah* (Universal Governance) which is probably the earliest Islamic *speculum principis*. Its author was in the entourage of Sālīm Abū-l-'Alā', the secretary to Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (r. 724-43).¹¹⁸ The fourteenth-century Egyptian author Muḥammad b. Manglī, in two of his fifteen treatises on military subjects, quotes parts of the *Constitutiones Tacticae* by Emperor Leo VI (r. 886-912). A tenth-century date has been suggested for the translation of this Byzantine manual into Arabic.¹¹⁹ In addition, a number of Arabic alchemical texts seem to have been based on a Byzantine, and not an ancient Greek, model. One is the *Kitāb al-ḥabīb* (Book of the Beloved), which is based on the alchemical works of Stephen of Alexandria and the works attributed to the emperor Heraclius and to Marianos, the Byzantine monk who, according to the Arabic tradition, taught alchemy to the Umayyad prince Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya (d. 702¹²⁰).

¹¹⁷ For a summary of discussions and bibliography on the Greek fire until 1984, see Christides, *Conquest of Crete*, pp. 63-66; see also Th. K. Korres, *Hygron pyr. Hena hoplo tēs byzantinēs nautikēs taktikēs* (Thessaloniki, 1995).

¹¹⁸ See M. Grignaschi, "L'origine et les métamorphoses du *Sirr-al-asrār*," *AHDLMA* 43 (1976), p. 9.

¹¹⁹ See V. Christides, "Naval Warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean (6th-14th Centuries): An Arabic Translation of Leo VI's *Naumachica*," *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984), pp. 137-48; N. Serikoff, "Leo VI Arabus? A Fragment of Arabic Translations from the *Tactica* by Leo VI the Wise (886-912) in the Mamluk Military Manual by Ibn Mankali (d. 1382)," *Macedonian Studies* 9:3-4 (199), p. 59, suggests the sixties of the 10th century as the most probable date for the Arabic translation of the *Tactica*, but does not support this proposition with hard evidence.

¹²⁰ On Marianos and the Arabic tradition, see Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, p. 192; however, Khālīd b. Yazīd's involvement in the translation of Greek alchemical texts into Arabic is shown to be a later fabrication in M. Ullmann, "Khālīd b. Yazīd und die Alchemie: Eine Legende," *Der Islam* 55 (1978), pp. 181-218. Mention of Byzantine Greek (as opposed to ancient Greek) texts translated into Arabic is also made by the 10th-century historian al-Mas'ūdī, without, however, specifying what kind of works were translated; for references, see Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, p. 30.

The military importance of dream interpretation is acknowledged in at least one Byzantine military manual of the tenth century, "Ὅσα δεῖ γίνεσθαι τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὑψηλοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων μέλλοντος φοσσατεῦσαι (What Should Be Observed When the Great and High Emperor of the Romans Goes on Campaign), written during the reign of Constantine VII (945-59) on the basis of a lost work by Leo Katakylas, a high-ranking official under Leo VI, Constantine's father.¹²¹ It details the logistics of an imperial campaign in Anatolia and includes a list of books that the emperor should take with him:

βιβλία· ἡ ἀκολουθία τῆς ἐκκλησίας, βιβλία στρατηγικά, βιβλία μηχανικά, ἐλεπόλεις ἔχοντα, καὶ βελοποιϊκά καὶ ἕτερα ἀρμόδια τῇ ὑποθέσει, ἡγουν πρὸς πολέμους καὶ καστρομαχίας· βιβλία ἱστορικά, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὸν Πολύαινον καὶ τὸν Συριανὸν· βιβλίον τὸν ὄνειροκρίτην.¹²² βιβλίον συναντηματικόν· βιβλίον

¹²¹ Published as "Appendix ad librum I" in *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. Reiske, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1829), pp. 444-508; new ed. J. Haldon, *Three Treatises on Expeditions*, text (C), pp. 94-151; hereafter cited as "treatise *On Imperial Expeditions*." On the authorship, date and sources of this text, see Haldon's detailed introduction to the edition, as well as the *ODB*, s.v. "De ceremoniis."

¹²² Both commentators of the text, Reiske (p. 523) and Haldon (p. 211, n. C 199), believe that this dreambook is by Artemidoros. However, the dreambook of Artemidoros is always called βιβλία ὄνειροκριτικά, both in the manuscripts where it survives and in references to it that can be identified in other works. Moreover, no ancient dreambook that we know of is called *Oneirokritēs*. My information on the title of Artemidoros is based on Rigault's edition of 1603, which repeats the editio princeps without changes, as well as on the apparatus of the two critical editions, by R. Hercher (Leipzig, 1864) and Pack (1963), and on the descriptions of Artemidoros's manuscripts published in the relevant catalogues. For a complete inventory of the manuscripts of Artemidoros and references to the relevant library catalogues, see the introduction to Pack's edition. All references to Artemidoros in ancient and medieval literature have been collected by Pack, p. xxiv. All references to ancient dream interpretation in ancient and Byzantine authors were collected by del Corno, *Graecorum de re onirocritica*. The dreambooks recorded there are the following (the numbers in parenthesis refer to pages in del Corno): τέχνη ὄνειροκριτική and ὑποθήκαι θεωρημάτων (24, 32-59), περὶ ὀνείρων (25, 34, 61), περὶ κρίσεως ὀνείρων (45), περὶ τῶν ὀνειράτων καὶ τῶν σημείων δι' ὧν ὁ Σεουήρος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἤλπισε (51), περὶ μαντικῆς (53, 83, 84, 162, 165, 167), φυσικὸς λόγος (53, 84), περὶ χρησμῶν (57, 164), περὶ ψυχῆς (58, 161), ὄνειροκριτικά (66), περὶ ἐνυπνίων (67, 153), περὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἐνυπνίων (68, 148), περὶ τῆς καθ' ὕπνον μαντικῆς (148), βιβλίοι "Ὁρου καὶ Ἰσιδος (151), περὶ τεράτων καὶ σημείων (152), περὶ χρηστηρίων (164). Eustathios of Thessaloniki (12th century) in his commentary to the *Iliad* (A, 63) writes of the ancient dreambooks: καὶ εἰσιν ἔγγραφοί τινες τέχνηαι ὄνειροκριτικάι, ὥσπερ ἦσαν καὶ οἰωνιστικάι καὶ θυτικάι καὶ ἕτεραι (There exist some written dreambooks [*technai oneirokritikai*] as there used to be books on the interpretation of the flight of birds and the portents of sacrifices); see Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*

τὸ περιέχον περὶ εὐδείας καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ ζάλης, ὑετοῦ τε καὶ ἀστραπῶν καὶ βροντῶν καὶ ἀνέμων ἐπιφορᾶς· πρὸς τούτοις βροντολόγιον καὶ σεισμολόγιον, καὶ ἕτερα, ὅσα παρατηροῦνται οἱ πλευστικοί. ἰστέον δὲ, ὅτι τοιοῦτον βιβλίον ἐφιλοπονήθη καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν βιβλίων ἡρανίσθη παρ' ἐμοῦ Κωνσταντίνου ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεῖ αἰωνίῳ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων.¹²³

Books: the liturgy of the Church, military manuals, books on mechanics, including siege machinery and the production of missiles and other information relevant to the enterprise, that is to say, to wars and sieges; historical books, especially those of Polyaeos and Syrianos;¹²⁴ an oneirocritical book; a book of chances and occurrences; a book dealing with good and bad weather and storms, rain and lightning and thunder and the vehemence of winds; and, in addition to these, a treatise on thunder and a treatise on earthquakes, and other books, such as those to which sailors are wont to refer. Note that such a book was researched and compiled from many books for myself, Constantine, emperor of the Romans in Christ the eternal King.¹²⁵

A further comment on the military importance of dreams can be found in yet another military manual of the tenth century, the *Constitutiones Tacticae* by

pertinentes, ed. M. van der Valk, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1971), p. 78. Greek manuscripts apply the title *Oneirokritēs* only to Byzantine dreambooks: ὄνειροκρίτης κατὰ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου [sic] from *Paris. gr.* 2419; ὄνειροκρίτης ὁ μέγας by Blasios the Athenian from *Athen. Bibl. Nat.* 1350; ὄνειροκρίτης κατὰ τὴν σελήνην from *Vat. gr.* 342; ὄνειροκρίτης τοῦ κάθε ψηφίου τοῦ κατὰ ἀλφαβήτου from *Athen. Bibl. Nat.* 1275 and ἕτερος ὄνειροκρίτης τῆς σελήνης from the 19th-century *Athen. Bibl. Nat.* 1350. *Oneirokritēs* is likely to have been the original title of the *Oneirocriticon*, as is suggested by part of its manuscript tradition. The *Oneirocriticon* is by far the longest and most comprehensive among the surviving Byzantine dreambooks, as it covers 241 printed pages (compared with approximately 20-30 printed pages for the other surviving dreambooks) and, when not excerpted, it usually occupies a whole volume in the manuscripts. The only extant Greek dreambook of comparable length is Artemidoros. It is therefore conceivable that the dreambook mentioned in the *Treatise on Imperial Expeditions* is none other than our *Oneirocriticon*. Of course, the title *Oneirokritēs* is generic, as it is not impossible that a second dreambook of substantial length by this title circulated in Byzantium, but if it did, no information about it has survived.

¹²³ Constantine VII (attributed to), *De cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, vol. 1, p. 467; new edition by Haldon, ed. and trans., *Three Treatises on Expeditions*, p. 106.

¹²⁴ Both Polyaeos and Syrianos wrote treatises on warfare. Their characterization as "historical books" is due to the fact that both manuals included illustrations drawn from older historical works, such as Herodotos and Thucydides; see Haldon, ed. and trans., *Three Treatises on Expeditions*, p. 210, n. (C) 199. Quoted from the translation by Haldon, *ibid.*, p. 107.

¹²⁵ Quoted from the translation by Haldon, *ibid.*, p. 107.

Leo VI, who addresses the following admonitions to his generals.¹²⁶

Βέβαιον μὲν οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ τῶν ὀνείρων· πλάττεσθαι δὲ καὶ πείθειν τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὥστε πιστεύειν τοὺς σοὺς ὀνείρους νίκην ἐπαγγελομένους, ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα πολέμου χρήσιμόν ἐστιν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον. Δόξαντες γὰρ ὡς ἀπὸ Θεοῦ χρήσιμον τὸν παρὰ σοῦ ἀφηγούμενον ὄνειρον, θαρσαλέως καὶ ἀνεπιστρόφως κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιχειρήσουσι, καὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ τὴν ἀνδρείαν διπλασιάσουσιν.

Nothing about dreams seems reliable to me. But, in time of war, it is useful and even necessary to fabricate <them> and to persuade the soldiers to believe your dreams that promise victory. For, thinking that the dream that you narrate is a portent from God, they will attack the enemy courageously and steadily, and their bravery will be doubled by their eagerness.

Practical considerations may have initiated the enthusiasm for translations from Arabic into Greek, but genuine intellectual curiosity must have both sustained it and broadened the scope of the Arabic sources chosen for translation. Given that a number of the translated texts pertain to the occult sciences and

¹²⁶ Leo VI, *Constitutiones Tacticae* (PG 107, col. 1061A). See also ch. 1, n. 237. Towards the end of his treatise Leo enumerates the fields of human knowledge that are important for waging war (Epilogus, PG 107, col. 1088B): νῦν Συνεργοῦσι δὲ τῇ φύσει τοῦ πολέμου αὐταὶ αἱ τέχναι, οἷον ὀπλιτική, λογιστική, ἀρχιτεκτονική, ἀστρονομική, ἱερατική, ἰατρική (The following arts contribute to the nature of war: the art of using heavy arms, practical arithmetic, architecture, astronomy, priesthood and medicine). Works on at least two of the above arts, astronomy and medicine, are known to have been translated from Arabic into Greek as early as the 10th century. Further on, Leo explains the role of each one of these arts. His treatment of astronomy-astrology deserves some attention, as it focuses not only on the practical but also on the occult aspects of reading the stars (Epilogus, PG 107, 1089B-C): ξ᾽ Τῆς δὲ ἀστρονομίας εἰσὶν, τοὺς καιροὺς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ προλέγειν, ἐν οἷς χειμῶνων καὶ καυμάτων μεταβολαὶ γίνονται, ἢ ὑδάτων ὀμβρίων μεταφοραὶ, ἢ πνευμάτων ἐξαισίων κινήσεις, ἐξ ὧν στρατεύματα πολλάκις εἰς μεγίστους κινδύνους ἐνέπεσον. ὥρας τῶν ἐπιθέσεων καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀναπαύσεις, ἐν αἷς ἀστοχοῦντες πολλάκις ἄχρηστον τὴν δυνάμιν τινες ἀπεργάζονται. Περί τε σεισμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σημείων τὰ μέλλοντα δηλοποιεῖν, ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τὰς ἐπιφανείας ἐντέχνως μεταρρυθμίζειν [sic]. Πάντα ταῦτα τῆς ἀστρολογίας εἰσὶν (The role of astronomy is to predict the seasons of the year during which changes in cold and hot weather occur, or alterations in rainfall or extraordinary motions of winds, because of which armies have frequently fallen into the gravest danger. It is also to divide day time and night time accurately in order [to determine] periods of attack and periods of rest. Some [generals] who fail [to do that] frequently render their forces useless. In addition, its role is to reveal the future through earthquakes and other portents, or even artfully to adapt [the interpretation] of these phenomena according to what is advantageous. All of the above belong to the realm of astrology).

that the Orient seems to have been stereotyped in the Byzantine mind as the cradle of apocryphal wisdom,¹²⁷ a possible Byzantine demand for Arabic knowledge on such topics may also have played its part, if not in the preparation of these translations, at least in their being copied and excerpted in later manuscripts.

The *Oneirocriticon* is only one small part of the intellectual exchanges between the Byzantines and the Arabs that took place in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries, in spite, or rather because, of their military and political confrontation. The source material that survives can help modern scholarship to document these exchanges, but research in this direction has barely begun.¹²⁸ Obtaining a comprehensive picture of mutual influences between the Byzantine and the Islamic civilizations will require the effort of many individuals over many years; their findings will help us write a new chapter in the history of world civilization.

¹²⁷ Cf. the remarks on the ethnic origin of the astrologers, diviners, and sorcerers in the Byzantine empire in Ph. Koukoules, *Byzantinōn bios kai politismos*, Vol. 1:2, pp. 136-39.

¹²⁸ The lack of reliable and comprehensive philological tools is acutely felt in Arabic studies. The dearth of critical editions renders recourse to the manuscripts themselves obligatory. The extensive holdings of libraries in the Middle East have not yet been properly catalogued, and the catalogues that do exist sometimes provide very poor or incorrect information. For an overview of the quantity and quality of the available catalogues of Arabic manuscripts, see R. S. Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*, rev. ed. (Princeton, N. J., 1991), pp. 36-40. Especially on the problems of philological and other scholarly preparation regarding the study of Arabic astronomy, but also the rich promises for important future discoveries that the field holds, see G. Saliba, "Writing the History of Arabic Astronomy: Problems and Differing Perspectives," *JAOS* 116:4 (1996), pp. 709-18; and idem, *A History of Arabic Astronomy: Planetary Theories during the Golden Age of Islam* (New York, 1994), pp. 1-47. In addition, the difficulty of obtaining microfilms from, or even gaining access to, the manuscript collections of several eastern European and Middle Eastern libraries forces scholars to base their inquiries mainly on the holdings in western European and American collections. This situation warrants the hope that currently unknown texts relevant to the history of Arabic and Byzantine science will surface in the future.

APPENDIX 1: THE VARIANTS OF *PARIS. SUPPL. GR. 690* IN ARABIC SOURCES¹

The following passages demonstrate the relationship between the Paris abridgment and the other (Greek, Latin, and Arabic) branches of the tradition of the *Oneirocriticon*. They indicate that the variants found in the Paris abridgment that are absent from Drexl's text should not be attributed to the intervention of the epitomist. They were present in the extended version of the *Oneirocriticon* from which the abridgment was made and ultimately originated in the Arabic sources of the Byzantine dreambook, as is evident from similar interpretations found in extant Arabic dreambooks.

The first indication that the epitomist closely followed the structure and interpretations found in his model is the placement of a paragraph on the theory of dream interpretation at the very beginning of the Paris abridgment. Chapters with analogous content are found both at the very beginning and at the very end of the *Oneirocriticon* in Drexl's edition of the text. The fact that in *Leidens. Voss.* 49, *Pascalis Romanus*, and in most Arabic dream books, the theory of dream interpretation is found only at the beginning of the work supports the conclusion that it was at the beginning in the epitomist's model. In *Paris. gr.* 2419, the theory of dream interpretation is also at the beginning of the work, but because it contains the phrase "as we have mentioned earlier" (καθώς προείπομεν), this placement may not reflect the Greek archetype, but may have resulted from the rearrangement of chapters that is otherwise evident in that manuscript.

¹ As collected by Gigli, "Gli onirocritici del cod. *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690*," *Prometheus* 4 (1981), pp. 83-85; the references to the editions of texts are as follows: Nikephoros, ed. Drexl = F. Drexl, "Das Traumbuch des Patriarchen Nikephoros," *Festgabe für Albert Ehrhard* (Bonn-Leipzig, 1922), pp. 94-118; Nikephoros, ed. Guidorizzi = G. Guidorizzi, *Pseudo-Nicephoro: Libro dei sogni* (Naples, 1980); Germanos = F. Drexl, "Das Traumbuch des Patriarchen Germanos," *Laographia* 7 (1923) pp. 428-48; *Pascalis Romanus* = Collin-Roset "Le Liber Thesauri Occulti"; Berriot = F. Berriot, *Exposicions et significacions des songes*.

*Interpretations Extant only in Paris. Suppl. Gr. 690**Pearls and Black Clothes**Paris. Suppl. gr. 690, fol. 125r, col. 1:*

τὸ γὰρ μέλαν ἱμάτιον εἰ καὶ θλίψεως δηλωτικὸν ἐκρίθη, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς συνήθως ἔχουσι τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἐνδύματος, ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ μαργαρίται καὶ οἱ λίθοι, εἰ καὶ εἰς σοφίαν καὶ θεογνωσίαν ἐκρίθησαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς κεχρημένοις αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἔθους, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς πένησι καὶ τοῖς ιδιώταις. τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν ταῖς κρίσεσι τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐδηλώθη.

Though a black garment was interpreted as indicative of sorrow, <such an interpretation> does not <apply> to those who usually wear such clothing. Likewise, though pearls and gems were interpreted as wisdom and knowledge of God, this applies to those who use them habitually, not to the poor and common people. The same things have been indicated in the <part of this work that contains> dream interpretations.

This passage is inserted in the abridgment in a place that corresponds to Drexl 240, 21-22; black clothes are discussed in Drexl 167, 24-168, 12; pearls are discussed in Drexl 200, 23-203, 25 and 210, 25-211, 9 (as this last passage appears with minor modifications in *Vat. gr. 573*, fols. 199v-200r, I will quote it from there). The phrase τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν ταῖς κρίσεσι τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐδηλώθη (the same things have been indicated in the <part of this work that contains> dream interpretations), which corresponds to the contents of the entry on gems in the extended version but not in the abridgment, was probably copied from the extended version unchanged, without checking to see that it corresponded to the contents of the abridgment.

Cf. *Pascalius Romanus II*, 1; Collin-Roset, "*Le Liber Thesauri Occulti*," 165, 22-166, 2:

Si vestimenta nigra angustiam et tribulationem significant, tamen non talia significabunt monacho vel qui utitur eis. Similiter gemme ac margarite quamvis sapientiam et Dei cognitionem presignent nobili vel sapienti aut illas gestanti, verumptamen rustico, pauperi aut idiote non illa significabunt; cuius enim precii erit margarita inter porcos (Matt. 7:6)? Nullius.

Though black garments signify straits and tribulation, they do not signify the same for a monk or someone who uses them <regularly>. Likewise for a gem and a pearl. Though for a nobleman or a wise man or someone who wears them <regularly> they indicate wisdom and knowledge of God, for a peasant, a poor

man or a commoner they do not signify the same thing. For what value could a pearl have among swine (Matt. 7:6)? None.

Cf. *Paris. Suppl. gr. 690*, fol. 122r, col. 2:

ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΙ ΤΙΜΙΟΙ ΛΙΘΟΙ· Οἱ μαργαρίται καὶ οἱ τίμιοι λίθοι εἰς θείους λόγους καὶ σοφίαν καὶ θεογνωσίαν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ διακρίνονται. τινὲς δὲ δάκρυα καὶ κλαυθμὸν εἶπον, ἢ φόβον ἀπὸ ἐξουσίας.

PEARLS, GEMS: Pearls and precious gems are most of the times interpreted as divine words, wisdom and knowledge of God. Some said <that they signify> tears and wailing, or fear of authority.

Cf. *Vat. gr. 573*, fol. 199v-200r:

εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ <ὁ βασιλεὺς> ὅτι ἤνεγκαν αὐτῷ λίθους καὶ μαργαρίτας, ἀναλόγως τοῦ πλήθους, χαρὰν δέξεται. ἄλλος ἐὰν ἴδῃ ταῦτα ὅτι εὐπόρησεν, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον ἀνάλογον καὶ δόξαν. καὶ θάνατον ἀπὸ βασιλείας. Ταῦτα γάρ, βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἀρμόζει.

If <the emperor> dreams that he was brought gems and pearls, he will receive joy commensurate to their number. If someone else dreams that he received such things, he will find commensurate wealth and glory and death from the emperor, for such things are appropriate for the emperor alone.

Cf. *Vat. gr. 573*, fol. 202v:

οἱ μάργαροι γάρ, εἰς σοφίαν καὶ χαρὰν προεκρίθησαν, ἀναλόγως τοῦ μεγέθους. εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ τις ὅτι εὗρε μικροὺς μαργάρους πλείστους, εὐρήσει χαρὰν καὶ σοφίαν ἐλάττονα. πολλάκις δὲ ταῦτα πάντα, εἰς φόβον ἀπὸ ἐξουσίας κρίνονται. ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἡμφίασεν ... εἰ δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ [ἐστὶ], εὐρήσει φόβον καὶ τρόμον ἀπὸ ἐξουσίας. Τοῦτο γάρ βασιλεῦσιν καὶ ἐξουσιάρχαις ἀρμόδιον.

Pearls were previously interpreted as wisdom and joy commensurate to their size. If someone dreams that he found several small pearls, he will find moderate joy and wisdom. All such things are frequently interpreted as *fear of authority*. If someone dreams that he wore any of them ... if he is a commoner, he will find fear and terror from the authorities. For such a thing is appropriate <only> for emperors and people in a position of authority.

Outcome of a Dream in Twenty Units of Time

Paris. Suppl. gr. 690, fol. 125r, col. 1:

ἀπὸ πρώτης ὥρας νυκτερινῆς ἕως τρίτης, εἰκοσαετὴς ἐστὶν ἡ ἔκβασις ἢ γὰρ εἰκοσαετὴς ἐστὶν ἡ κρίσις ἢ εἴκοσι μηνῶν ἢ εἴκοσι ἐβδομάδων ἢ εἴκοσι ἡμερῶν ἢ εἴκοσι ὥρων.

<If a dream was dreamt> between the first and the third hour of the night, its outcome will come in twenty years or its interpretation <will be fulfilled> in twenty years or in twenty months or in twenty weeks or in twenty days or in twenty hours.

In the extended version the passage reads (Drexl 241, 2-3):

ἀπὸ πρώτης γὰρ ὥρας τῆς νυκτὸς ἕως τρίτης κρίνεται μέχρι εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους ἢ ἔκβασις.

From the first until the third hour of the night the outcome <of a dream> is interpreted as <taking> up to twenty years <to be fulfilled>.

The Greek model of the *Liber Thesauri Occulti* included this phrase of the Paris abridgment. Cf. Pascalis Romanus II:1; Collin-Roset, "Le *Liber Thesauri Occulti*," p. 167, ll. 1-2:

Sompnium a prima hora noctis usque ad ejusdem terciam visum in .XX. annis vel mensibus seu ebdomadibus vel diebus aut horis .XX. terminabitur.²

A dream dreamt between the first and third hour of the night will be fulfilled in twenty years or twenty months or weeks or days or twenty hours.

Change of Religion

Paris. Suppl. gr. 690, fol. 125r:

² The same addition occurs in the Anglo-Norman version from the end of the 13th century (Berlin Q. 968): Si devez savoir qe le songe qe avient al commencement del nuyt jeques a la terce heure doit avenir al plus tard en .XX. aunz ou en .XX. mois ou en .XX. semaines ou en .XX. jors. (Berriot, *Exposicions et significacions des songes*, p. 301). Apparently this version used Pascalis Romanus as a source. The addition does not occur in Leo Tuscus (at least not in the text contained in Digby 103).

ΕΝΑΛΛΑΓΗ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ· ἡ τῆς πίστεως ἐναλλαγή μετατροπὴν καὶ κακοθήειαν τῶν τρόπων σημαίνει.

CHANGE OF RELIGION: Changing one's faith indicates the transformation and vileness of <the dreamer's> manners.

Cf. Drexl 8, 1 ff.; Gigli notes that the first general statement is absent from the other Greek manuscripts, but it may well have existed in the archetype in order to serve as an introduction to particular cases.

Cf. Ibn Shāhīn, no.1070:

من رأى أنه تحول عن الاسلام إلى احد الاديان الباطلة فإنه ارتكاب معاص وقيل ذلة وحقارة.

If someone sees that he changed his religion from Islam into one of the false religions, indeed this is perpetration of sins (معاص) and it is said <that it means> depravity and vileness (κακοθήειαν).

Icons

Paris. Suppl. gr. 690, fol. 126v, col. 2: εἰ μὴ ὁ τοῦτο εἰδῶς ἐπίσταται ζωγραφικὴν (<Icons in gold mean sorrow>, unless the dreamer is a painter); cf. Drexl 106, 24-27.

Pumpkin and Melon

Paris. Suppl. gr. 690, fol. 127r, col. 1:

<ΚΟΛΟΚΥΝΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΠΩΝ> ὥστε τὰ μὲν εὐθαλῇ τούτων εὐθύτητα γνώμης σημαίνει. τὰ δὲ ἀσθενῇ καὶ ροώδῃ καὶ μεμαραμμένα τούναντίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τούτων κρίσις ἄλλως ἐν ἔαρι καὶ ἄλλως ἐν φθινοπώρῳ νοεῖται.

<PUMPKIN AND MELON> > those that are thriving indicate straightness of thought. The feeble, overripe and withered ones <indicate> the opposite, but even their interpretation is meant <to be> different in the spring and different in the fall.

For the influence of spring and fall on the truthfulness of dreams, cf. also Drexl 240, 24-25. This interpretation is missing from the chapter on pumpkins and melons in the extended version (Drexl 158, 2-3), but it corresponds almost verbatim to another passage of the extended version, the interpretation of the leaves on trees (Drexl 107, 6-10): τὰ γὰρ εὐθαλῇ καὶ εὐτραφῇ εὐθύτητα

γνώμης διασημαίνουσιν, τὰ δὲ ἀσθενῇ καὶ ῥοώδῃ καὶ μεμαραμμένα γνώμης διακρίνουσιν ἀσθενεῖς τρόπους (The thriving and well-nourished ones indicate straightness of thought, while the feeble, overripe and withered ones point to a feeble manner of thought).

Rain

Paris. Suppl. gr. 690, fol. 127r (cf. Drexl 133, 4 ff.): πολλὰκις δὲ καὶ εἰς δακρύων κρίσιν, εἰ ἄρα ἐστὶ παραχώδης (<Rain> is frequently interpreted as tears, if it happens to be tempestuous).

I could not find an interpretation of rain as tears (مطر=دموع) in the Arabic dreambooks, though torrential rain is interpreted as sorrow and distress (i.e., cause for tears), e.g., in Ibn Shāhīn, nos. 257-59:

(٢٥٧) ... وان نزل المطر شديدا مثل الطوفان يلحق اهل ذلك المكان غم عظيم.
(٢٥٨) وإن رأى مريض أن ... مطرا شديدا كدرا نزل على تواتر يهلك في ذلك المرض. (٢٥٩) وقال ابن سيرين: من رأى مطرا شديدا كدرا نزل على تواتر في وقته على دوام يلحق باهل ذلك المكان عسكر وداء وبلاء.

(257) ... If the rain is falling heavily, like a flood, great distress will overtake the people of that place. (258) If a sick person dreams ... that a heavy and turbid rain is falling incessantly he will perish from his sickness. (259) Ibn Sīrīn says: Whoever sees that a heavy and turbid rain is falling incessantly throughout the rainy season <it means that> an army, a disease or tribulation will overtake the people of that place.

Likewise Drexl 134, 3-5: ὅπου ἂν βρέχη, ἢ καθαρὰ βροχή εἰς ἀγαθὸν παντὸς προσώπου κρίνεται, ἢ δὲ ἐνθολος εἰς ἐναντίον (Wherever it is raining, clear rain is interpreted as a good thing for every person, while turbid rain <is interpreted> as the opposite).

Baths

Paris. Suppl. gr. 690, fol. 127v: τὸ δὲ εὐκρατον οὐ φαῦλον ἀλλὰ καθάρσεως δηλωτικόν (A tempered <bath> is not bad; rather, it indicates purification).

A similar interpretation in different words in Drexl 143, 25-27: εἰ δὲ ἐλούσατο μεθ' ὕδατος μὴ ὄντος λίαν ψυχροῦ καὶ ἀπελούθη, ἀποβαλεῖ

θλίψιν³ (If he bathes in water that was not very cold and was washed clean, he will thrust out a sorrow).

Bees

Par. Suppl. gr. 690, 128v, col. 2: αἱ μέλισσαι αἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ κυψελίῳ πλοῦτον δηλοῦσι (Bees in their own beehive indicate wealth).

Artem. gr. ii.22, Pack 139, 3-14, gives other interpretations of bees. Cf. Ibn Shāhīn, no. 6472: من رأى ان النحل لدغته فانه يؤول بحصول مال حلال (If someone dreams that the bees are in the beehive, it is interpreted as lawful money <acquired> through labor).

Interpretations in *Paris. Suppl. Gr. 690* and *Nikephoros*

Pearls

Gigli observes that pearls are interpreted as tears in Nikephoros, ed. Drexl 184 (ed. Guidorizzi 68) and Germanos 138: μαργαρίται δηλοῦσι δακρύων ροήν (pearls indicate the flowing of tears). Pearls also represent tears in Islamic dream interpretation. The interpretation of pearls as φόβον ἀπὸ ἐξουσίας (fear of authority) is found in *Vat. gr.* 573, fol. 202v. Cf. also al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 198 (s.v. لؤلؤ): وربما دلت رؤيته على الدموع الجارية من العين لأنهم: (لؤلؤ) (And perhaps his dream <of pearls> signifies the tears that flow from the eyes, because tears are like pearls).

Fleas and Lice

Paris. Suppl. gr. 690, fol. 129r, col. 1: Αἱ ψύλλαι εἰς ἐχθροὺς πτωχοὺς κρίνονται. Ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ ὀλίγοι φθειρες. Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ πλοῦτον

³ Contradicted, though, by an interpretation immediately preceding it (Drexl 143, 24-25): εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐλούσατο χλιαρῷ ὕδατι ἐν λουτρῷ, εὐρήσει θλίψιν ἐλάσσονα καὶ μέτριον (If he sees, that he bathed with lukewarm water in a bath, he will find minor and moderate sorrow).

δηλοῦσι (Fleas are interpreted as poor enemies. A few lice <are interpreted> likewise, while many <lice> indicate wealth).

For fleas, cf. Nikephoros, ed. Drexl 343: Ψύλλας θεωρῶν δυσμενεῖς ἔσῃ βλέπων (If you dream of fleas you will see enemies). Cf. also Nikephoros, ed. Guidorizzi, Appendix I, 80: Ψύλλας θεωρῶν δυσμενεῖς ὁρᾶν δόκει (If you dream of fleas, know that you will see enemies).

For lice, cf. Nikephoros, ed. Drexl 324-26 (ed. Guidorizzi, Appendix II, 114-15): Φθεῖρας ὁ κρατῶν καιρὸν ἀργὸν ἀνύει (The one who has lice is not occupied <with anything>); Φθεῖρας συνάγων κέρδος ἔξεις οὐ μέγα (If you collect lice you will have a small profit); Φθεῖρας φέρειν [sic] φθόνον φέροις τοῖς πλουσίοις (If you have lice you are envious of the rich). Cf. also Nikephoros, ed. Guidorizzi 63: Φθεῖρας φέρειν συνοῦσι δηλοῖ τὸν δόλον (Having lice indicates treachery against one's acquaintances).

The distinction between a few and many lice exists in *Artem. gr.* iii, 7; Pack 207, 8 ff., but the interpretations given there are different from the ones in *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690. Cf. Ibn Shāhin, nos. 6481 and 6487: (٦٤٨١) واما القمل (٦٤٨٧) ... قال ابن سيرين رؤيا البراغيث أعداء فإنه يؤول بالمال ... (٦٤٨٧) ... قال ابن سيرين رؤيا البراغيث أعداء (6481). As for lice, they are interpreted as money ... 6487. ... Ibn Sirin says: "The dream of fleas <signifies> weak enemies").

Interpretations in Paris. Suppl. Gr. 690 and Artemidoros

Salt

Paris. Suppl. gr. 690, fol. 129r, col. 1: ΑΛΑΣ· Τὸ δὲ ἄλας καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς πλοῦτον ἡδὺν ἐκρίθη (SALT: Salt is also interpreted as pleasant wealth). The same entry is repeated verbatim in *Vat. gr.* 573, fol. 213r. Cf. al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, p. 260, s.v. ملح: (Salt: this in a dream means money without labor).

The interpretation of salt is a good example of the transformation that a dream interpretation can undergo in its rendering from Greek into Arabic and back into Greek. In this case the interpretation in Greek is the opposite of the interpretation in Arabic. In *Artem. gr.* i.71, Pack 78, 1-5:

Τάριχοι δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀλιστὰ κρέα [καὶ ἰχθύες] ἐν μὲν τοῖς προκειμένοις παρολκὰς καὶ ἀναβολὰς σημαίνει· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἁλῶν ἐπὶ πολὺν τηρεῖται· ἐν δὲ

τοῖς ἄλλοις τηκεδόνα καὶ λύπην. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ νόσον σημαίνει διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁλῶν τετῆχθαι.

All pickled and salted meats [and fish] mean delays and postponements in one's present affairs, for salt is used to preserve meats for a long time. But, in other connections, it signifies wasting away and grief. Frequently it also means sickness because meats are consumed by salt.

However, in the corresponding Arabic passage, *Artem. ar.*, Fahd 143, 10 ff., we read:

الباب الحادي والستون في السمك المالح: متى رأى الانسان كانه ياكل سمكا مالحا فانه يدل على خير ومنفعة تكون له في ذلك الوقت من معارفه، وذلك ان الملح سبب بقاء السمك. فاما بين سائر الناس فهو يدل على حزن ويدل اكثر ذلك على المرض، وذلك انه يقهره غيره كما ان السمك المالح كبس في الملح.

Chapter sixty-one on salted fish: When a man dreams that he is eating a salted fish, this indicates goodness and benefit that he will have at this time because of his acquaintances [or: because of his knowledge]; this is because salt is the reason for the preservation of the fish. However, among the rest of the people this signifies sorrow. Most such <dreams> indicate sickness, because <sickness> subdues <man> and changes him, like the salted fish which is preserved in salt.

The Arabic translation is inaccurate in several places. It mistranslates παρολκὰς καὶ ἀναβολὰς (delays and postponements) as خير ومنفعة (goodness and benefit). The first, خير (goodness), is clearly derived from the omission of the first two letters in the word تاخير (delay). It is more difficult to account for منفعة (benefit). It was probably a gloss for خير which was finally incorporated into the main text. The scribal error of omitting τ and incorporating a gloss into the main text, which must have occurred very early on in the manuscript tradition of the Arabic translation, most probably accounts for the positive interpretation that salt can have in Arabic dream interpretation, since the significance of salt is very negative in *Artem. gr.* and can be negative in the Arabic tradition as well.

Cf. also *Artem. gr.* i.77, Pack 85, 20-22:

οἱ δὲ τῶν ἁλῶν ἢ τοῦ θείου [στεφάνου] βαρηθῆναι πρὸς τινῶν ὑπερεχόντων τὸν ἰδόντα σημαίνουσιν· εἰσὶ γὰρ φύσει βαρεῖς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντες τερπνόν.

Garlands of salt or sulphur indicate that the dreamer will feel the pressure of

certain superiors. For these substances are strong-smelling and unpleasant by nature.

The corresponding Arabic passage, *Artem. ar.*, Fahd 158, 16–159, 2, is:

واما اكلة الملح والكبريت فانها تدل على ان صاحب الرؤيا يحمل ثقلا ومؤونة
من هو ارفع درجة منه، وذلك ان هذه الاشياء هي ثقيلة بالطبع و«ليس» فيها
لذة.

As for a wreath of salt or sulphur, it indicates that the dreamer will lift the weight and burden from someone on a higher grade than he, because these things are heavy by nature and there is nothing pleasing about them.

The interpretations of salt in *Artem. gr.* are all negative, but a scribal error made half of them positive in the Arabic translation. The *Oneirocriticon* in Drexl's edition has no entry at all on salt. *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690 has a brief entry, which disagrees with *Artem. gr.*, but corresponds perfectly to interpretations of salt found in Arabic dream interpretation. Cf. e.g., Ibn Shāhīn, nos. 6541–6541 bis:

(٦٥٤١) واما الملح فإنه يؤول بالمال قال الكرمانى من رأى أنه اشترى ملحاً او
وهب له فإنه يؤول بدراهم، وإن كان مريضاً شفاه الله تعالى لما جاء فيه إنه
شفاء من اثنين وسبعين داء، وقيل رؤيا الملح تؤول على خمسة اوجه إعراب
وحسن واستقامة وأمر جلى وصحة الجار. (٦٥٤١م) قال جعفر الصادق رؤيا
الملح الأبيض على خمسة اوجه دراهم وحياء وفعل خير ومال كثير وخادم
حسن، الملح المر يؤول على خمسة اوجه دراهم مردودة وكلام سىء وحزن وغم
وعدم حركة.

(6541) As for salt, it is interpreted as money. Al-Kirmani says: "Whoever sees that he bought salt, or that salt was given to him, it is interpreted as dirhams. And if he is sick, God Almighty will restore him to health, since it is reported that it is the cure for seventy-two diseases. And it is said that dreaming of salt is interpreted in five ways: a pronouncement, beauty, righteousness, an evident affair and the veracity of one's neighbor. (6541 bis) Ja'far al-Šādiq said: the dream of white salt is interpreted in five ways: dirhams, shame, a good deed, lots of money, and a handsome servant. Bitter salt [?] is interpreted as five things: returned dirhams, a straight word, grief, sorrow and lack of movement.

Mud

Paris. Suppl. gr. 690, fol. 127r: ὁ πηλὸς μέριμνα καὶ θλίψιν ἢ νόσον δηλοῖ (Mud indicates concerns and sorrow or sickness).

Drexl 134, 7–8 only has: ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι περιπατεῖ ἐν πηλῷ, εὐρήσει μέριμναν καὶ θλίψιν ἀναλόγως τοῦ πλήθους (If someone sees that he is walking on mud, he will find concerns and sorrow commensurate to the volume <of mud>).

Cf. *Artem. gr.* iii.29, Pack 216, 18: Πηλὸς νόσον σημαίνει καὶ ὕβριν (Mud signifies sickness and lewdness).

Cf. Ibn Shāhīn, nos. 6514 and 6522: (٦٥١٤) ومن رأى انه يمشى في طين او ماء كدر فإنه يدل على حصول هم و غم. (٦٥٢٢) قيل رؤيا الطين تؤول بالمرض. [6514] Whoever dreams that he was walking in mud or in turbid water, it means that sorrow and distress will befall him. [6522] ... It is said that dreaming of mud is interpreted as sickness).

Horses

Paris. Suppl. gr. 690, fol. 127: Ὁ ἵππος ... εἰς τὴν προνοουμένην παρὰ τινος οἰκονομίαν κρίνεται (A horse ... is interpreted as the provisions for one's livelihood).

Gigli compares this with *Artem. gr.* i.56, Pack 64, 18–9: ὁμοῖος δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ δεσπότη [καὶ] ἐργοδότῃ καὶ φίλῳ τρέφοντι καὶ παντὶ τῷ βαστάζοντι (The horse is also like a master who farms out work, a friend who takes care of someone, and every man who carries a burden).

For a better correspondence than Gigli's suggestion, cf. al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 175: فمن رأى عنده في المنام خيلاً فإنه يدل على اتساع رزقه (If someone dreams that he had a horse, it signifies the extensiveness of his means of living).

Lakes

Between rivers (Drexl, pp. 135–37) and the sea (Drexl, pp. 138–39), an entry on lakes is inserted in the Paris abridgment (*Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690, fol. 127r,

col. 2): ΛΙΜΝΑΙ· τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ λίμναι γυναῖκες μεγιστᾶνες σημαίνει (LAKES: Likewise, lakes indicate noble women).

Cf. *Artem. gr.* ii.27, Pack 149, 24 ff.: σύμμετρος δὲ καὶ μικρὰ λίμνη γυναῖκα σημαίνει εὖπορον <καὶ> ἀφροδισίοις χαίρουσαν· δέχεται γὰρ τοὺς εἰσβαίνειν βουλομένους καὶ ἡ λίμνη καὶ οὐκ ἀπείργει (A medium-sized or small lake⁴ signifies a wealthy woman who indulges in sexual pleasures. For the lake also receives those who wish to enter and does not ward them off).

Cf. Nikephoros, ed. Drexl, 177 (ed. Guidorizzi, Appendix II, 65): λέπρα λίμνη [τε] καὶ φρέαρ πορνικὴ ὕβρις (Leprosy, lakes and wells indicate the insolence of prostitutes).

The interpretation of a lake as a rich woman can also be found in Arabic dream interpretation, where it was carried over from Artemidoros. Cf. al-Nābulusī, vol. 1, p. 46, s.v. بحيرة:⁵

والبحيرة الصغيرة تدل على امرأة غنية والبحيرة تدل على امرأة ذات يسار
تحب المباشرة لأن البحيرة واقفة لا تجرى وهي تقتل <تقبل> من وقع فيها ولا
تدفعه والبحيرة امرأة حربية.

A small lake signifies a wealthy woman. A lake signifies a woman who is wealthy and fond of intercourse because a lake stands still and does not run, and receives whoever is inside it and does not repel him. The lake is a belligerent woman.

The expression of *Artem. gr.* γυναῖκα εὖπορον (wealthy woman) is not very close to the phrasing in *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690, γυναῖκες μεγιστᾶνες (noble women). It is more probable that the interpretation in *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690 originated in *Artem. ar.*, from where it passed into subsequent Arabic dream books, and then into the *Oneirocriticon* and its Paris abridgment.

Harbors

After the interpretation of the sea, in *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690 a paragraph is inserted on ports (fol. 127r, col. 2): οἱ δὲ λιμένες φίλους εὐεργέτας δηλοῦσι,

⁴ Artemidoros, *Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. White rendered λίμνη as "marsh"; the rendering "lake" is mine.

⁵ Al-Nābulusī's interpretation repeats almost verbatim *Artem. ar.*, Fahd 270, 6-9. Al-Nābulusī apparently copied al-Dīnawarī; cf. *Esad Effendi* 1833, fol. 166a.

διὸ καὶ τὸ θαλάσσιον ὕδωρ εἰς πλοῦτον ἀπὸ βασιλέως κρίνεται (Ports indicate benefactor friends. For this reason sea water is interpreted as wealth from a king).

Artem. gr. ii.23, Pack 140, 25 ff.: ἀεὶ δὲ λιμένες φίλους καὶ εὐεργέτας σημαίνουνσι (Harbors and all moorings always signify friends and benefactors).

Artem. ar., Fahd, 253, 8-9: وايضا فاني اقول ان المراسي تدل على الاصدقاء والحسنين الينا في افعالهم بنا. (Likewise, I say that ports indicate friends and those who are beneficent to us through their deeds towards us).

The rendering of εὐεργέτας (benefactors) in *Artem. ar.* is periphrastic (those who are beneficent to us through their deeds towards us). The phrasing of *Artem. gr.* is closer to *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690 than it is to *Artem. ar.*

Ants

Paris. Suppl. gr. 690, fol. 129r, col. 1: εἰ [instead of οἱ] δὲ τὰ πτερὰ ἔχοντες εἰς ὄλεθρον καὶ ἀποδημίαν ἐπικίνδυνον (The ones that have wings are interpreted as destruction and a perilous journey).

Artem. gr. iii.6, Pack 206, 20-21: μύρμηκες τοὺς μὲν πτερὰ ἔχοντας οὐδαμῶς ἰδεῖν ἀγαθόν· ὄλεθρον γὰρ προαγορεύουσι καὶ ἀποδημίας ἐπικινδύνους (Seeing winged ants is not at all a propitious sign. For they indicate death and perilous voyages).

Artem. ar., Fahd 373, 7: النمل الطيار في الرؤيا دليل ردي، وذلك انه يدل على موت او سفر مع شدة. (The flying ant in a dream is a sign of destruction, because it indicates death or a journey with hardship).

Cf. Ibn Shāhīn, no. 6452: ومن رأى نملا خرج من بيته وهو يطير في الهواء فإنه يؤول بسفر عياله (If someone sees an ant leaving his house by flying through the air, it is interpreted as a journey for his family).

Cf. al-Nābulusī, vol. 2, pp. 307-8, s.v. نمل: ومن راه يطير من مكان فيه مريض فانه يموت (If someone sees them flying from a place where there is a sick person, the sick man will die).

Artem. gr. is closer to the expression in *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690 than *Artem. ar.* or anything I could find in Arabic dreambooks is. *Artem. gr.* ὄλεθρος is rendered in *Artem. ar.* as موت (θάνατος) and not هلك (ὄλεθος). The Arabic dreambooks sometimes give interpretations to ants that are the opposite of those offered in the *Oneirocriticon* according to Drexl's edition. Though the

examples examined above indicate that the compiler of the Paris abridgment closely followed his model of the *Oneirocriticon*, which differed in several points from Drexl's critical edition of the text, his handling of the interpretations on ports and ants seem to imply that he might also have been familiar with the Greek text of Artemidoros.

APPENDIX 2: INTERPRETATIONS FROM THE *LIBER THESAURI OCCULTI* THAT DO NOT OCCUR IN THE *ONEIROCRITICON* OR ARTEMIDOROS

The following are the eighteen interpretations from the *Liber Thesauri Occulti* that its editor could not match with interpretations found either in the *Oneirocriticon* or in Artemidoros. She suggested therefore that they originated in Arabic sources that had been translated into Byzantine Greek but are now lost. However, a comparison of these eighteen interpretations with the Greek texts of the most recent critical editions of the *Oneirocriticon* and Artemidoros (rather than their Latin translations found in their 1603 combined edition, which the editor of the *Liber Thesauri Occulti* used) turns up four (nos. 1, 2, 8 and 10) that can be matched with excerpts from Drexl's edition of the *Oneirocriticon*, and a fifth (no. 17) that corresponds to a passage in the *Oneirocriticon* which does not occur in Drexl's text but can be found in *Vat. gr.* 573, indicating that the Greek text used by Pascalis Romanus was more extensive than Drexl's text. In addition, nos. 6, 9, 11 and 15 can be matched with passages from Pack's critical edition of Artemidoros. The source of the remaining interpretations that cannot be found either in Artemidoros or the extant versions of the *Oneirocriticon* is probably the Greek text of the *Oneirocriticon* consulted by Pascalis for the composition of the *Liber Thesauri Occulti*. However, in at least two cases (nos. 4 and 7) I cannot exclude the possibility that these interpretations represent Pascalis's understanding of his Greek sources and his effort to render them into clear Latin.

1. Lib. II, 19, p. 183, line 10:

Si portasti mortuum et non ad sepeliendum, pecuniam acquies cum injusticia et rubore; si vero ad sepeliendum, a magno viro invenies gratiam.

If you carry a dead man, though not for a funeral procession, you will acquire money combined with injustice and disgrace; but if <you carry him> for a funeral procession, you will meet with favor from a great man.

Collin-Roset matched the passage with an equivalent from the twelfth-century Arabic dreambook by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Naṣr al-Shirāzī (or al-Shayzarī) in

the 1664 French translation by Pierre Vattier.¹ See, however, Drexl 84, 19-22:

ἐάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι νεκρὸν ἦρεν οὐκ ἐν τύπῳ ἐξοδίου, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον ἀπὸ ἀδικίας μετὰ αἰσχύνῃς· εἰ δὲ ἐν τύπῳ ἐξοδίου, ἀκολουθήσει ἐξουσιάζοντι μεγίστῳ, ὅστιν δουλεύσει, καὶ εὐρήσει χάριν ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

If someone dreams that he carried a dead man, though not in the manner of a funeral procession, he will find wealth through injustice with disgrace; if <he carried him> in the manner of a funeral procession, he will follow a great man of authority whom he will serve and will meet with favor from him.

2. Lib. III, 2, p. 198, l. 11: Eodem modo ruina domus corruptionem alteruter significat (Likewise, the collapse of a house indicates some kind of ruin).

Collin-Roset matched the passage with Vattier, p. 66. See, however, Drexl 101, 22-25:

ἐάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι συνέπεσεν ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων τοῖχος ἢ ἡλιακὸς ἢ ἀψὶς ἢ ἐκλάσθη ξύλον ἢ ἐξηλώθη θύρα ἢ ἐκάη, ταῦτα πάντα κρίνονται εἰς πτώσιν τοῦ οἰκοδεσπότου ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ συγγενῶν.

If someone dreams that a wall or a terrace or an arch of a building collapses, or that a beam broke, or that a door was ripped off or burnt down, all these things are interpreted as the ruin of the homeowner or of his relatives.

3. Lib. II, 3, p. 167, l. 23: Si Deus vel sanctus adoraverit te, gratiam alicujus principis invenies; converso modo e contra (If God or a saint adored you, you will meet with the favor of some nobleman; if <things happened> the other way around, the opposite <will take place>).

4. Lib. II, 9, p. 173, l. 19: Libros intelligere bonum est² (Understanding <the meaning of> books is good).

5. Lib. II, 9, p. 174, l. 3: Scribere et legere in libro vel in tabula sollicitudinem

¹ *L'onirocrite mussulman, ou la doctrine et l'interprétation des songes selon les arabes, par Gabdorrhachaman fils de Nasar. De la traduction de P. Vattier* (Paris, 1664), p. 124.

² This phrase cannot be matched with anything from the *Oneirocriticon* or Artemidoros. In the *Liber Thesauri Occulti* it serves as a general introductory statement before proceeding to particular interpretations that correspond word for word to Drexl 7, 13-20. It is difficult to decide whether this phrase existed in Pascalis Romanus's model of the *Oneirocriticon* or whether it was an addition that he made, prompted by the positive interpretations of dreams about reading a book found in his source.

hujus mundi significat. Albas litteras scribere manifestationem misteriorum significat (Writing and reading in a book or a tablet indicates the anxiety of this world. Writing white letters indicates the revelation of a mystery).

6. Lib. II, 17, p. 181, l. 4: De inferno ascendere omnibus significat bonum et evasionem periculi (Ascending from the underworld indicates something good and escape from danger).

Artem. ii.55; Pack 184, 22-23: τὸ δὲ ἀναβαίνειν ἐξ "Αἰδου διαφυγὴν τινα πορισάμενον ἐξ ἐσχάτου τινὸς κινδύνου σφάζει τὸν ἄρρωστον (If a sick man dreams that he has found some means of escape and has ascended from Hades, it indicates that he will be saved from the utmost danger).

7. Lib. II, 18, p. 181, l. 15: Tamen si injusti et tyranni fuerint ibi, affligentur quidem modicum; verum de illis tyrannis cito sumetur vindicta³ (If unjust and tyrannical people were at that place, indeed they will soon be crushed and revenge will quickly be exacted from those tyrants).

³ The context of this phrase in the *Liber Thesauri Occulti* is the following: "Resurrectio mortuorum in quocumque loco visa fuerit, ibi justicia erit, quoniam injusti punientur et justii salvabuntur, quoniam in resurrectione judex solus Deus erit; ideoque si visa fuerit in loco aliquo, carceris absolutionem, tribulationis liberationem, gratiam regis et habundantiam illi loco significat; significat enim illi loco pacem, reditum peregrinantium, divicias et sanitates et pregnantium mulierum facilem partum. Tamen si injusti et tyranni fuerint ibi, affligentur quidem modicum; verum de illis tyrannis cito sumetur vindicta." The interpretations on the resurrection of the dead that precede this last phrase correspond to Drexl 3, 25-4, 14. It is possible that this phrase existed in the Greek model of the *Oneirocriticon* used by Pascalis Romanus. Cf. in Arabic Ibn Shāhin, no. 193: *ومن رأى أن القيامة قامت وبسط الله العدل بين الناس يدل على أنه إن كان في أهل ذلك المكان مظلومون سلط الله تعالى على الظالمهم الشدة والمضرة...* (If someone dreams that the dead are being resurrected and that God spreads justice among men, it means that if there were oppressed among the people of that place, God Almighty would inflict misfortune and harm to their oppressors). It is also possible that this additional phrase was added by Pascalis Romanus, in order further to analyze "injusti punientur et justii salvabuntur" (ἐάν γὰρ ὥσιν ἄδικοι, τιμωρίαν δώσουσιν, εἰ δὲ ἀδικούμενοι, δικαιωθήσονται ταχέως, Drexl 3, 28-4, 1). Cf. the analytical way that this Greek phrase is rendered in BN *français* 1317, Berriot, *Exposicions et significacions des songes*, p. 57 (this French version of the *Oneirocriticon* was apparently based only on Leo Tuscus's Latin translation): "Celui qui, par un songe, a veu mors resusciter, signifie que, ou leiu ou estoit la vision, sera faite justice: et se aucuns malfaiteurs y sont ou demeurent, ilz seront pugniz; et se ilz ont souffert injure et villenie, ilz, en brief temps, seront justifiez, car en la resurrection sera seul Dieu juge juste...."

8. Lib. II, 19, p. 183, l. 19:

Si quis amplexatus fuerit mortuum vel deosculatus sive locutus aut tetigerit eum, sanus non erit sed longevus erit et *nova etiam audiet insperata et bona*, et quicquid fuerit locutus vera erunt, *sed infirmanti mortem significat*.

If someone has taken hold of or kissed or talked with or touched a dead person, he will not be healthy, though he will live long. *Moreover, he will hear unexpected and good news*, and whatever [the dead man] said will come true. *However, to a sick man [this dream] indicates death*.

Collin-Roset could not find the Greek source for the italicized passages, but matched part of this quotation with Artem. ii.69, Pack 195, 22: ἔτι τῶν ἀξιοπίστων εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ νεκροί, ἐπεὶ πάντως ἀληθῆ λέγουσι (Furthermore, one must consider the dead to be persons worthy of credence, since they speak the truth in every case). The first half of the Latin passage can be matched word for word with an excerpt from the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 84, 22-24): εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι παρέλαβε νεκρὸν ἢ ὠμίλησεν ἢ ἐφίλησεν ἢ ἥψατο αὐτοῦ, μακρόβιος μὲν ἔσται, οὐκ ἄνοσος δὲ (If someone sees that he took hold of or talked with or kissed or touched a dead person, he will live long, but will not be healthy). Conceivably, the second half of the Latin passage also existed in the Greek version of the *Oneirocriticon* used by Pascalis Romanus, though it is missing from Drexl's critical edition.

9. Lib. II, 19, p. 185, l. 1: Mors peregrini reditum significat (Death indicates the return of a traveler).

Artem. ii.49, Pack 181, 22-23: Ἀποθανεῖν δοκεῖν ... τὸν ἐπὶ ξένης ὄντα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἄγει (To dream that one is dead ... signifies that a man who is abroad will return to his native land).

10. Lib. II, 19, p. 185, l. 2:

Cum noto mortuo concumbere alicui benefacere est; cum ignoto inimicum vincere. Si mortuus aliquis concumbierit cum uxore tua vel filia te vidente, ab heredibus mortui lucrum habebis.

Lying together with a familiar dead person is to confer a benefit on someone; lying with an unfamiliar dead person is vanquishing an enemy. If some dead person lay with your wife or daughter while you were watching, you will have profit from the heirs of this dead person.

Cf. *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 85, 26-86, 2):

εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ πρὸς ὅτι συνουσίασε νεκρῷ γνωρίμῳ, ἀγαθοποιήσει τοὺς κληρονόμους αὐτοῦ, εἰ δὲ ἀγνωρίστῳ, καταπατήσῃ ἐχθρὸν ἐξουσιάζοντα μέγιστον. εἰ δὲ τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι νεκρὸς συνουσίασε τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ τῇ θυγατρὶ, ἐκ τῶν κληρονόμων τοῦ νεκροῦ χάριν καὶ κέρδος λήψεται ὁ ἰδὼν.

If someone dreams that he had intercourse with a familiar dead person, he will confer a benefit on his heirs; if <he had intercourse> with an unfamiliar <dead person>, he will vanquish a great and powerful enemy. If someone sees that the dead man had intercourse with his wife or daughter, the dreamer will receive favors and profit from the heirs of this dead person.

11. Lib. II, 20, p. 185, l. 16: Mori, occidi, strangulari, suspendi, vinci tribulationem significant aliquam (Dying, being killed, strangled, hung, or defeated indicates some kind of tribulation).

Cf. Artem. ii.50, Pack 182, 17-18: ἀπάγεσθαι καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀναρτῆσαι θλίψεις καὶ στενοχωρίας σημαίνει (To be strangled or to hang oneself signifies oppression and distress).

12. Lib. II, 20, p. 186, l. 16: Si quis interfecerit porcum vel lupum aut puerum, si est infirmus, cito morietur (If someone kills a pig or a wolf or a child, if he is sick, he will soon die).

13. Lib. II, 21, p. 187, l. 18: In celum ascendere infirmanti periculum significat (To a sick person, ascending to heaven indicates danger).

14. Lib. III, 1, p. 191, l. 16: Ignis spontanee accensus et extinctus dampnum significat (A fire lit and extinguished by itself indicates loss).

15. Lib. III, 1, p. 192, l. 12: Major lucerna dominum, minor vero dominam domus significat (A big oil lamp indicates the master of a house, while a small one indicates [its] mistress).

Cf. Artem. i.74, Pack 80, 18-19: λυχνία <δὲ> γυναῖκα σημαίνει, λύχνος δὲ τὸν τῆς οἰκίας ἄρχοντα (A small lamp⁴ indicates a wife; a lamp, the lord of the house).

⁴ Artemidoros, *Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. White rendered λυχνία as "lampstand," which is the meaning of the word in classical Greek; however, in later Greek, i.e., the kind of Greek used by Pascalis Romanus's Greek-speaking contemporaries, λυχνία can also be understood as a diminutive of λύχνος (lamp).

16. Lib. III, 1, p. 192, l. 15: Fumus vero significat tristitiam (Smoke indicates unhappiness).

17. Lib. III, 1, p. 193, l. 8:

Nam ardentes cerei unicuique significant bonum profectum in arte sua; extincti autem infortunium et mortem.

Lit candles indicate to someone something good achieved in his profession; however, extinguished candles <indicate> misfortune and death.

Cf. *Oneirocriticon* (Vat. gr. 573, fol. 209v):

ὁμοίως ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις ὅτι εὖρε κηρία σβεστά μικρά καὶ ἀπῆρεν αὐτά, γινωσκέτω ὁ τοιοῦτος ὅτι διασυντόμως μέλλει ἀποθανεῖν. εἰ δέ εἰσιν ἀπτόμενα, εὐρήσει χαρὰν καὶ ἀγαλλίασιν ἀναλόγως τῶν κηρίων.

Likewise, if someone dreams that he found small, extinguished candles and took them, let such a person know that he will soon die. If they were lit, he will find joy and delight commensurate with the candles.

18. Lib. III, 2, p. 195, l. 6:

Fulgur autem, obscurum et consuetum tempus, permutationes videntis significat. A fulgure percuti malum et manifestationem significat sceleris.

Lightning, during a dark and regular moment <for such an occurrence>, indicates changes in the dreamer's <circumstances>. Being persecuted by lightning indicates something bad and the uncovering of a crime.

APPENDIX 3: CHRISTIAN PASSAGES FROM AL-DĪNAWARĪ¹

I. *The Time Required for a Dream to be Fulfilled*

BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 38b-39a:

وقال المعبرون من نصاري والروم الرويا عند المغرب والعتمة لا تصح ولا تقبل ولا تصير لأنها بدنية من الامتلاء وفي ثلث الليل لأنها من البطنة والغفلة وفي نصف الليل ولم يكن صاحبها ممتليا تخرج بعد خمسة سنين وفي الثلث الاخير من الليل تصح من شهر الى سنة وعند طلوع الفجر الاول تخرج من شهر // الى جمعة وفي فجر المعترض تخرج من يوم الى جمعة وعند طلوع الشمس تخرج في ذلك اليوم وكذلك في الساعات الاقرب فالاقرب من النهار.

The dream interpreters of the Naṣārā and the Rūm said: "The dream that is dreamt at sunset and dusk (عتمة) is neither sound nor guaranteed nor does it come to pass, because it is a corporeal dream caused by the fullness of the stomach. <A dream dreamt> during the first third of the night <is likewise> unsound because it is caused by overeating and carelessness. <A dream dreamt> during the second third of the night, if the dreamer did not have a full stomach, is fulfilled after five years. <A dream dreamt> during the last third of the night is fulfilled within a month or a year. <A dream dreamt> at early dawn is fulfilled within a month or a week, at daybreak it is fulfilled within a day or a week, and at sunrise it is fulfilled that same day; <the time span for the fulfillment of dreams is> likewise for the nearest hours, that is, the hours nearest to daytime."

In the *Oneirocriticon*, the time spans for the fulfillment of a dream are given units of twenty with a twenty-year maximum (cf. Drexler, pp. 240-41). The units of twenty have a theological significance, as we read in al-Dīnawarī, BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 29a: وصحت روي يوسف ومحمد صلى الله عليهما بعد عشرين سنة. (The dream of Joseph and Muḥammad, may the blessings of God be upon him, was fulfilled after twenty years²). This means that the time

¹ References are to BN *arabe* 2745. Whenever the text of this manuscript presented problems, I introduced corrections on the basis of Esad Efendi 1833. Passages from the *Oneirocriticon* that discuss the same dream symbol are quoted in full unless they were longer than five lines; longer passages are summarized and reference is made to the critical edition.

² In the Old Testament Joseph is said to have been seventeen years old before he had the two dreams indicating that he would rise in rank above his family and was subsequently sold in Egypt.

span for the fulfillment of a dream given in the *Oneirocriticon* definitely originated in Muslim sources.

II. Interpretations According to the Christians (Naṣārā)

Dreaming of Christ (53b)

قالت النصارى من راه <عيسى> في منامه فانه لا يصيبه مكره في تلك السنة وان طلب طلبا اصابه ومهر.

The Naṣārā said: "If someone sees Jesus in his dream, no harm will befall him throughout that year, and if he was trying to obtain something, he will achieve it and be dexterous."

The interpretations in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 6, 22§7, 2; 105, 13-24; 106, 5-12) are different.

Dreaming of the angels (58a-b and 60a)

وقالت النصارى من رأى كان ميكائلا ضحك في وجه فانه ينال منفعة ويسرا وعافية.

قالت النصارى من رأى في منامه الملائكة الروحانيين فانه ينال عزا وبركة وربحا وسترة... ولكنه يصيب في آخر عمره نقصانا وشدة بسبب غماز ونمام.

The Naṣārā said: "If someone dreams that the archangel Michael³ laughed in his presence, he will gain profit, prosperity, and well-being."

Two years passed between Joseph's interpretation of the dreams of his co-prisoners, the pharaoh's cup-bearer and baker, and his interpretation of the pharaoh's dreams. Joseph is said to have been thirty years old when he stood before the pharaoh (Genesis 41:46). Seven years of abundance and two years of famine passed before his brothers came to Egypt. There are unspecified periods of time between these events, but twenty years is not mentioned and cannot be inferred as having passed between Joseph's dreams and their fulfillment. According to Jewish exegetical tradition represented by the Babylonian Talmud the time that elapsed between Joseph's dream and its fulfillment was twenty-two years; see *Tractate Berākōt*, trans. A. Cohen, pp. 358-59 (fols. 55a-55b).

³ Both BN *arabe* 2745 and *Esad Efendi* 1833 have ملائكة المياه (an angel from among the angels of the water), which is not a concept either in Christianity or Islam, instead of ميكائلا (the archangel Michael). However, the title of the *hāb* is رؤيا (the vision of the archangel Michael, may peace be upon him). Paragraph 3 of chapter 3 on dreaming of the archangel Michael, may peace be upon him).

The Naṣārā said: "Whoever dreams of a spiritual angel, he will obtain power and blessings and profit and (?);⁴ however, at the end of his life⁵ his fortunes will decline and distress will befall him because of calumniators and slanderers."

The interpretations in the *Oneirocriticon* are different, with no reference to laughing angels; cf. Drexl 5, 18-6, 14.

Eating human brains (75b)

قال النصارى من رأى انه ياكل دماغ انسان فانه يموت عاجلا (The Naṣārā said: "Whoever dreams that he is eating human brains will soon die.")

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 25, 12-16) is different:

Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι ἔφαγε μυελὸν κεφαλῆς ἀνθρώπου γνωρίμου, εὐρήσει τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον αὐτοῦ πᾶν καὶ κληρονομήσει αὐτόν· εἰ δὲ ἀγνωρίστου, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον ἀπὸ μεγιστάνου τινὸς καὶ χρυσίον πλεῖστον ἀκόπως.

If someone dreams that he ate the brains from the head of a person he knew, he will gain that man's entire wealth and gold and will be his heir. If <he ate the brains> of someone unknown, he will receive without effort wealth and a large amount of gold from a nobleman.

Dreaming that your teeth broke (83a)

وقالت النصارى من رأى كان اسنانه انكسرت فانه يموت احد اقربائه او اصدقائه وربما مرض ومات من ذلك المرض.

The Naṣārā said: "If someone dreams that his teeth are broken, one of his relatives or friends will die, or perhaps will fall ill and die from that illness."

There is a similar interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 38, 24-39, 5 and 35, 19-20). This interpretation is commonplace, since al-Dīnawarī also

⁴ Problematic text. سترة = cover.

⁵ BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 60a : امره ; *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 35a, l. 2: عمره

attributes it to the Muslim dream interpreters (BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 82a-b); it also occurs in Artemidoros i.31, Pack 37, 14–38, 6).

Dreaming that your upper arm broke (89b)

قالت النصارى من رأى ان عضده انكسرت فهو موت صاحب الرؤيا او
مصيبة من غم وشدة وبلايا ومصيبة.

The Naṣārā said: "If someone dreams that his upper arm broke, it indicates the death of the dreamer or a calamity of sorrow, distress, tribulations and misfortune."

The interpretation in *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 44, 17-20) is different:

'Εάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι οἱ βραχίονες αὐτοῦ ἡδυνάτισαν ἢ ἐλεπτύνθησαν ἢ ἐκλάσθησαν, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς, ἔσται τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς νόσημα καὶ θλίψιν ἐλεύσεται ἢ ὁ υἱὸς ἢ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ.

If someone dreams that his arms became weaker or leaner or that they broke, if he is king, what he suffered <in the dream> refers to his army, while either his son or his brother will fall ill or will be distressed.

Also Drexl 44, 25-45, 4:

εάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι <οἱ βραχίονες αὐτοῦ> ἐλεπτύνθησαν ἢ ἐκλάσθησαν ἢ ἐψύγησαν..., ἀπολέσει δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἢ τὸν πρωτεύοντα δοῦλον αὐτοῦ.

If someone dreams that <his arms> became leaner or that they broke or that they froze..., he will lose his brother or his most important servant.

Dreaming of milking a she-camel and drinking from her milk (104b)

قالت النصارى من رأى انه حلب ناقة شرب من لبنها فانه يتزوج امرأة
صالحة فان كان الراى مستورا فانه ولد له غلام ويكون له فيه بركة.

The Naṣārā said: "Whoever dreams that he was milking a she-camel and drinking from her milk will marry a righteous woman. And if the dreamer had a blameless record, a boy will be born to him, and there will be blessing because of him."

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 186, 12-16) is different:

εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι τῆς τοιαύτης γενεᾶς ἐκτήσατο θηλείας καμήλους καὶ ἡμελγεν αὐτάς, εὐρήσει ἐξουσίαν καὶ κυρείαν κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Σαρακηνῶν· ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰδὼς τοῦτο, ἀλλότριον ἔθνος ὑποτάξει ἀναλόγως τῆς ὑποταγῆς τῆς καμήλου.

If he dreams that he acquired she-camels of such <i.e. Arabic> stock and was milking them, he will receive power and authority over the nation of the Saracens. If the king dreams this, he will subdue a foreign nation by analogy to the submissiveness of the camel.

Cf. also Drexl 187, 26:

εάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι γάλα καμήλου ἔπιεν, εὐρήσει ἀπὸ ἐξουσιαστοῦ πλοῦτον καὶ φόβον καὶ νόσον.

If he dreams that he drank the milk of a camel, he will gain wealth, fear, and illness from a nobleman.

Drinking the milk of a lioness (104b)

قالت النصارى من شربه (=لبن اللبوة) نال مالا من سلطان جبار او من كد
يده.

The Naṣārā said: "If someone dreams that he was drinking the milk of a lioness he will obtain money from an omnipotent king or from the toil of his hand."

A similar interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 219, 19-20) is:

εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι γάλα λέοντος ἔπιεν, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον ἔμφοβον καὶ χαρὰν ἀπὸ βασιλέως.

If he dreams that he drank the milk of a lion, he will find wealth from a king together with fear and joy.

This interpretation is commonplace, since al-Dīnawarī also attributes it to the Muslim dream interpreters (BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 104b):

فلين اللبوة مال لشاربه وظفر بعده ومُعَاذَةُ السلاطين والناس.

The milk of the lioness for whoever drinks it means money, triumph over his enemies, and the enmity of kings and commoners.

Drinking the milk of a bitch (105a)

وقالت النصارى من شربه (=لبن الكلبة) نال مقدرة ورياسة على اهل بلده.

The Naṣārā said: "If someone drinks <the milk of a bitch> he will attain power and authority over the people of his country."

The interpretation in *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 225, 20) is different:

εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔπιεν κύνειον γάλα, εὐρήσει φόβον καὶ νόσον μακράν
(If he dreams that he drank the milk of a bitch, he will find fear and prolonged illness).

Eating clarified butter (106a)

وقالت النصارى من اكل سمنا او جمعه ولد له غلام.
(The Naṣārā said: "If someone eats or gathers clarified butter, a boy will be born to him.")

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 190, 20) is different: εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι τρώγει βούτυρον βοῶς θηλείας, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον ἡδὺν χρόνιον
(If he dreams that he is eating butter <from the milk> of a cow, he will find pleasant and long-lasting wealth); cf. also Drexl 196, 20: εἰ δὲ [ἦσθιεν] ἄρτον ψυχρὸν μετὰ βουτύρου, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον καὶ καιρὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀναλόγως τῆς βρώσεως (If <he eats> cold bread with butter, he will find wealth and pleasant times in proportion to how much he ate).

Nose bleeding (107b)

وقالت النصارى من رأى انفه راعفا نال كنزا ومالا عظيما.
(The Naṣārā said: "Whoever dreamt that his nose was bleeding will obtain a treasure and a vast amount of money").

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 61, 15-19) is different:

Τὸ αἷμα δύναμις καὶ ζωὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν. ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ῥινὸς ἢ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔρρευεν, εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἦτοι τὸν ὑπερέχοντα αὐτοῦ νοεῖτω τὴν ἐπιζήμιον ἔξοδον.

Blood is a man's strength and life. If someone dreams that blood flowed out of his nose or head, let him reckon this as an injurious expenditure⁶ incurred by his leader, that is, the person who has authority over him.

Becoming a priest or a monk (144a)

وقالت النصارى من رأى كأنه تحول قسا او راهبا فانه يورث ثمنا حسنا
لكن يعسر عليه شانه ويضيق عليه رزقه وربما نفع التأويل لغيره.

The Naṣārā said: "Whoever dreams that he became a priest or a monk will inherit something valuable and beautiful; however, his affairs will bear down hard on him and his means of livelihood will shrink. It is possible that the interpretation <of this dream> will benefit someone around him."

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 7, 6-12; 7, 21-26; 9, 11-16; 104, 30-105,7), is different: there becoming a priest means that the dreamer will obtain honor, power, and offices, whereas becoming a monk means he will lose his social standing and possibly die in poverty.

The position of a judge (154b)

وقالت النصارى من رأى وجه القاضى مستبشرا طلقا فانه ينال بشرى
وسرورا فان رأى موضع قاض نال فزعا وخصومة وغلب.

The Naṣārā said: "Whoever dreams of the happy and cheerful countenance of a judge will receive good news and joy. If he dreams of the position of a judge, fear and a lawsuit will befall him, but he will win."⁷

⁶ The word "ἔξοδος" in medieval Greek can also mean "outcome" or "death" (cf. Lampe and Sophocles, s.v. "ἔξοδος"); however, rendering it as "spending" is supported by the interpretation of blood as money in the *Oneirocriticon* (chap. 103, Drexl 61, 1-13) as well as by the phrase that immediately follows the one quoted above (Drexl 61, 19-20): ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς ἔρρευσε <τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ> πλεῖστον πτωχεύσει καὶ ὀλιγόβιος ἔσται (If <his blood> flowed out of his flesh he will become poorer and will not live long).

⁷ Depending on how one chooses to vocalize the word غلب, its meaning could be either "to win" (*ghalaba*) in the active voice, or "to be overcome, to be conquered" (*ghuliba*) in the passive voice.

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 13, 6-14) is different.

Eating the flesh of a youth (157a)

قالت النصارى من رأى انه ياكل لحم صبي فانه ينال عطا من رجل عظيم
ومرتبة ونعمة وشرفا.

The Naṣārā said: "Whoever dreams that he ate the flesh of a youth will receive a gift from a powerful man, and rank, prosperity and honor."

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 53, 13-17) is different:

ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι κρέατος ἀνθρώπου μετέλαβεν, ἐκ λοιδορίας πλουτήσει ἀναλόγως
τοῦ πλήθους, οὗ ἔφαγεν. ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι ὀπτοῦ κρέατος ἀνθρώπου μετέλαβεν,
ἐκ τόκου ἄδικον πλοῦτον κτᾶται. πτωχὸς ἐάν ἴδῃ τοῦτο, ἐξ ὑπερέχοντος
τιμωρηθήσεται. γυνὴ ἐάν ἴδῃ τοῦτο, ἀπὸ κλοποσπορίας ἀσθενὴ τέξει τέκνα.

If someone dreams that he partook of human flesh, he will become wealthy by reviling <others> by analogy to the quantity that he ate. If someone dreams that he partook of cooked human flesh, he will acquire unjust wealth through usury. If a poor man dreams this, he will be punished by a superior. If a woman dreams this, she will give birth to sickly children through unlawful conception.

Holding a stretched bow (191b)

وقالت النصارى من رأى في منامه كان بيده قوسا موترة فانه يولد له غلام
قوي صاحب كتابة ورسالة.

The Naṣārā said: "Whoever sees in his dream that a stretched bow was in his hands, a boy will be born to him who will be strong, and will know how to write and compose epistles."

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 204, 24-25) is different: εἰ δὲ
εὔρε τόξον τεταμένον, εὐρήσει ὁδὸν καὶ ὑποστροφὴν χαρίεσσαν (If he
finds a strung bow, he will go away on a trip and will have a happy return).
Cf. also Drexl 114, 17: Τὸ δὲ τόξον κατ' Αἰγυπτίων κρίσιν γυναῖκα ἢ
θυγατέρα σημαίνει (A bow, according to the interpretation of the Egyptians,
signifies a wife or a daughter).

Holding an arrow (192a)

قالت النصارى من رأى بيده سهمًا فانه ينال ولاية وعزا ومالا.
The Naṣārā said: "Whoever dreams that he is holding an arrow in his hands will
obtain sovereignty, power, and money".

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 204, 7-8) is different: 'Εάν
ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι συνάγει βέλη ἤτοι σαγίττας, κατὰ ἀνθρώπων θάνατον
μελετήσῃ (If someone dreams that he is collecting arrows, he will plan the
death of men).

Holding a dagger (194a)

قالت النصارى من رأى بيده خنجرًا نال مالا وغنا

The Naṣārā said: "Whoever dreams that he was holding a dagger in his hands
will obtain money and wealth."

The interpretation in *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 205, 5-8) is similar:

'Εάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι εἴληφε παρά τινος σπάθην ἢ μάχαιραν ἢ ἔργον ἀπὸ σιδήρου,
τέμνον ἢ μὴ τέμνον, ἢ σίδηρον ἀργόν, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ πλούσιος, πλέον πλουτήσει,
εἰ δὲ πτωχός, πλουτήσει ἀναλόγως οὗ ἔλαβεν.

If someone dreams that he received from someone a sword or a knife or a metal
object, whether sharp or not, or unwrought iron, if he is wealthy he will become
even wealthier, and if he is poor he will become wealthy in proportion to what he
received.

The interpretation of sharp metal objects as money is commonplace. Ibn Shāhin
attributes it to al-Kirmānī, the author of the oldest Arabic dreambook, and
Ja'far al-Šādiq, the Twelfth Imam (nos. 5137 and 5140 bis).

Cuirass (195a)

وقالت النصارى من رأى جوشنا فانه يتزوج امرأة قوية حسنة ذات شهوة
ومال يورثه المتزوج بها اجمالا وان كان فقير استغنى.⁸

⁸ BN arabe 2745, fol. 195a: فانه يتزوج امرأة قوية حسنة ذات شهوة وقد يورث المتزوج
فانه يتزوج امرأة قوية. Esad Efendi 1833, fol. 114b: بها وجمالا وان كان فقيرا استغنى

The Naṣārā said: "Whoever dreams of a cuirass will marry a powerful, beautiful and passionate woman with money that whoever marries her will inherit altogether; and if he was poor he will become rich."

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 113, 27-114, 1) is different:

ἐάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἐνεδύσατο ἢ εὔρε θώρακα ἢτοι λωρίκιον, χαρήσεται ἐπὶ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ πλουτήσει ἀναλόγως τοῦ βάρους τοῦ θώρακος.

If someone dreams that he put on or found a breastplate, he will rejoice over the destruction of his enemies and will become wealthy by analogy to the weight of the breastplate.

Cf. also Drexl 204, 21-22:

Ἐάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι εὔρεν ἢ εὐπόρησε θώρακα ἢτοι λωρίκιον, εὐρήσει χρυσίον καὶ πλούτον μετὰ τόλμης ἀφόβως.

If someone dreams that he found or procured a breastplate, he will find through his daring gold and wealth without fear.

Coats of mail for arms = μανικέλια (195b)

قالت النصارى من رأى ساعدين فانه يصحب رجلين قوين عظيمين وربما وقع التاويل على ابنه او اخويه.

The Naṣārā said: "Whoever dreams of mail armor for the arms will become closely associated with two powerful and mighty men; and probably the interpretation of this dream refers to his son or brother."

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 114, 7-8) is:

εἰ δὲ <ἐνεδύσατο> τὰ λεγόμενα μανικέλια καὶ περικνημίδας, εὐρήσει χαρὰν καὶ στερρότητα ἐν τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ.

If <he put on> a coat of mail for the arms and legs, he will find joy and steadfastness in his servants.

حسنة ذات شهوة ومال يورث التزويج لها وجمالا وان كان فقيرا استغنى.

Hemorrhage (203b)

قالت النصارى من رأى انه يخرج الدم من جسده ورأى جراحات بدنه فانه يصيب صحة جسده وزيادة مال.

The Naṣārā said: "If someone dreams that blood is flowing from his body and sees the wounds of his flesh, he will obtain good bodily health and increase his money."

The interpretations in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 61, 3-5) in this case are similar:

ἐάν τις ἴδῃ κατ' ὄναρ, ὅτι ἀπὸ πληγῆς ἢ ρεύσεως καταρρεῖ αἷμα ἐρυθραῖνον τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἢ τὰς σάρκας, εὐρήσει χρυσίον ἀνάλογον τοῦ καταρρύντος αἵματος.

If someone dreams that because of a wound or a discharge blood is flowing and reddening his clothes or flesh, he will find gold in proportion to the <amount of> blood that flowed.

The interpretation of blood as money is commonplace. In the same chapter, al-Dīnawarī also attributes it to the Muslim dream interpreters (BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 203b). The interpretation of blood as money occurs in Artemidoros as well (i.33, Pack 42, 6; i.61, Pack 67, 24).

Being crucified (205a)

قالت النصارى من رأى انه مصلوب على سور المدينة والناس ينظرون اليه ينال رفعة وسلطانا ويصير الاقوياء والضعفاء تحت يديه فان سال منه الدم فان رعيته ينتفعون به ومن رأى كانه ياكل لحم مصلوب فانه ينال مالا ومنفعة من جهة احد الرؤساء.

The Naṣārā said: "If someone dreams that he was crucified on the walls of a city and the people were looking at him, he will obtain a lofty position and sovereignty and both the powerful and the weak will be in his power. And if blood was streaming from him, his subjects will benefit from him. And if someone dreams that he was eating the flesh of a crucified person he will obtain money and profit from one of the leaders."

Interpretations in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 54, 20-55, 3) that are similar are more or less commonplace, since the Christian interpretation of the crucifixion in al-Dīnawarī is similar to the Muslim one (BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 204b-204a).

The ultimate source of the interpretation of crucifixion as meaning a lofty position, glory, and wealth is in Artemidoros ii.53, Pack 183, 6-21, and especially iv.49, Pack 276, 6:

σημαίνοντος τοῦ δοκεῖν ἐσταυρῶσθαι δόξαν καὶ εὐπορίαν· δόξαν μὲν διὰ τὸ ὑψηλότατον εἶναι τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, εὐπορίαν δὲ διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς τρέφειν οἰωνούς.

Crucifixion dreams signify honor and wealth; honor, because the crucified person is in a very high position, and wealth because he provides food for many birds of prey.

III. Interpretations According to the Byzantines (*Rūm*)

The hair of the dreamer's wife was cut (78a)

(The *Rūm* said: "If someone dreams that locks of his wife's hair were cut off, she will never give birth to a child").

There is a different interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 217, 10-26), where cutting a woman's hair is interpreted as divorce or death.

Suckling the milk of your wife (104a-b)

(Whoever dreams that he was suckling milk from his wife will obtain money and profit).⁹

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 79, 13-19) is similar:

εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐκράτει τῶν μασθῶν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐξέμαξε γάλα, χαρὰν μεγάλην κομιεῖται ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκείνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐκείνη μεγάλως συγχαρήσεται αὐτῷ· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο τις τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ ἴδῃ, εὐρήσει πλούτον ἐνιαύσιον ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ δοῦλος ἴδῃ τοῦτο, ἐλευθεροῦται ταχέως, εἰ δὲ πτωχός, πλουτήσει.

If he dreams that he held her breasts and squeezed out milk, he will have great joy during that year, and that woman will also have a great share in <the dreamer's>

⁹ Esad Efendi 1833, fol. 65a: *قلت الروم من امتص لبن امراته نال مالا وربحا*. (The *Rūm* said: "If someone dreams that he was suckling the son of his wife, he will obtain money and gain.").

joy. If a commoner dreams this, he will find wealth, each in his own trade, for one year. If a slave dreams this, he will soon be freed, and if a pauper, he will become wealthy.

The interpretation of a woman's milk as money is commonplace, since al-Dīnawarī also attributes it to the Muslim dream interpreters (BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 104a). It also occurs in Artemidoros i.16, Pack 25, 4-6. Cf. also a different interpretation in Drexl 78, 10-11: *ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι θηλάζει ἄρσεν ἄνθρωπος τις ἢ αὐτός, δέσμιος εἰς φυλακὴν γενήσεται* (If someone dreams that he or some other man was nursing a male child, he will be placed in bonds in prison).

Milking a cow and drinking her milk (104b)

قالت الروم من رأى انه حلب بقرة و شرب لبنها فانه ان كان عبدا اعتق وان كان فقيرا استغنى.

The *Rūm* said: "If someone dreams that he milked a cow and drank her milk, if he is a slave he will be freed and if he is poor he will become rich."

Similar interpretations in *Oneirocriticon* (Drexl 190, 22-28):

εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἀμέλγει βοῦν καὶ πίνει τοῦ γάλακτος, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ δοῦλος, ἐλευθεροῦται, καὶ ἴσως κληρονομήσει τὸν οἶκον τοῦ δεσπότης ἢ τὴν δεσποτείαν αὐτοῦ λήσεται, εἰ δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ, εὐρήσει χαρὰν καὶ ἀγαλλίασιν μείζονα· ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐάν ἴδῃ τοῦτο, εἰς χαρὰν καὶ ἀγαλλίασιν αὐτοῦ ἔσται τοῦτο.

If someone dreams that he milks a cow and drinks her milk, if he is a slave, he will be freed, and will possibly inherit the household of his master or receive his <master's> authority; if he is a commoner, he will find great joy and exultation; if a king dreams this, it will be <a sign of> joy and exultation.

This interpretation is commonplace. According to al-Dīnawarī, the Muslims also interpret the milk of the cow as money (BN *arabe* 2745, fol. 104b).¹⁰ A Muslim interpretation that is very close to the one in the *Oneirocriticon* can be found in Ibn Shāhīn, no. 5693:

¹⁰ *وقال المسلمون لبن البقرة خصب السنة ومال حلال وفطرة في الدين* (The Muslims said: "The milk of the cow means abundance throughout the year, lawful money and a natural disposition for religion.")

ومن رأى انه يحلبها ويشرب من لبنها فإن كان عبدا يعتق ويتزوج بنت مولاة وان كان فقيرا يستغنى وان كان غنيا يزداد غنى وان كان حقيرا يصير عزيزا

And if someone dreams that he milks <a cow> and drinks her milk, if he is a slave he will be freed and will marry the daughter of his master. If he is poor he will become rich, and if he is rich his wealth will increase. If he is one of the lowly people, he will become one of the mighty.¹¹

Collecting cow dung (117b)

قالت الروم من رأى كانه يجمع اخثاء البقر و ارواث البعير فانه ينال مالا من رجل شريف فان التقط اخثاء الثور نال مسرة فان جلس على السرقين نال مالا من جهة بعض اقربائه.

The Rūm said: "Whoever dreams that he collected the dung of cows and the droppings of goats will obtain money from an honorable man. And if he gathered the dung of bulls, he will obtain happiness. And if he sat on the manure he will receive money from some of his relatives.

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drex1 190, 28-29) is similar:

ἐάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι συνάγει κόπρον βοείαν, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον ἀπὸ μεγιστάνων ἀνάλογον τῆς κόπρου.

If someone dreams, that he is collecting cow dung, he will find wealth from noblemen by analogy to the dung.

Al-Dinawarī does not give Muslim interpretations for this particular dream. However, the interpretation of dung as money can be found in the dreambook of Ibn Qutayba (*Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 52b): والبقر سنون ولحومها اموال (The cow is years and its flesh is money, and likewise its dung, and all kinds of manure is money, and human excrement is also money).

¹¹ In this paragraph, Ibn Shāhin repeats whole phrases from the dreambook of Ibn Qutayba (d. 889). Cf. *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 52b: من رأى انه يحلب بقرة ويشرب لبنها استغنى إن كان فقيرا وارتفع شأنه وان كان غنيا ازداد غنا الى غناه وعزه (If someone dreams that he was milking a cow and drank her milk, he will become rich if he is poor, and his social standing will become loftier. If he is wealthy, he will add more riches to his wealth and power).

IV. Interpretations According to Both the Christians (Naṣārā) and the Byzantines (Rūm)

Adultery/fornication [zina] (168a)

وقالت النصارى والروم من رأى انه زني بزانية نال شرا او فتنة.¹²

The Naṣārā and the Rūm said: "Whoever dreams that he was committing adultery with a harlot / an adultress, evil or temptation will befall him."

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drex1 77, 9-13) is different:

καὶ ὅσον συνουσιάζει τις κατ' ὄναρ ἐταίραις γυναίξιν, τοσοῦτον πλουτήσει φιλόκοσμος ὢν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν εὐλαβῶν καὶ ἀναχωρητῶν τοῦτο εἰς θλίψιν κρίνεται. ἐάν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι συνουσίασε πόρνῃ, αὐξήσει μὲν εἰς τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ, ἐξ ἀδικίας δέ.

In proportion to how much someone copulates with courtesans in his dream, he will become that wealthy, if he is a man of the world. But for pious men and ascetics this <dream> is interpreted as sorrow. If someone dreams that he copulated with a prostitute, his wealth will grow, but through injustice.

Deflowering a slave girl (181a)

قالت النصارى والروم من رأى انه اقتض جارية عذراء نال ضررا ومكروها في تلك السنة.

The Naṣārā and the Rūm said: "Whoever dreams that he deflowered a virgin slave girl, harm and adversity will befall him throughout that year."

The interpretation in the *Oneirocriticon* (Drex1 79, 6-9) is different:

ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι συνουσίασε παρθένῳ, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς, εὐρήσει χαρὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ πλήρωμα, εἰ δὲ τοῦ κοινῶν λαοῦ, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον ἔμφορον ἀπὸ ἐξουσίας.

If someone dreams that he copulated with a virgin, if he is king, he will find joy and fulfillment of his greatest desire; if he is a commoner, he will find wealth together with sorrow through <someone in> authority.

¹² I chose the reading of *Esad Efendi* 1833, fol. 97a, l. 11, instead of the reading in *BN arabe* 2745: قال سرا وقية [sic].

APPENDIX 4: WORDS IN THE *ONEIROCRITICON* UNATTESTED IN OTHER GREEK TEXTS

This list contains the words marked by Drexel as unattested in Greek dictionaries in his *Index Rerum et Verborum Potiorum* appended to the critical edition (pp. 243-65). The explanations in Latin were copied from Drexel. The explanations in Greek were copied from Koukoules' review of the critical edition in *Laographia* 9 (1926), pp. 285-92. The explanations in English are mine. The following abbreviations were used:

- A = words occurring in Drexel's critical apparatus
 * = words absent from all dictionaries, or occurring in dictionaries with no references to texts other than the *Oneirocriticon*..
 K = words included in Kriaras, *Lexiko tēs Mesaionikēs Hellēnikēs Dēmōdous Grammateias 1100-1669*, 13 vols. to date (Thessaloniki, 1968-) with references to texts other than the *Oneirocriticon*.
 Δ = words included in D. Dēmētrakos, *Mega Lexikon tēs Hellēnikēs Glōssēs* (Athens, 1936-1950) with references to texts other than the *Oneirocriticon*.
 T = words included in E. Trapp et al., *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*. 2 vols. to date (Vienna, 1994-96) (ἀ-δυσάχρεος). The words starting from η (only ἡπατοπνεύμων from this list) were published in *JÖB* 35 (1985), pp. 149-70. The remaining words (from δωρεαστικῶς on) were checked against the list of the dictionary's unpublished entries containing references to the *Oneirocriticon*. I would like to thank Professor Trapp for kindly making available to me his work in progress.
 LS = Liddell and Scott

I did not indicate that the word was included in K, Δ or T if the only reference given was the *Oneirocriticon*. Δ sometimes included the word without reference to a text, or gave a single reference to the *Oneirocriticon* but implied that the word also occurs elsewhere. In this case I indicated the word was included in the dictionary. Finally, I did not indicate that the word is included in either K or Δ whenever the meaning given by the dictionary did not coincide with the

meaning in the *Oneirocriticon*. The last 47 words of the list (from ὀρχητάω on) could not be checked with K, since the dictionary is still incomplete.

- ἀγαθοπραγέω 144, 19 ΔΤ
 ἀγνώριμος 22, 6A· 87, 26A ΔΤΚ
 ἀδυναμῶ 42, 7A· 42, 25A Δ: ἀδυναμέω=ἀδυνατῶ T
 ἀθανατέομαι (ἀθανατίζομαι?) 84, 26A Δ: ἀθανατόω=ποιῶ τινα
 ἀθάνατον T
 ἀκατεύοδος 132, 19 Δ
 ἀλεκτορίς (*ἀλεκτρυωνίς A) 236, 17 LS (T)
 ἀλωνάω=ἀλοά 162, 2A LS (T)
 *ἀναιθάλωτος non combustus 9, 9
 *ἀναλλάττω 11, 3A
 ἀναπλημύρω intrans. 137, 7 T
 ἀνάπλιον stragulum laneum 204, 17 TK: s.v. "ἀναπλαρέα." Δ: s.v. "ἀνάπλι"
 *ἀντικατανεύω 73, 21
 ἀνύφανσις iterata textura 179, 25 Δ
 ἀπόπλυσις 179, 19· 180, 6· 180, 26 ΔΤ
 *ἀποστολίκιον (ἀποστολικόν) vestimentum itinerarium? 115, 25· 116, 19· 204, 15
 βαυκαλία (=βαυκάλιον) 153, 1A See T s.v. "καυκάλιον."
 βόμβας (=βάμβας) 154, 23A ΔΤ
 *βούϊος 207, 11A (instead of βόειος, which appears in Drexel's main text)
 γάλαιον (γαλαῖον) odoramenti genus 19, 5 ΔΤ
 *γλυκοκαλαμών locus loto consitus 165, 5
 γλυκώδης 162, 19 ΚΤ
 δασύτριχος 111, 5 ΚΔΤ
 διαθετέω 131, 16A ΔΤ
 διαθέτησις 131, 18A
 διαπετάζω intrans. =(per) volo 123, 28· 234, 17
 διαφορόχρσιος 117, 1A Δ s.v. "διαφορόχρους."
 διγνωμία dolus 99, 12 K
 διεκβατέω=αὐξάνω (neogr. αὐγατῶ, vid. G. N. Chatzidakis in 'Επιστημονικὴ
 'Επετηρὶς τοῦ 'Εθνικοῦ Πανεπιστημίου. 'Εν Ἀθήναις 1911, σ. 92)
 114, 24A
 *διπλὸν (=διπλοῖς) 88, 4A· 115, 6

δροσία (=δρόσος) 177, 20 KT
 δωρεαστικῶς 117, 19A K
 *ἔγκαπνος fumificus 119, 27
 εἰσκόσμις (nisi forte legendum est σκορπισμός seu σκόρπισις) = deminutio 126, 2· 129, 5.

The text should be corrected to read either εἰσκόμις (see K, s.v. "εἰσκομίζω") or εἰς σκορπισμόν, a reading which is supported by an equivalent Arabic passage.

ἐκριζώνω 160, 6A KΔ
 *ἐμπήλωσις 138, 24
 *ἐνδοξέω 42, 9A
 ἐξηλώω (cf. neogr. ξηλώνω) 101, 24· 212, 6 KΔ
 ἐπιλωβάομαι=lepra inficior 35,4 T
 ἔπτησις (ὄπτησις) 98, 6A
 *εὐαρέσκομαι 207, 21A
 εὐπόρησις 140, 17A Δ
 *ἐχθρομαχία 195, 28
 *ζατρικίζω schachis ludo 192, 28
 ζοῦπα sagum 177, 1 K (Προσθήκες, τόμος 8)
 *ζυγοστάθμιον = bilanx 161, 12
 *ἥπατοπνεύμων = iecur et pulmo (cf. τὰ σκωτοφλέμονα, vocem Cretensibus adhuc usitatam, ortam ex σ(υ)κῶτι = ἥπαρ et φλεμόνι = πλεμόνι = πνεμόνι = πνεύμων) 51, 16· 191, 6
 *θήλασις (θήλανσις) 76, 10A
 ἰδιοθανατέω (ἰδιοθανατόω) 96, 11· 110, 2 T
 ἰστούργημα 236, 10A Δ
 *κάμβα (καμβά, καμβάν, καμά) vestimenti genus 114, 26A
 καυστηρία 128, 5A T
 *καυστήρια (καύτρια, καυτριά, καύστρια) = ustio 46,5· 173, 27
 κιτρινίζω 197, 11 KΔ
 *κλοποσπορία = concubitus furtivus 53, 18· 70, 1
 κόχλα ("cocla" in versione Lat.; cf. κόχλαξ=calculus, lapillus) 33, 18
 Koukoules, p. 291: "Κόχλα εἶναι οὐχὶ calculus, lapillus, ἀλλὰ βαφικὴ ὕλη, κόνις θειοῦχου ἀντιμονίου μετὰ αἰθάλης καὶ σινικῆς μελάνης, δι' ἧς ἔβαφον τὰς ὀφρὺς καὶ τὰς βλεφαρίδας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἄλλως χολλᾶς καὶ κόχλος κατὰ τὸν μεσαίωνα λεγομένη."
 κρίσιμον (κρίσιμο, τὸ)=decretum 91, 6 K
 *λειποσωμασία (λειποσωματία) 67, 16
 *λεοντότεκνον 220, 6A

λεπτύνω intrans. 67, 19 KΔ
 *λευκοσιδηρέων (an λευκοσιδηραίων?) 182, 18A
 λημόομαι=lippus fio 33, 8 Δ
 λινὸν 177, 9· 180, 17· 215, 25 KΔ
 *λυπόπουλος (λυποποῦλι) avis 235, 9· 235, 18.

Drexl adds in parenthesis: "σκάψ an κολοῖος? Cf. Herwerden s.v. κολοῖος et vocem κλαυποῦλι apud Hepitem, Lexicon Hellenogall." In the abridgment of the *Oneirocriticon* in *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690 we read the following (fol. 129r, col. 1): Ο κόραξ γέροντα δηλοῖ παλαιόν, ξένον, πτωχόν καὶ λαίμαργον, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἔποψ. This corresponds to Drexl 235, 10-18, which concludes with the interpretation of λυπόπουλος (235, 17-18). Based on this evidence, it is reasonable to suppose that λυπόπουλος is ἔποψ, a bird indeed known to have a mournful song).

μαγεύτρια saga 223, 11 KΔ
 μαχίστης 42, 22A K s.v. "μαχιστής."
 μεγαλόφημος 157, 28 T
 *μεγαλώω 31, 15 A
 *μεθυσμός 152, 11
 *μεταγνωσία 83, 12A
 μετρίωσις 201, 18 T
 *μετώκισμα 101, 12A
 μηδικάριον herbae species 161, 20 Δ
 *μισθοκομίζομαι 144, 19A
 *μισθοποιέω 176, 6
 *μισθοποιῖα 176, 13.15 K
 μοῦλτον tumultus 112, 3
 νεωστὶ brevi (de tempore futuro) 32, 10· 38, 21· 58, 4 KΔ
 *ὀλιγόδοξος 230, 23 K
 ὀλιγοζῶα 34, 7· 47, 2· 85, 25 T
 ὀλιγοζώητος 121, 27 K
 ὀλιγόζωος 33, 6· 48, 21 p. K
 ὀλιγόκοσμος 202, 16 K
 *ὀλιγόπλουτος 154, 25· 227, 25
 *ὀλιγόφωτος 130, 1· 131, 9
 *ὀνάγρα 184, 22
 *ὀξυπόλιος 15, 1A
 *ὀρχητάω 207, 16A
 *οὔροκοπέω 185, 6

- *ὄψησις=ἔψησις 159, 24A
 *ὄψητὸς=ἔψητὸς 159, 23A· 206, 22A
 *παλουδάκιν (παλουδιν) dulcedo 198,4
 *περισκέλισμα tegumentum femorum interius 70, 3· 88, 8· 115, 17.20· 116, 19
 *περσικομανίκιον (περσικομανιάκιν)=manica Persico more confecta? 179, 1

Koukoules, p. 291: "Περσίκια ἦσαν μεταξωτὰ ὑφάσματα, ἐξ ὧν κατεσκευάζοντο χιτῶνες· χρυσοπέρσικος μάλιστα χιτωνίσκος ἀναφέρεται καὶ ὑπὸ Λέοντος τοῦ Γραμματικοῦ (Χρον. 224.17). Ὅταν λοιπὸν ὁ Ἀχμέτ λέγῃ ὅτι "τὸ περσικομανίκιον τοῦ ὑποκαμίσου εἰς κατάστασιν καὶ σύναξιν τοῦ βίου κρίνεται" ἐννοεῖ ὅχι manicam Persico more confectam, ἀλλὰ τὸ μανίκιον τοῦ περσικίου τούτου"). In later Greek astronomical texts the word περσίκιον means "pocket"; see Tihon, "Tables islamiques à Byzance," no. 6.

- πέτασις 122, 27A T
 πíanσις ringuedo 68, 7· 190, 11p. T
 *ποδόλωρον (ποδόλουρον) pedica 233, 1
 *ποδόρτιον soccus 176, 4
 *ποιόω intr. = qualitatē habeo 211, 24· 213, 10 sq.
 *πολυεξόπλιστος 226, 16
 *πολυζώμων 14, 6A
 *πολυζώητος 9, 21· 132, 12
 *πολύοπλος 228, 22
 πολυτεκνόω 49, 2A Δ
 προκόμισις exsequiae 83, 24 T
 *προσευχίτης sacerdos 92, 1A· 92, 4
 *ράχώδης (ρήχώδης?) 165, 12A
 ράψιμο 180, 6A Δ
 ρίγωσις algor 147, 18 Δ
 *σαμάριος (=σαγμάριος) 185, 24A
 *σαχαροπλακοῦς 206, 10
 σπαθίζω gladio seu bacillo ferio 71, 22 sq. Δ
 σπαθισμός (=σπαθέα) 71, 26· Δ
 *σπανόουρος tenuem caudam habens 111, 3
 συνεξανάπτω 122,2 T
 *συνεπιχαίρω 109, 9
 *σωβάριον supparum? 115, 5A
 *τετραπέδιλος (τετραπέδουλος?) quattuor soleis ferreis munitus

- *τζυκανίζω pilo equitans ludo 112, 21 sq. Δ s.v. "τσουκανίζω."
 τουβίον tibiale 198, 8· 218, 17 T
 *τρικέρατος 189, 16
 *τρυμός (ρύμος?) 12, 26A
 *ύδροχοέω 114, 19 sqq.
 *ύδροχοῖα 144, 20
 *ύπαργέω otiosus sum 141, 13
 ύπόποτος irriguus 96, 25 T
 φαρμάκισσα 223, 11 T
 *φούρκισις suspensio ex cervicibus 54, 9
 φύτρον (φυτόν) 97, 9 sq. Δ
 *χαρίνω (χαρίζω) 83, 2· 117, 17.25
 χάσδιος (χάσδεος, χασδεός, χασείδιος) 115, 3· 170, 13· 177, 8· 204, 15
 The translation suggested by Drex1 is "textum sericum." However, the *Oneirocriticon* itself clarifies the meaning of the word twice: εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ τις τὸ τοιοῦτον <καβάδι>, ὅτι χάσδιον ἦν, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον ἐξ ἀνδρῶν πονηρῶν διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἐρίου κυνοποτάμου εἶναι αὐτὸ (115, 2-4); τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ ἐρίου κάστορος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἦτοι χάσδια λωρωτὰ ... (170, 12-13). The word khazz in Arabic has a number of meanings. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, gives: "خَزْ A certain kind of cloth..., well known..., woven of wool and silk: and also a kind of cloth entirely of silk; ... or it is the name of a certain beast [thought by Golius to be the beaver]: and afterwards applied to the cloth made of its fur...." The last definition confirms the meaning of χάσδιος as textile ἐξ ἐρίου κυνοποτάμου and ἐξ ἐρίου κάστορος given in the *Oneirocriticon*. T
 ψευδόμορφος 225,2 Δ
 ψευδοφαντασία 158, 6A Δ
 ψιχίον digiti extrema pars
 (cf. vocem ἡ ψίχα eadem significatione adhuc Cretensibus Mytilenaeis etc usitatam) 46, 22

Other unattested words not listed by Drex1

- ούσίον 170, 14 ff.
 Drex1 gives the meaning of this word as "vestis talaris". I believe, however, that the word goes back to the Arabic *washī* (multi-colored ornamentation, embroidery; embroidered or painted fabric). This meaning is also warranted by the context (Drex1 170, 15-17).
 ποιναλιστής=punitor 129, 18

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GENERAL INDEX

- Aaron, physician 244
- Aaron, brother of Moses 247
- Abbasids 218, 420
- 'Abd al-Malik, caliph 377, 378, 413
- 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, Umayyad caliph of Cordoba 416
- 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Naṣr al-Shirāzī (or al-Shayzārī) 113, 114, 395, 445
- Abel 247
- Abraham 234
- Abraham 247
- abridgement of the *Oneirocriticon*, see MS Paris. Suppl. gr. 690
- Abū 'Abd-Allāh the Sicilian 416
- Abū Bakr 220, 382, 383, 384, 387
- Abū Makhliḍ b. Bukhtīshū' 243
- Abū Ma'shar 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 18, 34, 37, 40, 108, 110, 116, 253-254, 398, 399, 418
- Abū Sa'id al-Wā'iz 306
- Abū Sa'id Shādhān b. Baḥr 7, 34
- Abū Sahl Isā b. Yahyā al-Masīḥī al-Faylasūf 245
- Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb 249
- Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī 409
- Abū-l-Farāj al-Isfahānī 249
- Achilles Tattius 3
- Achmet, son of Sēreim (see also Sēreim and Ibn Sīrīn) 9, 10, 11, 15, 17, 19, 22, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 64, 103, 106, 113, 119
- Actuarius 111, 394
- Adam and Eve 247
- adhān (call to prayer) 147, 148, 320-321
- adultery 465
- Aesop 393
- Aghlabids 415
- agriculture 407
- Ahrun the physician, see Aaron, physician
- 'Ā'isha 220
- Akathist Hymn 393
- al-Amin, caliph 12
- al-Bishāra wa-al-nidhāra fī ta'bīr al-rū'yā* 28, 146
- al-Bukhārī 250
- al-Damīrī 141, 142, 245
- al-Dārī, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Khalīlī 27, 31
- al-Dīnawarī, Abū Sa'id (or Sa'd) Naṣr b. Ya'qūb 27, 28, 31, 46, 60, 130, 133-134, 140, 150, 242, 243, 246, 442, 451-465; several instances in 150-167, 168-236, 256-352, 353-374, 375-391
- al-Ḥakam al-Mustaṣṣir, Umayyad caliph of Cordoba 417
- al-Khabbāz 243
- al-Khallāl, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn 242-244
- al-Khargūshī, Abū Sa'id 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Uthmān al-Wā'iz 28, 30, 146, 258
- al-Khwārizmī 400
- al-Kirmānī, Abū Ishāq 'Abd-Allāh 13, 29, 132, 133, 159, 181, 231, 243, 276, 366, 367, 440, 459
- al-Mahdī, caliph 132, 397
- al-Ma'mūn, caliph 3, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 106, 256, 375, 376, 379, 381, 383, 384, 389-390, 397, 399, 402, 403, 424
- al-Ma'mūnī 29
- al-Mu'āfirī (or al-Ma'āfirī) 26
- al-Muntakhab* 27, 28, 29, 31, 124, 130, 134, 141, 146; several instances in 150-167, 168-236, 256-352, 353-374, 375-391
- al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī 210
- al-Nābulusī, 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā'il 31, 95, 113, 134, 148, 437, 438, 441, 442, 443; several instances in 150-167, 168-236, 256-352, 353-374, 375-391
- al-Qayrawānī 26, 147, 148, 150, 258
- al-Qādir bi-l-Lah, caliph 27, 133-134

- al-Rāzī 67, 406, 420, 421
 al-Salemi 13; see also al-Sālimī
 al-Sālimī, Abū 'Abd-Allah Muḥammad b.
 'Umar 30, 32, 133; see also al-Salemi
 al-Sijistānī, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b.
 Khalaf b. Aḥmad 26, 134, 243
al-siyāsatu-l-'ammiyyah 425
 al-Ṭabarī 249
 al-Walid, caliph 377
 al-Zanātī 405-406, 408-409
 Albumasar, see Abū Ma'shar
 alchemy 52, 76, 92, 107, 245, 394, 400-403,
 424
 alcohol 256, 340-341, 345-351
 Alexander of Aphrodisias 392
 Alexander Romance 392-393
 Alexios Comnenos, emperor 4, 14, 406, 420
 Alexios, translator from Arabic into Greek
 410, 420
 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib 180
 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-'Imrānī 399
 Alice de Courtenay (Alice de Couty?) 117-
 118
Almagest 396
 alphabetical order 107, 142
 Alphonso IV, king of Castille, Leon, and
 Galicia 24
 Amam 379-380
 amir 202
anakaras 70, 73, 101
 analogy 187-188
anaskolopismos 175
 Andreas Asan 1
 anecdotes 33, 158, 174, 180, 256, 285, 287,
 298, **375-391**
 angel Gabriel 266
 angel Isrā'īl 247
 angel Jibrīl 247
 angel Mikā'il 247; see also archangel
 Michael
 angel of dreams 166
 angels 21, 24, 145, 146, 148, 200, 201, 239,
 247, **264-269**, 351, 373, 452
 animal heads 194
 animals 55
 antimony, see *kochla*
 Antioch 404
 ants 443-444
 Aphrodite 139
apo phōnēs 405
 Apomasar, see Abū Ma'shar
Apomazaris apotelesmata 108
 apostles 21, 145, 146, 162, 269-285
 apricot tree 388
 Arabic dreambooks chosen for comparison
 with the *Oneirocriticon* 25
 Arabic into Greek, problems in translating
 227, 228; literal translations 75-76, 82-
 86, 89-90, 360; method of translating
 254, 309, 372-374, 417-419;
 peculiarities in grammar and syntax of
 the *Oneirocriticon* due to translation
 237; transformation of dream symbols
 when rendered from Greek into Arabic
 and back into Greek 200-201, 438-440;
 see also *skorpismos*, *eiskosmisis*
 Arabic language 14, 418
 arch 446
 archangel Michael 452
archē 185
 architecture 428
 Aristotle 1, 130, 143, 145, 239
 arithmetic 428
 Armenian language 238
 arms 247, **364-365**, 454
 arrangement of chapters 112, 124, 126, 142-
 149, 284-285, 286, 298-299, 375, 431
 arrows 248, 459
 Arsenios the monk 408-409, 420
 Artemidoros 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 13, 16, 17, 19, 21,
 28, 38, 45, 46, 63, 64, 68, 94, 95, 96,
 112, 113, 119, 126, **128-167**, 239, 243,
 245, 248, 267-268, 297, 375, 378, 386,
 395, 421, 423, 426, 437, 438-440, 441,
 442, 443, 445, 448, 449
 Artemidoros, son of Artemidoros 135
 Ascari, Joseph 15
 ascending from the underworld 447
 Assyrian dreambook 129, 378
 Astrampsychos 64, 119

- astrolabe of Brescia 412
 astrology 8, 43, 92, 225, 245, 250, 253, 394,
 396-400, 421, 423
 astrology and dream interpretation 1, 8, 9
 astronomy 92, 394, 396-400, 424, 428
 Athanasios of Alexandria 242, 393
 Attic syntax 80-81
augusta 223
 Avicenna 395
awliya' (friends of God) 313, 315
 Aḥmad the Persian 8, 18

 Babylonians 8
 Bahīrā 305
 balances **333-335**
 Bar Hebraeus 241, 245
 Bar Ṣaumā 245
 Baram 32, 34, 36, 41, 43, **47**, 103
 Bardas 218
 Basil I, emperor 413
 Basil of Caesarea 3, 241
 Basil the Bastard 218
 Basil the Younger 340
basileopator 218
basileus 59, 198, 209, 223
Basilica 67
 baths 436-437
bayt 278, 387
bayt al-māl 225
 beating 99, 304-305, 314, 318
 bees 100, 230, 437
 belly 146, 302-303
 benefactors 443
Berākōt 129, 235, 452
 Berber language 405
 Berthelot, Marcelin 401
 Bessarion 107
 Bible 50, 78, 80, 157, 256; see also Old
 Testament, Septuagint, and Torah
Bibliothèque orientale 12
 biographical dictionaries 384
 birth 126
 bishops 251
 bitch 247, 455
 black 339, 432
 Black Stone 186
 Bland, N. 16-17, 22, 23, 64
 bleeding 247, 456, 461
 blood 190, **365-366**
Book of Signs 240-241
Book of the Beloved, see *Kitāb al-ḥabīb*
Book of the Eparch 73, 411
Book of the Speech of Wisdom 241
 books 247, 288, 446, 447; see also reading
 booty, see *ghanima*
 bows 248, 458
 Brackertz 2, 20, 21, 68
 brains 247
 brass 329
 bread 247
 bridges 253-254
brontologion 394
 bronze 328-331
 building a temple 49
 buildings 148
 Bukhtīshū' 244; see also Abū Makhliḍ b.
 Bukhtīshū'
 buildings 299
 Bulgars 398
 bull 194
 butter 247
 Byzantine imperial ideology 182, 198, 200,
 271, 281

caesar 218
 caliph 57, 147, 148, 187, 202, 203, 218,
 222, 294, 299, 379
 call to prayer, see *adhān*
 camels 21, 190, 194, 247, 454
 Camerarius, Joachim 6, 8
Candelabrum of the Sanctuary 241
 candles 450
 capital 193; see also *kephalaion* and *rā's*
 māl
 Cardano, Girolamo 118-119, 395
 Carmathians 30
 Carolingian Renaissance 414
 Cassius Maximus 135, 136
 Chaldean oracles 393
 changing faith, see conversion

- chapter 19 of the *Oneirocriticon* 32, 33, 35
 chariots 55, 164, **361-363**
charistikē 4
charzanion 69
chasdion 65, 471
 cheese 247
 chess, see *zatrikion*, *zatrikizō*
 chestnuts 100
 child 449
 Christian adaptation 237
 Christian dream symbols **256-352**
 Christian eschatology 258
 Christian identity 12, 14, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23
 Christian-Muslim religious polemics 147
 Christopher of Mytilene 393
 Chrysochoou, Gregory 106
 chrysolites 340
 church officials 21
 churches 183, 239, 253-254, **322-325**, 351
 clarified butter 456
 Cleopatra 20, 52
 clouds 214
 coats of mail 248, 460
 coins 190, 191-192, 195, 318
 Collin-Roset, Simone 113, 114, 445
 concubines 21
 Constans II, emperor 410
 Constantine the African 11, 406
 Constantine the Great 175, 183-184
 Constantine V, emperor 403
 Constantine VI, emperor 398
 Constantine VII, emperor 61, 144, 407, 426, 427
Constitutiones Tacticae (by Leo VI) 424, 425
 conversion **326-328**, 434-435
 copper 328-331, 401
 Coptic language 144
 Cordoba 416-417
 Cornarius, Janus 113, 395
 cotton 21, 65, 67
 courtship 149
 cows 194, 248, **359-361**, 464
 critical edition of the *Oneirocriticon* 91-92, 93
 cross 99, 170, **174-188**, 270, 282, 314, 353
 crown 338
 crucifixion 140-141, 170, **174-188**, 248, 270, 282, 353, 461
 cuirass 248, 459
 Cumont, Franz 18
 cutting hair 146
 Cyranides 113
 Cyrus the Great 378
 d'Herbelot, Barthélemy 12, 17, 24
 daggers 248, 459
 Dagron, Gilbert 23, 134, Gilbert 411-412
 Daim, Abdel 141
 Damascus 397
 Daniel, prophet 5, 21, 29, 42, 64, 93, 118, 163, 239, 410, 420
dār 278-279
dār al-ākhira 278
 darkness 303
 David 247
De cerimoniis 73
 de Falco 124
De pulsibus doctrina 406
De revolutionibus nativitatū, see *Peri tēs tōn etōn enallagēs*
 De Slane 18, 19
De Unirinis 394
 deacon 145, 269, 285, 291
 dead man 445-446, 448-449
 death 149, 448-449
 decapitation 188
 deer 191
 deflowering a slave girl 465
 Demetrios of Lampe 115
 dervishes 315
despotēs 12, 41, 59, 60, 61
 desserts 231
dhikr 295
dhimmi 50, 251, 305
 Dietrich 64
 Diogenianos of Heraklea 143
 Dioscorides 10, 416
 dirham 334
 divination 92, 131, 243, 250, 394, 409-411

- doors 385
doumakin 71
 dreams caused by daytime preoccupations 238
 dreams caused by demons 238
 Drexl, Franz 18, 63, 91, 93, 94, 109, 111, 113, 122, 124, 126, 127, 239, 445
 Du Cange 11
du'ā 295
dung 248, 464
 ear 247
 earthquakes 367-368
 eating human brains 453
 eating stars 227
 education in Byzantium 373
 education in the Muslim world 373
 egg 248
 Egypt, ancient **51-58**, 358
 Egyptians 6, 7, 8, 20, 32, 33, 35, 36, 41, 44, 46, 47, 58, 171, 175, 191
eiskosmisis 228, 468
ekphrasis 394
 elephants 46, 170, **231-235**, 353
 elevated places 298
 elevations of the earth 239
 emeralds 340
 emperor 199, 201, 207, 209, 270, 271, 274, 282, 299, 304, 309
 empiricism 188
Ephodia tou apodēmontos, see *Supplies of a Traveler*
 Ephraim the Syrian 3, 238
 eschatology 372
Ethikon 241
Etymologicum Magnum 76-77
 etymology 165, 170, 185, 190, 192, 194, 197, 198, 205, 307, 365
 eunuchs **268-269**, 357
 Euphrates 390
 Euripides 129, 353
 Euryviadēs 3
 Eustathios of Thessaloniki 426
exodos 190, 457
 Exodus 357
 eyebrows 170-174
 eyes 363-364
 Fahd, Toufic 19, 23, 134, 136, 137
 faith 145
 false and truthful dreams 160, 166
 false dreams 238
fālūdhaj, see *paloudakin*
 family of the dreamer 155
 father 263
 Fathers of the Church 91
 Fatimids 415
 feet 83, 248, 302-303
 fetters 382, 383
 fingers 96, 252, **335-337**
 fire 48, 51, 331, 357, 449
 first person narrative 33
 Fischer, Anton 23
fitna 350-351
 five daily prayers 96
 Five Pillars of Islam 186, 336
 fleas 101, 102, 437-438
 flora 158
Florilegium Baroccianum 3, 15, 38, 40
 flowers 158
folleis 4
 four bodily humors 238
 fruits 158, 159, 160
 funeral procession 445-446
fuqahā' (jurists) 313
 Furlani 239
 Gabriel, *dux* of Melitene 420
 Galen 130, 137, 244, 421
 Gemini 398
 Geminus of Tyre 129
 Genesis 157, 228, 238, 359, 361, 362
 geomancy 405-406, 407-409
Geoponika 60, 78, 393, 407
 George of Pisidia 393
 Georgios Grammatikos 110
 Georgios Midiates 110, 410
 Georgius Elmacinus 12
 Germanos, patriarch 95
 Gessner, Konrad 10, 11
ghanam 194, 198, 236

- ghanima* 194, 198, 236
 gibbet, see impalement and crucifixion
 Gigli, D. 93, 114
 glass 349
gnōmologia 394
 gnosticism 30
 goat 191, 248
 God 146, 148, 161, 162, 166, 178, 181, 196, 200, 201, 236, 238, 239, 258, 259, 272-273, **275-276**, 277, 284, 303, 304, 330, 333, 365, 371, 446
 godhead 24, 273
 gold 328-330
 gold revetments in icons 270, 283
 Gospel 44, 161, 239, 247, 251, 269, 287, 288, 289, 293, 296
 grapevine 375
grapheus 225; see also scribe, *kātib*
 Greek ethnicity 14, 20, 22
 Greek fire 425
 Greeks 245
 green **337-340**, 353, 383
 Gregory of Nazianzus 3, 241, 242, 393
 Gregory of Nyssa 393
gunaika tēs charas 219
 Gutas, Dimitri 422

 Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib 400
 Hades 447
ḥadīth (traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad) 16, 34, 131, 160, 165, 199, 250, 251, 353, 384
 Hagia Sophia 393
 hair 33, 125, 126, 146, 248, 389-390, 462
ḥājib 200, 225
ḥajj, see pilgrimage to Mecca
 Ḥajjī Khalīfa 31
 hands 146, 302-303, **335-337**, 449
hapax legomena 68, 69, 228
 harbors 442-443, 444
 Harūn al-Rashid 413
 Haskins 116
Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān 141
 head 170, 188, 302-303, 353; see also *kephalē*, *kephalaion*, *rā's*, *ra'īs*, *riyāsa*, *rā's māl*
 Heaven 239
 heavenly bodies 170
 Hebrew language 364, 410
 Hell 21, 24, 145, 146, 148, **262-264**, 351, 353, 373
 hemorrhage 248
 Heraclius, emperor 246, 248, 249, 425
 Hermaic sciences 394
 Hermas 189
 Hermes 139
 Hermes Trismegistus 394
 Herodotos of Halicarnassos 378, 427
 Herophilus of Chalcedon 242
 Hesiod 353
 Hindu drugs 406
 Hindus 8
 Hippocrates 64, 239
 Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, caliph 130, 377, 425
Historia Saracenica 12
 historical events 375
 Holy Books 287, 295
 holy figures 269-285
 Holy Spirit 247
 Holy Writ 239; see also Bible, Old Testament, Gospel, New Testament
 Homer 129, 353, 393, 397
 honey 170, **229-231**
horologion 253, 336
 horses 21, 55, 148, 170, **203-208**, 441
 houses 148, 183, 278
housion 70, 71-72, 77-78, 471
 Huggelin, Johann Jacob 395
 Hugo Etherianus 10, 39, **115**
ḥukūma 289
 Ḥunayn b. Ishāq 17, 19, 45, 89, 131, 133, 136-142, 169, 172, 177, 185, 197, 200, 201, 243, 268, 297, 421, 439-440, 443
 Hunger, Herbert 407
hypatos 412
hēgemonikon 74
 Ianus Antionius Saracenus 10
'Ibārāt al-ru'yā 26, 133

- Indians 6, 7, 8, 14, 20, 32, 33, 35, 36, 41, 44, 46, 99, 149, 170, 175, 245, 258
 Indians, Persians, Egyptians 93, 108, 100, 116, 145
 inebriation 345-351
 intestines 58
Introduction to Astrology 8
 iron 248, 328-331
irtakaba 205
irtakaba ma'shiyatan 236
 Isaac 247
 Ishmaelites 403
 Ishmael the doctor 412
 Islamic dream interpretation 16, 19
 Islamic eschatology 259
 Islamic law 16, 147, 323
 Ismā'il 247
 Ismā'il b. al-Ash'ath 29
isnād (chain of authorities) 34, 199, 371, 375, 378
 Iṣṭifān b. Basīl, translator from Greek into Arabic 416
 Italy 231-232
 Jabariyya 287
 Jābir al-Maghribi 29, 220
 Jābir b. Hayyān 403
 Jacob (Old Testament) 247
 Jacob of Edessa 242
 Ja'far al-Ṣādiq 29, 157, 440, 459
 Jagaddeva 20, 45-46
jallād 225
 Jamasb 141, 245, 312
 Janus Cornarius 4
 Jesus Christ 145, 146, 183, 198, 199, 200, 247, 267, 269-285, 288, 356, 357, 452
 Jewish dream interpretation 85, 129, 133, 169, 235, 388
 Jews 238, 243, 245, 290, 327
jihād 356
 John Chrysostom 3, 393
 John Geometres 393
 John Italos 1
 John of Damascus 393, 413
 John of the Ladder 3, 88
 Ibn al-Athir 24
 Ibn al-Bahlul **240-241**, 252
 Ibn al-Faḡih al-Hamadhāni 403
 Ibn al-'Alam 399
 Ibn al-'Arabī 409
 Ibn al-Jazzār, Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Khālīd 10-11
 Ibn al-Musayyab 131, 379, 382, 384, 389, 391
 Ibn al-Muthannā 400
 Ibn al-Nadīm 17, 51, 136, 243, 400, 413
 Ibn al-Qiftī 244
 Ibn Ghannām 144
 Ibn Juljul 415-417
 Ibn Khaldūn 132
 Ibn Qutayba, 'Abd Allah b. Muslim 25, 26, 27, 96, 126, 130, 133, 134, 147, 153, 240, 243, 252, 464; several instances in 150-167, 168-236, 256-352, 353-374, 375-391
 Ibn Sa'd 377, 378, 379, 381, 389, 391
 Ibn Shāhīn, Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl 22, 29, 59, 124, 134, 239, 435, 436, 437, 438, 440, 441, 443, 447, 459, 463, 464; several instances in 150-167, 168-236, 256-352, 353-374, 375-391
 Ibn Sīnā 142
 Ibn Sirīn (see also Achmet, son of Sēreim and Sēreim) 13, 15, 20, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 34, 150, 155, 157, 159, 160, 180, 243, 256, 274, 296, 298, 312, 361, 371, 375, 376, 379, 381, 382, 383, 384, 386, 389, 391
 icons 2, 269-285, 299, 435
 identity of the dreamer 151, 153
 idols 48, 55, 148, **328-331**
ighriqi (Greek language) 416, 417
ihrām 310
'ilm al-ikhtilāj 410
 imam 75, 148, 187, 203, **289-290**, 293, 294, 295, 299, 300, 315, 380
 impalement 176; see also crucifixion
 India 231-232
 Indian iron 401
 Indian=Christian 44-45, 59

- John the Baptist 247
 John the Grammarian 397, 424
 Joseph (New Testament) 21, 42, 44, 161, 163, 238, 239
 Joseph (Old Testament) 21, 53, 131, 154, 162, 163, 164, 167, 228, 236, 238, 247, 358-363, 451
 Judaism 51, 241, 290, 326-327
 judgements 146, 147
 judges 125, 126, 146, 147, 148, 247, 332-335, 457
 julep 65, 77, 346, 406
 Jupiter 9, 223, 224, 254

 Ka'ba 75, 186, 187, 202, 203, 234
Kalila wa-Dimna, see *Stephanitēs kai Ichnēlatēs*
 Kallinikos III, patriarch of Constantinople 106-107
kamelaukion 337
kampanon 335
kara 74
 Karatzas, Nikolaos 103
katholikos 286
kātib 225
kephalaion 188-189, 190, 236
kephalē 185, 188-189, 190, 192, 236
Kethābhā dhe-Pushshāk Helmē 245
 Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya 425
khaṭīb (preacher) 290
khuṭba (Friday sermon) 147, 148, 290-292, 297
 killing 149, 449
 Kimon 3
 kings 57, 170, 182, 198-203, 247, 299
 Kisrā 167
Kitāb al-aghānī 249
Kitāb al-buldān 403
Kitāb al-Dalā'il, see *Book of Signs*
Kitāb al-dustūr fī al-ta'bīr 132
Kitāb al-fihrist 17, 51, 136, 138, 243, 400, 413
Kitāb al-ḥabīb 425
Kitāb al-ishāra ila 'ilm al-'ibāra 133
Kitāb al-ishārāt fī 'ilm al-'ibārāt 29, 133

Kitāb al-Qādirī fī al-ta'bīr 27, 133-134
Kitāb al-ta'bīr 132
Kitāb muqarraf al-rū'yā 30
Kitāb ta'bīr al-rū'yā 24, 25
Kitāb tafsīr al-manāmāt min al-nujūm 8
Kitāb taḥāwil sinī al-mawālīd, see *Peri tēs tōn etōn enallagēs*
klibanion 77
 knife 248
 known person 125
kochla 65, 67, 69, 77, 468
 Kollar, Adam František (Colarius) 13-15, 17, 24
 Kosmas, alchemist 401
 Koukoules 63, 68
 Ktesias of Knidos 378

 lakes 441-442
 Lambeck, Peter 11-13
 language of the *Oneirocriticon* 22, 63-90, 124
 Latin translations of the *Oneirocriticon* 111-119
 lead 328-331
 leader, leadership, see *rā's*, *ra'īs*, *riyāsa*, *kephalē*
 Lebanon 404
 left side 238
 legitimate wives 21
 legs 83
 Lemerle, Paul 422
 Leo (sign of the Zodiac) 398
 Leo Choirosphaktes 397, 424
 Leo Katakylas 426
 Leo the Mathematician 385, 424
 Leo Tuscus 4, 10, 17, 39, 40, 94, 115, 121, 122, 125, 127, 434
 Leo VI, emperor 4, 61, 62, 411-412, 424, 428
 letters 76
 lexicography, Arabic 144, 186
Liber Thesauri Occulti 38, 112-114, 116, 127, 445-450
 lice 101, 102, 437-438
Life of Aesop 393

- light 303
 lightning 450
 lioness 247, 455
 liturgy 297
 Liutprand of Cremona 410
 liver 58
 loan words 65, 67, 69-73
 locusts 357-359
 Loewenklaus, Johann (Johannes Leunclavius) 5-10, 12, 17, 108, 110, 113, 116, 120
 Lucian 393, 423
 lunar dreambooks 242, 394
lychnos 364
lypoulos 468

 Macedonian Renaissance 5, 392, 422
 Magdalino, Paul 397, 424
 Magians 6
 magic 394, 409-411
magos 327-328
malak 200
malik 200
 Mandanē 378
 Mango, Cyril 414-415
manikēlia 77
 Manuel Komnenos, emperor 1, 109, 112, 115
 Manuel Paleologos, emperor 142
 Manuel Philes 393
 manuscript illustrations 103
maqām 291
 Marcellae, fortress 398
 Mardaites 404
 Marianos the monk 425
 marriage 64, 149
 Mars 9, 223, 224
 martyrdom 265, 267, 274, 339, 355, 356, 366
 martyrs 21, 315
 Marwān I, caliph 377
 Mary, mother of Christ 42, 161, 163, 238, 271, 338
 Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik 380

 Master of the Post 179
maulā 201
 Maurice, emperor 425
mawālī 220
 Maximus the Confessor 393
 measles 406, 420, 421
 measures 146, 147
 Mecca 75, 186, 202, 234, 249, 266, 267, 276, 376
 medicine 9-11, 14, 16, 73, 92, 112, 130, 243, 244, 245, 250, 394, 406-407, 412, 428, 435-436
 Menander, poet 129, 198, 201, 353
 Menander, priest of Zeus 180
 Mercurius 406
 Mercury 9, 223, 224
 meteorology 404-405, 424
Methodoi psēphophorias diaphorōn hypothesēōn astronomikōn 399-400
 metropolitans 286
 Michael III, emperor 413
 Michael VIII Paleologos, emperor 409
 Michael Andreopoulos 420
 Michael Attaleiates 4
 Michael of Ephesos 1
 Michael Synkellos 420
mīhrāb 186, 377
miliarsia 4
 military manuals 426-428
 milk 247, 248, 454, 455, 456, 463
 milk of a woman 462-463
 milking 247, 248, 463, 454
 minaret 320
minbar (pulpit) 290, 291, 292, 297-299, 375
 Modern Greek dialects 64
modios 333
 Mogenet, Joseph 396
 monasteries 307
 monastic cells 307
 monastic tonsure 304-319
 monks 99, 247, 251, 253-254, 269, 285, 286, 304-319, 457
 moon (phases of the moon when a dream was dreamt) 153

- moon 1, 8, 48, 49, 51, 215, **217-222**, 223, 224, 228
- Moses 247
- mosques 148, 289, 324-325, 351
- MS *Ambros. gr.* 592 (O 94 sup) (A) 36, 109, 121, 123, 124, 242, 392, 393
- MS Ankara *Ism. Saib Sincer* I, 4501 23, 26-27, 130, 243
- MS *Ar. yazma* 4726 (Istanbul University Library) 135-136, 141
- MS *Athen. Bibl. Nat.* 1275 8, 427
- MS *Athen. Bibl. Nat.* 1350 8, 427
- MS *Athen. Bibl. Nat.* 1493 410
- MS *Athos, Iviron* 4285.165 36, 39, 104, 111, 121, 392, 393
- MS *Baroccianus* 206 98
- MS *Berlin Q.968* 117, 434
- MS *Berol. gr.* 168 8
- MS *Berol. gr.* 171 (*Phil. gr.* 1575) (B) 37, 40, 109, 392
- MS BL *Additicius* 8240 37, **103-105**, 394
- MS BL *Or.* 4434 **237-240**, 252, 362
- MS BL *Or.* 6262 28
- MS BN *arabe* 2742 13, 15, 18, 19, 23, 24
- MS BN *arabe* 2744 13, 24
- MS BN *arabe* 2745 27, 243, 246; several instances in 150-167, 168-236, 256-352, 353-374, 375-391
- MS BN *français* 1317 4, 447
- MS BN *français* 1553 117
- MS Bodleian *Digby* 103 39, 59, 116, 122, 434
- MS *Bononiensis (Bibl. Univ.)* 3632 10, 36, 40, 59, **102-103**, 111, 145, 151, 394, 408
- MS *Borbon. gr.* 356 (III.E.34) 36, 110-111, 121, 122, 392
- MS *Cantabrig. (Trinity College) gr.* 1386 (O 8.11, 6102) 10, 36, 40, 111, 121, 394
- MS *Digby* 103, see Bodleian *Digby* 103
- MS *Edessa* 50 245
- MS *Esad Efendi* 1833 27, 28, 242, 243; several instances in 150-167, 168-236, 256-352, 353-374, 375-391
- MS *Hierosol. (of St. Sabbas) gr.* 555 37, 40, 111, 121, 394
- MS *Hierosol. (of the Patriarchate) gr.* 220 37, 40, 111, 121, 394
- MS *Holkham* 290 401
- MS *Laurent. Plut.* 28, 13 405
- MS *Laurent. Plut.* 28, 34 398, 405, 412
- MS *Laurent. Plut.* 87, 8 3, 15, 151
- MS *Leidens. Voss.* 49 (L) 36, 39, 40, 108, 123, 142, 151, 392, 431
- MS *Marc. gr.* 299 35, 39, 107, 394, 401-402, 403
- MS *Marc. gr.* 335 404
- MS *Marc. gr.* 608 2, 242
- MS *Mardin* 418 242
- MS *Mutinensis (Bibliot. Estense di Modena) gr.* 85 (III, C, 6) 394
- MS *Neapol. II.C.33, olim* 34 406, 408
- MS *Paris. gr.* 2315 8
- MS *Paris. gr.* 2417 8
- MS *Paris. gr.* 2419 10, 35, 40, 59, 109, 110, 111, 120, 121, 142, 145, 151, 394, 408, 410, 427, 431
- MS *Paris. gr.* 2427 40, 110, 120, 121, 392, 408
- MS *Paris. gr.* 2494 410
- MS *Paris. gr.* 2511 (P) 8, 35, 40, 109, 120, 121, 123, 125, 394
- MS *Paris. gr.* 2538 37, 104, 110, 119, 121, 122, 392
- MS *Paris. Suppl. gr.* 690 3, 4, 15, 35, 39, 40, **92-98**, 104, 107, 114, 127, 151, 392, 393, 431-444
- MS *Patmiacus* 171 175
- MS *Patmiacus* 6 3, 38
- MS *Petropolitanus Bibl. Acad. scient. graec.* 161 38, 40, **105**, 394
- MS *Taurinensis C.VII.10 (B.VI.12)* 405
- MS *Vat. gr.* 1056 8, 400
- MS *Vat. gr.* 1594 396
- MS *Vat. gr.* 342 8, 427
- MS *Vat. gr.* 573 8, 35, 40, 43, 70, 96, 98, 104, 114 230-231, 242, 297, 304-305, **313-319**, 392, 393, 432, 433, 437, 438, 450
- MS *Vindob. med. gr.* 20 11
- MS *Vindob. med. gr.* 30 11

- MS *Vindob. phil. gr.* 108 411
- MS *Vindob. phil. gr.* 115 398
- MS *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 111 (R) 11, 35, 40, 93, 108, 122, 392
- MS *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 162 (S) 12, 35, 40, 104, 108, 392, 393
- MS *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 287 (T) 12, 37, 108, 121, 123, 124, 394
- MS *Vindob. philos. et philol. gr.* 297 (V) 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 37, 40, 108, 110, 121, 392
- MS Wolfenbüttel *Guelpherb. lat.* 2917 39, 122
- MS *Yahuda ar.* 196 23, 26, 96, 126, 153, 243; several instances in 150-167, 168-236, 256-352, 353-374, 375-391
- MS *Zagora* 89 37, 40, **105-107**, 145, 151, 392
- mu'adhdhin* 253
- Mu'awiya, caliph 410
- mud 441
- Muhallab b. Abi Sufra 380
- Muhammad b. Idris al-Shāfi'i 179, 180
- Muhammad b. Mangli 425
- Muhammad b. Zakariyya al-Rāzi, see al-Rāzi
- Muhammad, Prophet 34, 57, 131, 147, 148, 202, 220, 234, 243, 248, 249, 250, 252, 270-271, 273, **276-278**, 284, 305, 382, 387, 451
- Muntakhab al-kalām fi tafsīr al-aḥlām*, see *al-Muntakhab*
- murābitūn* (the bound ones) 313
- muscles 76
- Muslim 6
- Muslim taboos **340-351**, 352
- Mystēria tou Apomasar* 7, 34
- nabidh* 347, 348
- nape 197
- Nasara 245, 246, 248, 271
- Near Eastern dream interpretation 129, 169, 378
- Nebuchadnezzar 167
- Nemesius 242
- Neo-Syriac language 239
- neōteroi* 399
- Neugebauer, Otto 396
- New Testament 3, 4, 68, 79, 80, 82, 88, 91, 259, 269, 277, 289, 290, 336, **353-374**; see also Gospel; corruptions in the New Testament, see *tahrif*
- Nicholas the monk 416-417
- Nikephoros Gregoras 1
- Nikephoros Phokas, emperor 78, 423
- Nikephoros, patriarch 64, 94, 95, 119, 393, 394, 431, 438, 442
- Niketas of Byzantium 147, 356, 413
- Nile 20, 52
- Noah 247
- nomismata* 4
- Normans 415
- North, Frederic 103
- nose 456
- nostrils 90
- nun 308
- Oberhelman 3, 22, 168-170, 175, 202, 203-204, 206, 217
- Odyssey* 1
- oil lamp 449
- old person 125, 126, 146, 315-317
- Old Testament 3, 4, 53, 79, 82, 91, 164, 228, 236, 290, **353-374**; see also Bible and Torah
- Orosius 416
- pagan Arabs 243
- pagan deities 200, 201
- paloudakin* 70-71, 72, 78, 97
- Pantaleon, metropolitan of Synnada 61
- parables from the New Testament 369, 371
- Paradise 7, 21, 24, 145, 146, 148, **258-262**, 338, 339, 340, 351, 353, 356, 357, 373
- paroikos* 4
- Pascalius Romanus 38, 39, 40, 96, **112**, 113, 115, 127, 431, 432-433, 434, 445
- patriarch 145, 269, 285
- patriarchal throne 290

- pearls 95, 371-372, 432-433, 437
 penis 390-391
 perfumes 21, 85
Peri loimikēs 406, 421
Peri tēs tōn etōn enallagēs 7
 Persian language 16, 70, 71, 77
 Persians 6, 7, 8, 12, 20, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38,
 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 55, 56, 57, 58, 170,
 171, 175, 191
persikomanikion 470
 Peucer, Caspar 395
 pharaoh 99, 145, 147, 154, 167, 192, 357,
 359, 362
 pharmacology 92
phasganon 74
 Philaretos the Merciful 340
Philopatris 423
 philosophy 394
 Phocylides 393
 Phoebus of Antioch 129
 Photios, patriarch of Constantinople 4, 424
phourkisis 175
 physiognomists 243, 250
Physiologos 106
 pigs 341-345, 449
 pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*) 186, 196, 266,
 267, 276, 310-313
 Pingree, David 396, 398, 399, 407, 418, 420
 planets 8, 48, 51, 96, 239
 Pliny 143
 poetry 130, 165, 209-210, 250, 353, 393
Poliorkētika 78
 polo, see *tzykanion*, *tzykanizō*
 Polyaenos 427
 polygamy 21, 50, 75, 96, 252
 pomegranate 389
 pork 256, 340-345
 Poseidon 203
 Praetorium 412
 prayer 147, 247, 252, 285, 294, 295, 335-
 337; see also *ṣalā*
 praying for the people 294
 presbyter 285, 291
 priesthood 428
 priestly duties 285-303
 priestly ordination 293
 priests 75, 99, 139, 145, 147, 247, 251, 253-
 254, 269, 285-303, 457
proedros 218
 prologues of the *Oneirocriticon* 32 ff.
 Prometheus 58
 prophecies on Constantinople 393
 prophecy 162
 prophets 21, 24, 145, 146, 148, 162, 243,
 247, 265, 269-285
Prosarhythmus, see *rhythmical patterns in*
prose
proskynēsis 55, 57, 271
 prostration 247
prōtospatharios 412
 proverbs 165, 369
 Psellos, Michael 1, 393, 401
 Ptolemy Philadelphos 410
 pulsation 406, 410
 pumpkins 435-436
 Pythagoras 408
qabbān 335
 Qadariyya 287
qāḍi 315, 332; see also *judge*
qā'id 214
 Qatāda 180
qibla 186, 294, 295
Qīṣaṣ al-'anbiyā' 157, 164, 167
qiyās, see *analogy*
 qualities of the dream interpreter 165
 Qur'ān 53, 56, 129, 131, 146, 147, 148,
 157, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 178, 179,
 181, 197, 228, 230, 234, 236, 250, 251,
 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 263, 264, 267,
 270-271, 274, 277, 280, 287, 288, 289,
 291, 295-296, 300, 303, 305, 306, 311,
 313, 338, 339, 347, 348, 350, 353, 354,
 355, 356, 357, 359, 360, 362, 366, 372,
 373, 413
 Quṣṭā b. Lūqā 244
 Raban al-Ṭabarī 243, 244
 rabbis 251
 Rabi'ah b. Umayyah b. Khalaf 383

- rabolion*, see *geomancy*
rahba (terror) 307
rāhib (monk) 307
 rain 379-381, 436
rā'is 192
rakaba farasan 205, 236
ramblion, see *geomancy*
raml, see *geomancy*
raqaba, pl. *riqāb* 197
rā's 185, 192, 193, 236
rā's māl 236
Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafa' 131-132
 reading 145, 147, 269, 293, 295-296, 285,
 447; see also *books*
 red 339
 Resurrection of the Dead 7, 12, 21, 24, 49,
 145, 148, 256-258, 351, 353
 Revelation 357
 revelations and visions from God 238
 revolt of the Arabs 12, 380, 383-384
rhythmical patterns in prose
 (*Prosarhythmus*) 86-88
 Ricklin 112
 Rigault (N. Rigaltius) 9, 10, 11, 63, 104,
 110, 111, 113, 120, 121, 127,
 ring 338
riyāsa 185, 192, 236
 Rochefort, Gabriel 3, 93
 Romanos I Lekapenos, emperor 416
 Romanos II, emperor 416
 roof beams 387, 446
 Rosenthal, Franz 136-138
 royal people 290
 Ruelle, C.-E. 18, 120, 121
 Rum 245, 246, 248, 312, 417
 Saadi, Abdul Massih 242
 Saanisan, king of Persia 32, 41, 43, 47
 Sabians 55-56
 sacraments 239
ṣāhib al-barid 225; see also *Master of the*
Post
ṣāhib al-'adhāb 225
ṣāhib al-jaysh 225
ṣāhib al-kharāj 225
ṣāhib al-shurṭa 225
 Sahl b. Bishr 400
 Sa'id b. al-Musayyab 377
 saint 446
ṣalā (prayer) 295, 336; see also *prayer*
 Salerno 415
 Sālim Abū-l-'Alā' 425
 Sālim al-Ḥarrānī, see *Salmanas*
 Salm al-Ḥarrānī, see *Salmanas*
 Salmanas 402-403
 salt 101, 102, 438-440
 Sambucus, see *Zsámboeky*
 Samonas 412
 sandals 64, 66, 339
 Saracens 412
 Saturn 9, 223, 224
Scala Paradisi 241
 sceptre 58
 scientific literature 91-92, 394-411
 scribe 223, 225; see also *kātib*
 scriptural quotations in the *Oneirocriticon*
 78, 161, 163, 259, 354-356
 scriptural substitution of a Quranic passage
 258
 season of the year in which dreams are
 dreamt 9, 42, 150, 153, 156, 159, 238,
 239, 369, 388-389, 435
 secret alphabets 409-411
 Selēnē 217
sēmantiērion, see *sounding board*
 semitisms 372
 Septuagint 372
 Sēreim (see also *Achmet*, son of *Sēreim*
 and *Ibn Sirīn*) 285, 298, 379, 381, 388,
 390, 412
 sermon, see *khutba*
 sex of the dreamer 150
 sexual intercourse 55
 shaving hair 146
 sheep 77, 191, 194, 198, 236
 shield 248
 shoulder blades 75
 Sicily 415-417
 sick person 449
 silver 328-330

- Simon magos 327
ṣirāt (bridge across the infernal fire) 264
 Sirhān 132
sklērochalinōs 205, 236
skorpismos 228, 468; see also *eiskosmisis*
 Slavonic language 5, 238, 409
 smoke 48, 450
 snake 247
 social position of the dreamer 9, 42, 60,
 150, 154, 155
 soldier 247
 Solomon 247
 Sonderkamp, Joseph 407
 sounding board 64-65, 66, 145, 147, **319-321**
 southern Italy 415
 Sozomenos 175
 St. Constantine/Cyril 424
 St. Epiphanius 393
 St. Michael the Synkellos 412-413
 stars 1, 49, 55, 76, 84, 210, 213, 215, **222-229**
staurōsis 175
 steelyard **333-335**
 Steinschneider, Moritz 17, 18, 23
stemma codicum **109**, 122, 123
Stephanitēs kai Ichnēlatēs 14, 420
 Stephen of Alexandria, see Stephen the
 Philosopher
 Stephen the Philosopher 398, 425
 stones 247
 strangling 449
Stratēgikon of Maurice 425
 Strohmaier, Gotthardt 22, 138, 139, 200,
 201, 423
strouthia 95
 Stylianos Zaoutzes 218
Suda Lexicon 74, 423
 Sufism 313, 315
 sugar 65, 67
 sugarcane 21
 Sulaymān, caliph 377
sultān (power) 199-200, 235, 291
 sultans 148, 247, 299
 sun 8, 48, 49, 51, 168, **208-217**, 218, 223,
 228
Supplies of a Traveler (*Zād al-musāfir*,
 Ephodia tou apodēmoutos) 11, 406
 swine 190
 Symeon Metaphrastes 393
 Symeon Seth 14-15, 406, 420
 Synesios of Cyrene 1, 242
Syntipas 420
 Syrbacham 32, 34, 36, 41, 42, 103, 149,
 150, 152, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165
 Syria 17, 64, 379
 Syriac dreambook **237-240**, 362
 Syriac language 65, 81, 82, 86, 89, 144, 237
 Syriac model of the *Oneirocriticon* 63-64
 Syriac translation of Artemidoros 136-139
 Syriacisms 137, 138
 Syrian ethnicity 11, 64, 66
 Syrianos 427
Tafsir al-aḥlām al-kabir 28
tahrif 289
 tail of a horse 204-205
 Talmud 129, 235, 353, 386, 388, 452
 Tannery, Paul 408
 Tarphan 32, 34, 36, 40, 41, **53-54**, 103, 105
 Tarsus 404, 412
ṭawl (power) 365
 teachers 21, 145, 146, 269-285
 tears 436
 technical terms, financial and administrative
 4
 teeth 247, 453
 temples 49, 170, **198-203**, 299
 tent of Abraham 75
 terrace 446
 textual parallels between Artemidoros and
 the *Oneirocriticon* 168-169
 Themistios 1
 Theodora Doukaina, empress of Michael
 VIII 408-409, 420
 Theodore Abū Qurra 147, 356, 413, 414,
 420
 Theodore Prodromos 393

- Theognis 353
 Theophanes Continuatus 411
 Theophanes Graptos 407
 Theophanes Nonnos 144, 407
 Theophanes, *Chronographia* 398
 Theophilos of Edessa 397-398
 theoretical principles of dream
 interpretation 16, 238
 Thomas, patriarch of Jerusalem 420
 thorns 370
 Thucydides 427
 Tigris 390
 Tihon, Anne 396
 time required for the fulfillment of a dream
 156, 158, 238, 239, 434, 451-452
 time that a dream is dreamt 9, 151, 152,
 158, 238
 Tollius, Jakob 121
 Torah 129, 251, 353, 362
 trees 55, 87, 88, 148, 158, 159
 Tricassus Mantuanus 10
 True Cross 183, 186
 truthful dreams 238
 truthfulness of dreams according to the day
 of the week in which they are dreamt
 242
 truthfulness of utterances by angels 267-
 268
 truthfulness of utterances by Christ 270,
 277
 truthfulness of utterances by holy figures
 270
 truthfulness of utterances by icons 282
 truthfulness of utterances by prophets 283
ṭūl (length) 365
 Turkish language 16
Tuhfat al-mulūk 134
tzykanion, *tzykanizō* 70-71, 75, 124
 'ulamā' 313, 338
 Ullmann, Manfred 138-139
 'Umar al-Khayyām 297-298, 375, 389, 391
 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb 383
 Umayyad dynasty 377
umma (nation of Islam) 251, 290, 357
 unknown person 126
 urination 376-379
 utterances of kings 198
 Vattier, Pierre 113, 395, 446
 Venancius of Moerbeke 118
 Venus 9, 48, 49, 223, 224, 398
 vernacular language (Arabic) 418
 vernacular words and expressions 67, 68
 virgin 465
 vizier 187, 202, 218, 221, 222, 224
Volksliteratur 91
 vomit 248
 wālī 214, 365
 wall 446
 Wansleben, Johann Michael 15
 warfare 73
 water 247, 345, 346, 379-381, 390
 way of life of the dreamer 155
 wheat 368-370
 whips 318
 white clothes 366-367
 William of Aragon 118
 wine 346, 349
 wine making 349-350, 358-359
 wolf 247, 449
 woman delivering a sermon 291-292
 woman leading prayer 296-299
 woman priest 285, 286, 296-299
 woman ringing the sounding board 321
 women 149, 217
 wood 328-330
 writing 447
 Wüstenfeld, F. 16
 Yazid II, caliph 130, 377
 yellow 339
 young person 125, 126, 146, 196, 247, 304,
 315-317, 458
yunāni (Greek language) 417
Zād al-musāfir, see *Supplies of a Traveler*
 zamara 70, 73, 101

zatrikion, zatrikizō 70, 73
 Zayn al-Ṭabari, see Raban al-Ṭabari
 zina 465
 Zoroaster 407
 Zoroastrianism 47, 48-51, 243, 245, 251,
 327-328

zoulapion, zoulapin, see julep
 Zsámboky, János (Johannes Sambucus) 5,
 7, 12, 108
 zunnār 324
 Zuretti, C. O. 408

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